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MARSHAL FOCH

Edgar A. Bancroft.



FOUR YEARS and a half ago we met here to welcome and honor a military hero of France—Marshal Joffre, the victor of the Marne. To-night we meet to welcome and honor the military hero, not of France alone, but of the world—Marshal Foch, the victor of the War. Then we made a vow to support to the uttermost this Nation's declaration of war. To-night we pledge the supreme soldier of that war as the messenger of peace.

For more than forty years an ominous shadow had lain across the national life of France. Then suddenly in August, 1914, the long threatened march on Paris began; and for four agonizing years, France bore the brunt of the German assault. She not only gave her sons and her resources in fullest measure, but her soil was the battleground; her cities and villages, her orchards and vineyards, her factories and her mines, were ruined and destroyed, some of them in wantonness or with fiendish calculation. No other nation, not even martyred Belgium, suffered such destruction. And there were losses that no reparations can ever repair.

Through all those desperate years, France held the front line of Liberty. By the tenacity and courage of her soldiery, the military skill of her officers, and the unconquerable spirit of her people, reflected and focussed in the genius and spirit of the Supreme Commander, she made the largest contribution to final victory.

Yet there is to-day no bitterness or hatred in the heart of France toward her ancient but now conquered foe. The brave do not hate. Faithful and uncomplaining in the days of her humiliation, France cannot but be chivalrous in her day of triumph. During the long years that followed the wrongs of 1870-71, France was patient and forbearing, and kept the peace. To-day she longs for peace more than ever before. But her liberty and her security—bought at such an awful price—she must not neglect.

Is not France now entitled, has she not earned the right, to dwell in the same confident peace that England and the United States enjoy? Yet how can she relax her vigilance until her Eastern neighbor, like our own Northern neighbor of a hundred friendly years, proves herself worthy of respect and trust?

Until Germany asks France to forgive, let no one ask France to forget!

In the military principles, character and success of Marshal Foch, there is a quality that peculiarly appeals to America's ideals and imagination. Scientifically trained engineer, artillerist and strategist as he was, he yet believed, and for many years taught the officers of France, the dominance of *moral* forces in war. Faith, hope, determination, he said, are factors as real and as necessary as intelligence, study, and energy in action; "a battle is lost morally, not materially;" victory is the outcome of moral rather than material forces; and the true commander is "the *soul* of an Army." And in the War he gave frequent illustrations of this creed:

All the world remembers—and always will remember—the message of General Foch to Headquarters at a critical moment on the third day of the Battle of the Marne: "My center is giving way; my right is falling back. *The situation is excellent: I shall attack.*"

When, in October, the German hordes had swept the Belgians back to the Yser, and their heroic King Albert doubted whether his shattered army could halt the superior forces, it was General Foch who said to him: "It is vital to hold the line here. French troops will help you." And the line was held.

Then followed the terrible battle of Ypres, with its new horror and infamy of poison gas, that broke the British lines, and revealed the unflinching valor

of the Canadian volunteers. The British commander was considering an order of retreat, when he learned that General Foch was near, and immediately consulted him. General Foch strongly advised that the city be held at whatever cost. And it was held, and held gloriously, by the British until reserves came to fill their gaping ranks.

So, in the darkest hour of the defense of Verdun—the greatest battle in all history—General Foch encouraged the indomitable spirit of commander and men; and the Crown Prince, and all his vast array of artillery and shock troops, fell back defeated before “They shall not pass.”

At Chateau Thierry it was Marshal Foch, Generalissimo of the Allied Armies, who turned the defensive into an offensive that started the Germans on their way back to the Rhine.

And finally, when the long night of agony and blood drew near its end, and the German lines had been retreating for three months, and terms of an armistice had been asked and given—three years ago almost to this very day—and it was urged that the terms should be unconditional surrender, it was Marshal Foch who said: “If these terms are accepted, this War is already ended; therefore, it is not worth the life of one brave soldier to gain harder terms.” Like the great Silent Commander of Victory in our

Civil War, Marshal Foch in the moment of triumph thought only of Peace.

It is a part of the fine quality of his leadership that he has heart. In all his responsibilities and fame, he has never forgotten the friends of his little native village in the Pyrenees, or the troubles and anxieties of the young officer, or the common soldier. And somehow our American boys in France, though many of them never saw him, knew this, and responded to his human appeal with an added dash and bravery which all the world called superb. That is why there is so much warmth in the welcome of the overseas men. Some of them know that they are here because he stopped the War as soon as he could. Yet, when they were in France, their sense of his leadership only made them more forgetful of self, more ready to fight, to suffer, and to die under his command.

Therefore, the welcome of the men of the American Legion means most, and is most grateful, to their old Commander. Already he has received it in very moving and dramatic form. And it awaits him wherever he may go in our country.

This meeting, representative of all the people of our State and City, expresses to Marshal Foch the pride every American has in his triumph, the gratitude every American feels for his commanding service in hastening the end. It expresses also a deeper, ten-

derer feeling in many hearts, that he was the leader of a Cause sanctified to them by the loss of those most dear. These mothers and wives may not be in the throngs that acclaim his coming, but they welcome him none the less with proud tears. If they bring no new pledge to France, their reason is that spoken by Theodore Roosevelt: "I have already given to France my best."

Every American heart that suffered any anxiety of war, and every thoughtful and humane citizen will welcome, and will wish to aid, this Warrior-Hero in his pilgrimage of peace.

In Honor of Marshal Foch

Nicholas Murray Butler

Address as President of the France-America Society
at the Banquet in Honor of Marshal Foch
Hotel Waldorf Astoria
November 19, 1921

New York
1921

Additional copies may be had by addressing
Box 16, P. O. Sub-Station 84
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In Honor of Marshal Foch

Tonight our Society walks on the high places of experience and of enthusiasm. At the very moment when the tried and responsible statesmen of the world are in eager conference to search for the foundations of a just and lasting peace that will relieve the civilized nations from longer carrying the staggering burden of huge armaments on land and on sea, we assemble to greet the Commander in Chief of the Allied and Associated Armies in the Great War. It was by reason of his genius that the conference at Washington has been made possible.

If the startlingly few kilometers that lay between von Klück's army and Paris on September 5, 1914, had been traversed by the enemy; or if the armies of the Kaiser had broken through across the Yser to the Channel ports in October of that year; or if the armies of Ludendorff had separated the English and the French fronts at Amiens in March and April 1918; or if the heroic defense of Verdun had failed, we should not have been gathered here, and there would have been no conference at Washington. The center of political gravity would have passed to Berlin, and the ideals and tendencies to rule the next generation would have been strangely different from those in which we have confidence and faith. The imagination falls back helpless from the effort to picture the world as it would have been under the domination of German militarism, German imperialism, and German materialism. The spirit of man would have gasped helplessly for breath in the poisoned air of what had once been liberty and progress.

How was the victory won? No less an authority than Napoleon laid it down that before all else, that which brings victory is the character and conduct of the chief

command. "It was not the Roman legions," adds Napoleon, "which conquered the Gauls, but Caesar. It was not the soldiers of Carthage that made Rome tremble, but Hannibal." Without valiant and devoted troops, without an almost indescribable spirit of courage and sacrifice, no commander would have won the Great War. But without a great commander, the war could not have been won.

The wisest and most competent students of human warfare have long since pointed out those qualities upon which success in arms depends. The Roman historian, Sallust, in writing of the conspiracy of Catiline nearly twenty centuries ago, uses words which might well have been written in 1918. "For a long time," says Sallust, "mortal men have discussed the question whether success in arms depends more on strength of body or excellence of mind: for before you begin, deliberation is necessary; when you have deliberated, prompt action. Thus, each of these, mind and body, being incomplete in itself, requires the other's aid." The historian of long ago could not more accurately have described the characteristics of Marshal Foch and the millions of soldiers under his command. Strong and brave they were in body; fearless and indomitable they were in courage and in sacrifice; but above and beyond that, they were inspired by noble ideals, and their characters as well as their bodies were the fit instruments of the will to win.

The Commander in Chief had perhaps never seen troops, certainly no great body of troops, engaged in actual combat before the early days of August 1914. He had been a life-long student of the history and art of war, and of those principles, moral and physical, which lead to victory or which compel defeat. He brought to the practical task of defending civilization against a most capable and well prepared foe, the equipment of a theorist, of one who sees, who studies, who reflects, but

whose seeing, whose studies, whose reflection, have been to such purpose that they could be quickly translated into action so effective as to save a threatened world.

"Which are the best troops?" asked Mme. de Montholon at St. Helena. "Those which win battles, Madame," replied Napoleon. "The best troops have been the Carthaginians under Hannibal, the Romans under the Scipios, the Macedonians under Alexander, and the Prussians under Frederick the Great. One may, perhaps, equal my army in Italy and that at Austerlitz, but certainly none can ever excel them." One wonders what Napoleon would have added could he have watched the ebb and flow of the tide of battle for the four long years that followed the invasion of France and the violation of the neutrality of Belgium in August 1914.

There were supreme moments in that conflict, and one of them came on that anxious Sunday, September 6, 1914, when the invading hosts had passed quickly across the fair fields of Champagne and had reached the banks of the Marne almost within eyeshot of the Paris that was their main objective. Marshal Joffre's historic order to make a stand and take the offensive had been issued on the evening of September 4. The world held its breath as the retreating troops turned to face the enemy. General Foch was in command of the Ninth Army at the very center of the battle front and exposed to most desperate attack. What must have been the feeling of Marshal Joffre when he received General Foch's famous dispatch: "*Mon centre cède, ma droite recule. Situation excellente. J'attaque.*" This dispatch marks a great historic event, and will be remembered with the *Veni, vidi, vici* of Julius Caesar. The genius of the student of war inspired the commander on the field of battle, and victory was snatched from defeat. From that moment, while the final result was often and long in doubt, the war was never lost for the Allies.

Fields of battle that listened to the tramping of millions of human feet and to the unceasing roar of artillery beyond all precedent, had been for nearly two thousand years the scene of conflicts, each one of which seemed more important, indeed more momentous, than the other. Over this ground Caesar and Ariovistus had fought; then Clovis the Frank and Attila the Hun; then Edward III of England and Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire; then Marlborough and Louis XIV; then Napoleon and Wellington. Here at Châlons the Huns had been stopped. Here at Verdun the Empire of Charlemagne had been divided into the parts that were to be the beginnings of the nations of modern Europe. Here at Valmy the armies of the Revolution beat back the Duke of Brunswick and his trained soldiers from beyond the Rhine. Here once more on Meuse and Aisne and Somme and Marne, over the plains of Champagne and the fair ground of Picardy and Artois, the age-old conflict was to be fought, but this time on a scale so massive and with results so terrible that every conflict that had preceded seemed like the play of children. Here for two thousand years reputations had been lost and won, here for generations causes had struggled to victory or in vain, and here on this ground, consecrated by centuries of human endeavor, Marshal Foch accomplished the impossible and saved western civilization.

This is neither the time nor the place to review the history of the War. This is the time and the place to recall those qualities of mind and heart, those traits of character and those fruits of study that by their concentration in a single human form produced the leader that won the War. Marshal Foch himself as Professor of the *École de Guerre* had been teaching the profound truth that not physical force alone, but character, strength of will, and the conviction that victory was not only possible but certain, were the chief elements of success.

All this he illustrated to the utmost. Whether in command of a division or of a corps or of an army, or as Commander in Chief, it was always the same personality, the same characteristics, the same knowledge and imperturbable high purpose that were revealed.

It would be as unfair as ungracious to fail to speak of our debt to Marshal Joffre, whose calm, sure judgment of men quickly selected General Foch for most responsible command and hurried him to it. When the history of the War is finally written, it will be known to all men how greatly the Allied armies are in the debt of Marshal Joffre for his wisdom and his insight in choosing those who were to bear high responsibility in the armies then under his command.

The victory has been won, and the world is still with puzzled air contemplating its effects. While one great problem has been solved, let us hope forever, a hundred new problems have been raised up to vex us and to disturb the even course of prosperity and progress. Precisely the same qualities that won the War will be needed to solve the problems of peace and to preserve the peace won at so huge a sacrifice of life and of treasure. The War has taught us many lessons of importance, and not the least is the lesson that even in war it is the imperishables that count. We are pointed to higher standards and nobler ideals than those furnished by the flesh or the flesh-pots. We are pointed to a patriotism which is too fine and too splendid to be imperialist, militarist, or chauvinist, and to a character so firm that it will not be shaken from its base by winds of false doctrine, by whisperings of sedition, or by the open preaching of the gospel of discontent and disorder. All this we have learned from the War, and from the life and conduct of the Commander in Chief of the Allied Armies.

It was the fortune of Marshal Foch, with the warm approval and most effective cooperation of the General

commanding the American Expeditionary Forces, General Pershing, to become the successor of George Washington and Ulysses S. Grant as Commander in Chief of the American armies in the field. He is, therefore, to us no longer Marshal of France alone, but one who has been General commanding the armies of the United States in the field.

Ladies and gentlemen, I present to you our distinguished guest. I find no words more suited to his presentation than those with which he himself opens his notable "Éloge de Napoleon."

"Si le prestige de ce nom a conquis l'admiration du monde, il est non moins certain que son éclat grandit, à mesure que le recul du temps permet de mesurer l'ampleur de la tâche accomplie."—Ferdinand Foch, Maréchal de France!

LES
PRISONNIERS ALLEMANDS
AU MAROC

LE TEMOIGNAGE DES PRISONNIERS ALLEMANDS
LE JUGEMENT PORTÉ PAR LES NEUTRES
LA CAMPAGNE DE DIFFAMATION ALLEMANDE

LES PRISONNIERS ALLEMANDS AU MAROC

LA CAMPAGNE DE DIFFAMATION ALLEMANDE
LE JUGEMENT PORTÉ PAR LES NEUTRES
LE TÉMOIGNAGE DES PRISONNIERS ALLEMANDS

Avec 32 planches de photographies tirées hors texte.



LIBRAIRIE HACHETTE ET C^{ie}
79, BOULEVARD SAINT-GERMAIN, 79, PARIS

—
1917

LES PRISONNIERS ALLEMANDS AU MAROC

Dès les premiers mois de la guerre européenne, un certain nombre de prisonniers allemands ont été transférés par le Gouvernement français au *Maroc*. Cette mesure présentait un intérêt économique évident. D'immenses sacrifices avaient été faits par la France pour l'œuvre de pacification entreprise au Maroc. Sous peine d'être définitivement compromise, cette œuvre ne pouvait être abandonnée au début de la guerre. Elle s'accompagnait nécessairement — les précédents du Tonkin, de la Tunisie, de Madagascar en offrent la preuve — d'un travail d'exploitation : construction de chemins de fer, percement de routes, etc... C'est pour compléter, dans ce but, la main-d'œuvre indigène manifestement insuffisante, pour remplacer la main-d'œuvre française absorbée par les besoins de l'armée, que le général Lyautey, résident général de France au Maroc, demanda l'envoi d'un contingent de prisonniers (il n'a jamais dépassé le nombre de 6 000) qui lui fut accordé au début d'octobre 1914.

En dehors de son intérêt économique, qui suffit à la justifier, l'affectation de prisonniers allemands avait des conséquences politiques qui attirèrent bientôt l'attention du Gouvernement impérial.

Il est certain que, pour les indigènes, l'emploi de prisonniers portant l'uniforme de l'armée allemande à des travaux d'intérêt français, sous la garde de soldats français, attestait le caractère définitif de l'occupation française au Maroc ; il marquait la fin d'une influence à laquelle, en dépit des accords intervenus, l'Alle-

magne n'a jamais sincèrement renoncé; il menaçait enfin de ruiner, dans tout l'Islam, le prestige du nom allemand.

Ainsi s'explique la campagne de diffamation qui, entreprise au début de juin 1915, sur un mot d'ordre du Gouvernement, par les organes officiels de la presse allemande ou germanophile, ne s'est jamais arrêtée depuis. On a critiqué le climat de l'Afrique du Nord qui serait d'une chaleur excessive pour des Européens. On s'est plaint que, parmi les prisonniers, des hommes exerçant des professions libérales ou appartenant à des classes cultivées fussent obligés de travailler comme les autres. Enfin l'on a mis en cause l'insuffisance du logement et de la nourriture; la dureté de la discipline, le régime général des prisonniers allemands au Maroc.

Le Gouvernement français n'a négligé aucun moyen qui permit de mettre en lumière l'inanité de ces imputations. Il a accepté, il a sollicité à plusieurs reprises la visite, dans les dépôts du Maroc, de délégués du Comité international de la Croix-Rouge, offrant toutes garanties de compétence et d'impartialité. Ces dépôts ont été inspectés au mois d'avril 1915 par M. le lieutenant-colonel de Marval, de l'armée suisse; au mois de janvier 1916 par MM. les Drs Blanchod et Speiser; dont les rapports ont été publiés.

Les visiteurs neutres ont constaté que, les prisonniers étant internés dans les régions les plus saines de la colonie, l'état sanitaire était satisfaisant et la mortalité minime. Ils ont rétabli la proportion réelle des intellectuels (5 p. 100) et des bourgeois (15 p. 100) au profit desquels était réclamé un régime de faveur contraire aux principes d'égalité et de justice dont l'autorité française n'a jamais voulu se départir. Et leur conclusion commune se ramène à cette appréciation de M. de Marval: « En résumé, le traitement des prisonniers de guerre au Maroc doit être considéré comme tout à fait satisfaisant, et les craintes qu'on a pu avoir ne nous paraissent pas justifiées, après examen fait sur place ».

Ces constatations auraient mis fin à la campagne de presse, si celle-ci avait eu pour objet, dans une mesure quelconque, l'amélioration du sort des prisonniers allemands. Une telle sollicitude est assez étrangère au Gouvernement impérial, dont les préoccupations se limitent à quelques privilégiés de la naissance ou de la fortune, et qui n'a jamais manifesté, pour la masse de ses sujets en captivité, que la plus méprisante indifférence. Provoquer l'évacuation du Maroc, dans un intérêt politique, tel était le but poursuivi, de plus en plus nettement affirmé par la presse officielle.

Or, ce but devait être atteint par tous les moyens.

Le plus odieux de ces moyens furent les « représailles ». Au mois de juillet 1916, quelques milliers de prisonniers français choisis parmi ceux que leur éducation, leur profession rendaient le moins aptes aux travaux pénibles furent envoyés « en représailles » dans les marais du *Hancore* et du *Sleswig* où ils restèrent deux mois environ.

En avril 1916, c'est au nombre de 30 000 que des prisonniers appartenant aux mêmes catégories furent déportés dans les régions désolées de la *Pologne* et de la *Courlande* envahies.

Décrire la vie de privations, de misères et de continuel supplices que ces malheureux ont vécue pendant six mois, c'est ce qu'on ne saurait entreprendre ici. Il faut lire les lettres écrites par eux à leurs familles, pendant cette période sombre, avec l'assentiment et parfois sur l'ordre de leurs bourreaux : elles ont un accent de sincérité et de douleur qui ne trompe pas. Le but, en revanche, de ces représailles se conçoit et s'exprime le plus aisément. Il s'agissait d'obtenir, par une sorte de chantage, l'évacuation du Maroc, et de réaliser ainsi l'avantage politique indiqué plus haut. Il s'agissait d'exercer une pression sur les classes éclairées et dirigeantes de la population française, de semer parmi elles la lassitude et le découragement, tandis que l'armée allemande tentait un effort, qu'elle voulait décisif, contre *Verdun*. Il s'agissait de fonder sur la terreur, les angoisses, les larmes, l'édifice si vanté de la victoire et de la paix allemandes.

La presse germanique se glorifie peut-être à l'heure actuelle

d'avoir réalisé la première partie de ce programme ; en effet, il n'y a plus aujourd'hui de prisonniers allemands au Maroc. L'évacuation a commencé en avril 1916, sous l'influence de considérations économiques. Les travaux, exécutés jusque-là dans les conditions les plus favorables, avaient permis de satisfaire aux nécessités les plus urgentes de l'exploitation : la main-d'œuvre indigène semblait, dans plusieurs régions, devoir suffire à la continuation des travaux.

En France, au contraire, où la pénurie de la main-d'œuvre risquait de compromettre les récoltes, il était urgent que des hommes valides fussent mis, pour y pourvoir, à la disposition du département de l'agriculture. Dès ce moment, 2 000 prisonniers allemands furent extraits des dépôts du Maroc et ramenés dans la métropole.

Au mois de septembre 1916, la question s'est posée dans des termes plus angoissants. Le maintien de prisonniers allemands au Maroc se justifiait-il, alors que, devant la résolution implacable d'un Gouvernement qu'aucun sentiment humain ne retient plus, nul ne pouvait douter que ce maintien dût irrémédiablement compromettre la santé et la vie de 30 000 jeunes Français ? Le Gouvernement français n'a pas pensé qu'un intérêt politique, si appréciable fût-il, pût être mis en balance avec les exigences supérieures de l'humanité. Il s'est refusé à se faire, par une résistance que les besoins de la colonie ne suffisaient plus à expliquer, le complice passif de la barbarie allemande. Des négociations qui se sont poursuivies pendant les mois d'août et septembre 1916, par l'intermédiaire de l'ambassade d'Espagne à Berlin, ont abouti à l'évacuation des prisonniers allemands du Maroc, ayant pour contre-partie la suppression des camps de représailles.

Il ne faut pas que sur les véritables motifs et sur la portée de la résolution que le Gouvernement français a prise un malentendu puisse se créer. Il ne faut pas que le transfert des prisonniers allemands hors du Maroc puisse être invoqué par l'autorité allemande comme la justification *a posteriori* ni comme l'excuse d'une politique déshonorante. Et c'est en ceci que réside l'intérêt actuel

de notre publication. Prouver que rien, absolument rien, dans le régime des prisonniers allemands au Maroc tel qu'il résulte des documents les plus certains — les rapports de la Croix-Rouge et les lettres des prisonniers allemands eux-mêmes — ne justifie ni n'explique les reproches violents dont ce régime a été l'objet ; prouver que, dès lors, la campagne de diffamation allemande contre le Maroc s'inspire, non des préoccupations humanitaires prétendues, mais uniquement d'une pensée politique ; prouver par conséquent que c'est dans un but politique qu'au mépris de l'humanité et des conventions internationales 30 000 prisonniers ont été torturés pendant de longs mois : c'est appeler sur les auteurs responsables de ces crimes le jugement de la conscience universelle. Sanction immatérielle, si l'on veut. Mais elle ne remplace pas, elle précède, et elle prépare d'autres sanctions.

I

LA CAMPAGNE DE DIFFAMATION ALLEMANDE AU SUJET DU RÉGIME DES PRISONNIERS AU MAROC

On se borne à reproduire ici des extraits de la presse allemande ou de la presse neutre germanophile concernant le régime des prisonniers au Maroc. Cet exposé fera connaître, sous la forme la plus objective, les critiques de source allemande dont ce régime a été l'objet. Il mettra, de plus, en lumière le but *politique* d'une campagne dont le Gouvernement allemand a pris, *seul*, l'initiative, et dont il a fourni tous les éléments.

I

LES DÉBUTS DE LA CAMPAGNE ALLEMANDE, EN 1915

Dès les premiers mois de la guerre, à la fin de l'année 1914, un certain nombre de prisonniers allemands — 4 000 environ — ont été, sur la demande du général Lyautey, transférés au Maroc. D'autres prisonniers, au nombre de 400, capturés dans les colonies allemandes du *Togo* et du *Cameroun*, sont internés au *Dahomey*.

LES ATTAQUES DE LA PRESSE ALLEMANDE, EN 1915, AU SUJET DE L'INTERNEMENT AU DAHOMEY ET AU MAROC

C'est seulement le 10 juin 1915 que commence la campagne de presse allemande. Ce jour-là, trois journaux officiels, la *Frankfurter Zeitung*, la *Kölnische Zeitung*, le *Berliner Tageblatt*, publient sous des titres divers :

« Une honte pour la nation française ; Mesures de représailles allemandes contre les cruautés françaises ; Quelques documents venus du Dahomey et du Nord de l'Afrique », des articles dont la teneur est presque identique.

Ces articles contiennent les allégations suivantes :

« En novembre dernier déjà, le Gouvernement allemand a demandé que les prisonniers de guerre et les internés civils allemands détenus en Afrique fussent envoyés dans des régions ne donnant lieu à aucune objection au point de vue du climat.

« Des nouvelles certaines, et qui concourent toutes, rapportent que nos compatriotes se trouvent répartis sur les points les plus divers de ces pays et y sont traités d'une manière absolument ignominieuse, surtout au Dahomey. »

Le passage concernant spécialement le Maroc est conçu dans les termes suivants :

« Avec l'été qui s'avance, la température s'y élève le jour à 50 et même 60°. Nos braves soldats dépourvus de casques coloniaux sont obligés d'exécuter sous cette chaleur ardente les travaux les plus pénibles. La seule concession que le Gouvernement français ait faite, jusqu'à présent, consiste dans une prolongation de la pause au milieu de la journée, de 11 à 15 heures. De l'avis unanime des spécialistes, il est impossible aux Européens, et surtout à ceux qui ne sont pas accoutumés au climat, d'exécuter des travaux sans que leur santé en souffre. Pis encore ! Les Français ont interné en Afrique même des malades et des blessés qu'ils ont sans pitié contraints au travail. Là aussi, la nourriture est tout à fait insuffisante. Dans la plupart des cas, les paquets venant de l'Allemagne arrivent vidés de leur contenu, ou bien encore ils n'arrivent pas du tout à destination. De même, les envois d'argent parviennent de manière très irrégulière. Les punitions sont excessivement cruelles, fait connu depuis longtemps déjà par les exemples de la Légion étrangère. Souvent, désespérés de leur situation, les prisonniers ont cédé à l'appât d'un engagement dans la Légion étrangère, où, naturellement, leur sort n'est pas meilleur. »

A l'appui de ces affirmations, les journaux allemands citent quelques extraits de lettres — toujours les mêmes — qui auraient été écrites par des prisonniers allemands au Maroc, mais dont les auteurs ne sont pas nommés, ce qui rend toute vérification impossible. Encore font-ils observer ce qui suit :

« Il faut tenir compte du fait que tous les envois postaux sont soumis à la censure, et que les hommes ne peuvent pas écrire ce qu'ils veulent. »

La conclusion, uniforme, est la suivante :

« Des prisonniers de guerre français, en nombre à peu près égal à celui de nos compatriotes prisonniers de guerre ou internés civils en Afrique, seront tirés des plus beaux camps où ils jouissent de tous les agréments et de toute la sollicitude des commandants (*sic*), et on les enverra travailler dans les cultures de marais. Le choix des prisonniers s'effectuera sans le moindre égard à leur position sociale, ni à leur profession, exactement comme l'a fait la France pour nos prisonniers de guerre en Afrique. »

LA RÉPONSE DU GOUVERNEMENT FRANÇAIS

Quand ces articles furent publiés, le Maroc avait été visité, au nom du *Comité international de la Croix-Rouge*, par M. de Marval. La conclusion de son rapport, connue du Gouvernement allemand, était la suivante :

« *Le traitement des prisonniers de guerre au Maroc doit être considéré comme tout à fait satisfaisant, et les craintes qu'on a pu avoir ne nous paraissent pas justifiées, après examen fait sur place.* »

Quant aux prisonniers allemands internés au *Dahomey*, il n'avait jamais été dans la pensée du Gouvernement français de les maintenir pendant l'été dans cette colonie. Au cours des mois de février, avril et mai 1915, le transfert dans la métropole de tous ceux dont l'état de santé nécessitait une mesure immédiate avait eu lieu. Le 2 juin, une décision d'un caractère général était prise par le ministre de la Guerre, d'accord avec le ministre des Colonies. Le 11 juin, le général Lyautey, résident général de France au Maroc, faisait

connaître qu'il était prêt à recevoir à *Casablanca* tous les prisonniers évacués du Dahomey. La réponse du Gouvernement français était donc facile, lorsqu'il fut instruit, au début de juillet, des réclamations de l'autorité allemande et des menaces qui venaient de recevoir un commencement d'exécution. Il opposa une fin de non-recevoir à l'égard du Maroc, où la suppression à l'approche de l'été de tous les détachements situés dans les régions chaudes avait encore amélioré la situation. Il annonça officiellement le transfert au Maroc des prisonniers internés au Dahomey ; il menaça de recourir à des mesures de réciprocité si les prisonniers français n'étaient pas ramenés des régions marécageuses où ils avaient été déportés. Le Gouvernement allemand mit fin aux représailles au mois d'août 1915.

APPRÉCIATION DE LA PRESSE ALLEMANDE

Voici dans quels termes la *Frankfurter Zeitung* du 4 septembre 1915, qui passe d'ailleurs sous silence l'avertissement formulé par le Gouvernement français, annonce le succès des mesures de représailles allemandes :

« Les prisonniers allemands ont été transportés dans des endroits sains du Nord de l'Afrique, et le Gouvernement français assure en outre que tous ceux qui sont demeurés à l'intérieur ont été internés en des endroits où le climat est modéré et parfaitement sain. Il n'y a donc plus de raison de maintenir le traitement de rigueur infligé à certains prisonniers français qu'on employait au dessèchement des marais. »

II

REPRISE, EN 1916, DE LA CAMPAGNE ALLEMANDE AU SUJET DU MAROC

L'attitude du Gouvernement allemand ne tarda pas à prouver que le but réel de sa propagande n'était pas atteint. Au mois de novembre 1915, il demanda qu'il fût procédé, par les délégués du *Comité international de la Croix-Rouge*, à un nouveau voyage d'inspection au Maroc. Le Gouvernement français accueillit cette idée. MM. *Blanchod* et *Speiser* visitèrent les dépôts du Maroc dans le courant de janvier 1916. Le Gouvernement allemand n'attendit ni la publication, ni même la communication complète de leurs

rapports pour adresser au Gouvernement français un véritable réquisitoire. Le mémoire officiel, rédigé par le major *Pabst von Ohain*, et communiqué au Gouvernement français dans les premiers jours du mois d'avril 1916, se fonde surtout sur des impressions que l'auteur dit avoir recueillies en Suisse, auprès des délégués suisses revenant d'Afrique. Il conclut :

« Le climat des colonies françaises de l'Afrique du Nord, l'état sanitaire qui y règne et leur degré de civilisation exposent toujours les prisonniers à des désavantages et à des dangers d'une gravité telle que leur sort est incomparablement plus dur que celui des prisonniers internés en France, et que ne l'est et ne le sera jamais celui des prisonniers de guerre français en Allemagne. »

Le but poursuivi par l'autorité allemande est énoncé dans le passage qui suit :

« Le but que le Gouvernement allemand doit chercher à atteindre, c'est l'évacuation complète des prisonniers de guerre et des prisonniers qui se trouvent dans l'Afrique du Nord, bien qu'il reconnaisse que l'exécution de cette mesure rencontre des difficultés indéniables ».

Le major *Pabst von Ohain* réclame du moins le transport immédiat de certaines catégories de prisonniers, en particulier « de ceux qui appartiennent aux classes élites et instruites ».

Dès ce moment, — c'est-à-dire entre le 25 mars et le 5 avril 1916, — sans attendre les décisions que pourrait prendre le Gouvernement français, sans lui adresser aucune communication officielle, les autorités allemandes mettent en œuvre leurs procédés habituels. Elles font annoncer, dans les camps, aux prisonniers français qu'ils vont être l'objet de réprimandes en raison des durs travaux auxquels sont astreints les prisonniers allemands dans l'Afrique du Nord. Ces mesures atteindront, de préférence, les prisonniers appartenant aux classes libérales, rentrant dans la catégorie des *intellectuels*. Elles sont mises aussitôt à exécution. Cependant, la campagne de diffamation se poursuit.

LES ATTAQUES DE LA PRESSE OFFICIEUSE OU GERMANOPHILE

Le mot d'ordre est donné. Il va être saisi avec empressement par la presse officieuse. C'est d'abord, le 7 mai 1916, un article des *Leipziger Neueste*



Vue générale du camp de Casablanca.



Le camp de prisonniers de Volubilis
(Sur l'emplacement de la ville romaine de Volubilis, au nord de Meknès).

Nachrichten relatif surtout au pénitencier de *Barrouaghia* (Algérie). C'est surtout, le 3 juin 1916, un article de la *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* intitulé : « Les camps français de prisonniers au Maroc » et portant le sous-titre : *Communication de source allemande*.

L'auteur allègue l'insalubrité du climat :

« Les personnes qui connaissent le pays nous avaient dit, en effet, depuis longtemps, que les fièvres règnent le long des cours d'eau et même dans plus d'un port » ;

la sécheresse....

« Nulle part, au Maroc, on ne trouve de bonne eau potable naturelle. »

Il prétend que :

« dans un pays où l'Européen laisse d'ordinaire à l'indigène les travaux manuels pénibles, des gens originaires du Nord ont dû, sous la surveillance d'Arabes et même en partie de nègres, travailler huit heures par jour à casser des pierres, à faire des terrassements, à établir des voies ferrées ».

Il critique la discipline :

« Il est peut-être intéressant de signaler que les Français ayant séjourné précédemment au Maroc prétendaient que la peine du *tambour* était depuis longtemps supprimée chez les troupes françaises dans ce pays ; cependant, aujourd'hui encore, pour de fûtiles manquements dans le service, des prisonniers allemands sont couchés sous une toile de tente tendue à 40 centimètres du sol, de sorte que leur tête et leurs pieds rôtissent au soleil, tandis que ceux qui sont punis d'arrêts couchent à même sur le sable du désert ou sur le sol détrempé par la pluie. ».... « Dans quelques documents imprégnés d'humanité officielle française, le général Lyantey avait, il est vrai, inculqué à ses subordonnés cette notion que les prisonniers allemands n'étaient point des criminels, et qu'on devait les respecter. Mais qu'est cela auprès des faits maté-

riels? »... N'y eût-il, conclut le journal, que la moitié du vrai dans les témoignages apportés aujourd'hui par les malheureuses victimes de cette méthode française de colonisation et de civilisation, cela suffirait *pour qu'on soit fondé à exiger du Gouvernement français le transfert des prisonniers de guerre allemands sous un climat humain et inoffensif.* »

Il n'est pas inutile, pour l'intelligence de cet article, de citer les documents « empreints d'humanité officielle » auxquels fait allusion cet article de la *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*. Il s'agit des instructions détaillées que le général Lyautey, résident général au Maroc, a, dès le début de la guerre, données à tous les commandants de camps, et dont l'esprit résulte des dispositions suivantes :

ARTICLE PREMIER. — *Le traitement des prisonniers de guerre doit avant tout s'inspirer des principes d'honneur militaire et d'humanité.*

ART. 2. — *Les prisonniers ne peuvent, à aucun titre, être considérés comme des prisonniers de droit commun, mais comme des adversaires que le sort des batailles a mis entre les mains des Français.*

ART. 3. — *Toute idée de représailles, et a fortiori de vengeance, doit être donc exclue.*

LA RÉPONSE DU DOCTEUR BLANCHOD, DÉLÉGUÉ DE LA CROIX-ROUGE

L'article précédent de la *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* ne devait pas rester longtemps sans réponse. Le même journal, à la date du 17 juin 1916, publiait une lettre du Dr Blanchod, l'un des délégués du Comité international de la Croix-Rouge, s'élevant avec vigueur contre les inexactitudes et les exagérations de cet article.

Sans accompagner le Dr Blanchod dans l'examen détaillé des conditions relatives à chaque dépôt, il suffira de reproduire les appréciations d'ordre général contenues dans sa lettre :

Sur la discipline : « L'affirmation d'ordre général, d'après laquelle les prisonniers seraient surveillés au travail par des Arabes ou des noirs est fausse. Dans tous les camps, la surveillance est exercée par des territoriaux français de la région de Bordeaux ; les terri-

toriaux se montrent bienveillants envers les prisonniers, et nulle part une plainte ne nous a été adressée à leur sujet..... La peine du *tambour*, qui consiste à faire séjourner l'homme puni sous une tente basse, est certainement désagréable, mais nous n'avons pas pu constater qu'elle eût entraîné des conséquences graves pour ceux qui en avaient été frappés..... La peine du *poteau*, qui est en usage dans les camps d'Allemagne, ne nous paraît pas moins dure. »

Sur la correspondance : « Il est inexact que les prisonniers allemands du *Maroc* soient privés des envois venant de leur patrie par suite des mauvaises conditions des transports maritimes. »

Sur l'alimentation : « En parlant de l'alimentation des prisonniers, le correspondant de la *Nouvelle Gazette de Zurich* éveille chez le lecteur l'idée que la nourriture ne consisterait exclusivement qu'en légumes secs; le correspondant ne mentionne pas que les prisonniers touchent par homme et par jour 200 grammes de viande, 700 grammes de pain biscuité, 21 grammes de café et 16 grammes de sucre, et qu'une somme fixée à 37 centimes est allouée pour l'achat des légumes. La viande est fraîche et appétissante; c'est de la viande de bœuf, de porc et de mouton. Le pain est de même qualité que celui des troupes françaises. Les cuisiniers allemands sont libres de préparer à leur convenance les aliments fournis par l'administration française; tous les camps du Maroc sont suffisamment pourvus d'eau, l'eau est systématiquement stérilisée et filtrée, nous en avons bu partout. »

Sur l'hygiène : « Le service médical est assuré par des médecins capables et bienveillants. Il y a des médicaments en abondance. Le chiffre des décès, dans l'espace de quinze mois, a été de 1,8 p.100. Nous l'avons contrôlé à trois sources : dans les registres d'infirmierie des camps, dans les hôpitaux où les prisonniers malades sont évacués, et à la résidence générale de *Rabat*, où tous les renseignements sont centralisés. Au total, 105 prisonniers sont morts au Maroc, dont cent de maladies et d'accidents, et 5 lors d'une tentative d'évasion. »

Pour apprécier la valeur et la sincérité des imputations allemandes, il faut reproduire encore cet extrait de la lettre du Dr Blanchod, relatif aux camps de *El Hank* et de *Kenitra* :

« Au camp de *El Hank*, dont le correspondant de la *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* se plaint si amèrement; nous avons constaté un traitement plein de bienveillance de la part du commandant et des sous-officiers; et cela du témoignage des prisonniers eux-mêmes. Au camp de *Kenitra*, l'article de la *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* prétend que l'eau contiendrait des souris crevées, des serpents, des tortues et des scorpions. Nous avons bu nous-même l'eau à la source située à 100 mètres du camp. Toute la garnison, le personnel et les malades de la station sanitaire de *Kenitra* utilisent l'eau de cette source. Elle est de celles — peu nombreuses au Maroc — pour lesquelles des analyses bactériologiques répétées ont établi que toute stérilisation est inutile. »

L'auteur conclut :

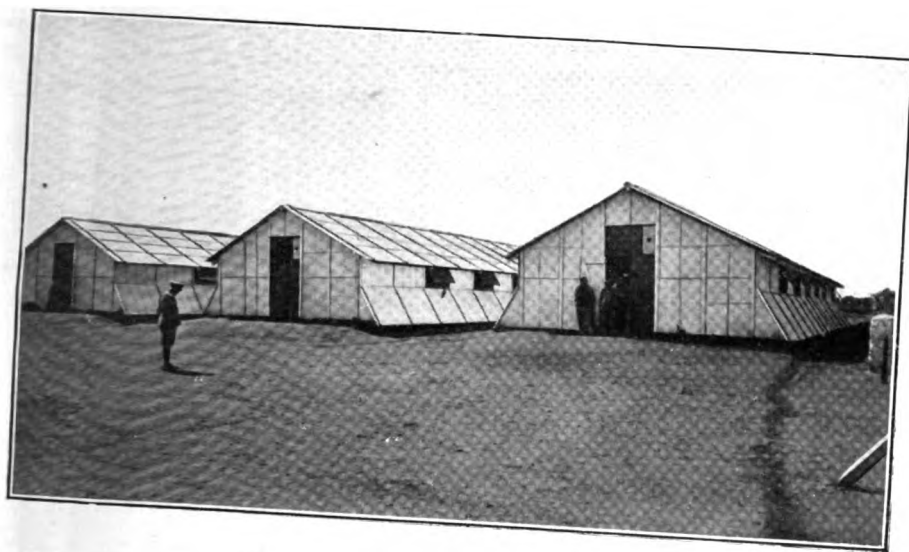
« A notre retour du Maroc, nous avons pu, le Dr Speiser, de Bâle, et moi-même, donner au Gouvernement français l'assurance que nous avons remporté une bonne impression des camps visités et que nous étions convaincus que les prisonniers étaient traités avec humanité. »

NOUVEAUX EFFORTS DE LA POLÉMIQUE ALLEMANDE

La réponse catégorique du Dr Blanchod ne devait pas mettre fin à la polémique. Elle se poursuit, sous la forme de communications insérées dans la presse allemande, paraissant avoir un caractère officiel et commençant souvent par les mots : « Ainsi que nous l'apprenons de source autorisée... » (*Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten*, article du 7 mai 1916; *Kölnische Zeitung*, article du 4 août 1916).

Dans des articles du 29 juin et du 2 juillet 1916, la *Frankfurter Zeitung*, à propos d'une conférence faite à Bâle le 27 juin 1916 par le Dr Speiser, essaie de mettre en opposition les visiteurs des camps de prisonniers. Le journal prétend qu'au Maroc les différences de température dans la même journée peuvent monter jusqu'à 40°.

Le 4 août 1916, la *Kölnische Zeitung* signale que le camp de *Tigzirt* (Tunisie) a une mauvaise réputation parce que les prisonniers y doivent travailler beaucoup. On se plaint de la vermine et des fièvres.



Camp de Casablanca : les bâtiments



Camp de Kenitra : les baraquements.

A Târgu, on oblige les prisonniers punis à oeuvrer. La *Kölnische Zeitung* donne ses impressions, qui lui viennent « de source autorisée » (*von berufenem Orte*), dans les termes suivants :

« Les Français placent leurs prisonniers de guerre, dans les régions désertiques du Nord de l'Afrique, en un véritable enfer. »

Cependant le martyre de 30 000 prisonniers français envoyés dès le mois d'avril 1916 dans les régions désertiques de la Pologne et de la Courlande occupées se poursuivait. On a dit les raisons qui ont déterminé le Gouvernement français à ordonner l'évacuation allemande du Maroc. Voici dans quels termes les *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* du 2 octobre 1916 annoncent ce nouveau « succès des représailles allemandes » :

« Le Gouvernement français a déclaré officiellement ce qui suit :
« Dès les premiers jours de septembre, des ordres furent donnés
« aux autorités militaires du Maroc, d'Algérie et de Tunisie pour
« renvoyer en France tous les prisonniers allemands. 2 500 de ces
« derniers sont déjà arrivés ou arriveront avant le 20 septembre.
« La deuxième moitié s'embarquera entre le 20 et le 25 septembre
« et arrivera donc en France vers la fin de ce même mois. A cette
« date il n'y aura plus dans l'Afrique du Nord de prisonniers allemands..... Les autorités militaires allemandes, en conséquence,
« donnèrent l'ordre de renvoyer dans les camps allemands les
« Français transférés en Russie, ces mesures de représailles ayant
« amené le résultat cherché. »

III

LES CRITIQUES ALLEMANDES POSTÉRIEURES A L'ÉVACUATION DU MAROC

Ce résultat lui-même ne semble pas avoir mis fin à la campagne politique entreprise conformément à l'ordre du Gouvernement allemand.

Un radiotélégramme daté de *Nauen* le 3 janvier 1917, 16 h. 10 (en anglais), contient les énonciations suivantes :

« Le Gouvernement allemand publie une note concernant l'état sanitaire des camps de prisonniers en Afrique. Il y figure une description des terribles souffrances des prisonniers de guerre et des prisonniers civils au Maroc et en Algérie. Les prisonniers sont forcés d'accomplir les besognes les plus terribles, telles que la construction de routes, de chemins de fer, le déchargement des bateaux, le travail dans les carrières et l'assèchement des marais. Les repos prescrits par le règlement sont souvent arbitrairement raccourcis par les employés subalternes. Dans certains camps, comme *Bouskoura* (?), les prisonniers sont gardés par des indigènes avec la brutalité bien connue des nègres du *Sénégal*. »

Un nouveau radiotélégramme daté de *Nauen*, le 4 janvier 1917, 11 heures (en allemand), après des allégations concernant la captivité en Algérie, ajoute au sujet du dépôt de *El Hank* :

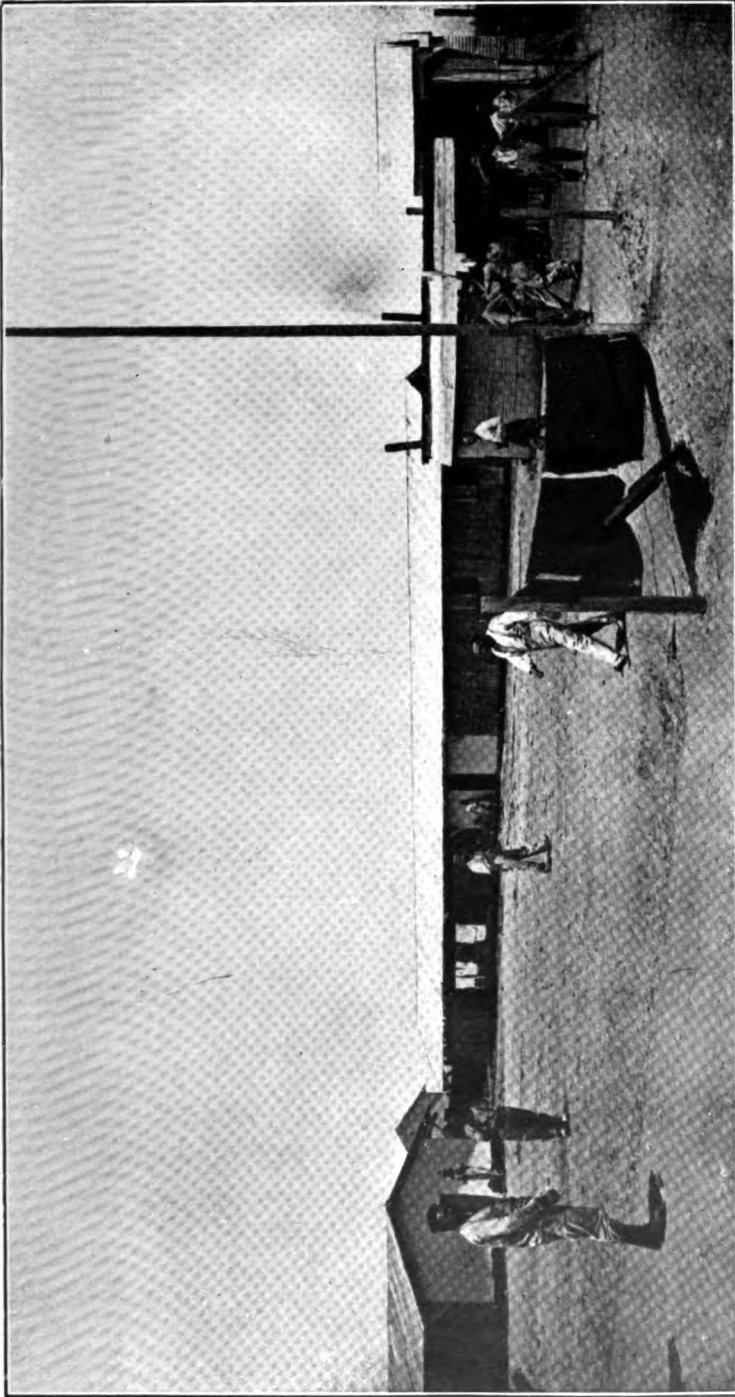
« Les prisonniers punis d'arrêts, à *El Hank*, étaient enfermés sous une tente, qui était installée à 40 centimètres au-dessus du sol, qui était d'une exiguïté excessive, et d'où sortaient la tête et les pieds des prisonniers. Ceux-ci, sans couvertures, avaient à subir la nuit les durs effets du climat marocain et étaient envahis par la vermine. Les délégués suisses font remarquer que ce camp est celui où l'on met surtout les personnes délicates et de faible santé. »

Enfin, une note du Gouvernement allemand communiquée le 13 janvier 1917 aux représentants des puissances neutres, en réponse à la note des Alliés concernant les négociations de paix proposées par l'Allemagne, contient le passage suivant :

« Les traitements inhumains infligés aux prisonniers, particulièrement en *Afrique* et en *Russie*, l'éloignement de la population civile de l'*Alsace-Lorraine*, de la *Galicie*, de la *Bukovine* et de la *Prusse orientale*, fournissent de nouvelles preuves de la manière dont nos adversaires respectent la civilisation. »

* * *

On reconnaît les allégations, toujours les mêmes, qui ont donné lieu aux rectifications du Dr Blanchod. L'intérêt des prisonniers



Camp de El Hank (au sud de Casablanca) : l'intérieur du camp.

allemands, aujourd'hui transférés en France où ils jouissent d'un traitement humain, mais non pas supérieur au régime du Maroc, ne leur fournit plus l'ombre d'un prétexte. Mais puisque le Gouvernement allemand ose mettre en cause les constatations faites par les délégués de la Croix-Rouge, il convient de placer sous les yeux des lecteurs les passages essentiels de leurs rapports ; ils constituent au sujet de la captivité au Maroc un document dont nul ne contestera l'authenticité, ni la valeur.

II

LE TÉMOIGNAGE DES DÉLÉGUÉS DU COMITÉ INTERNATIONAL DE LA CROIX-ROUGE AU SUJET DES DÉPÔTS DU MAROC

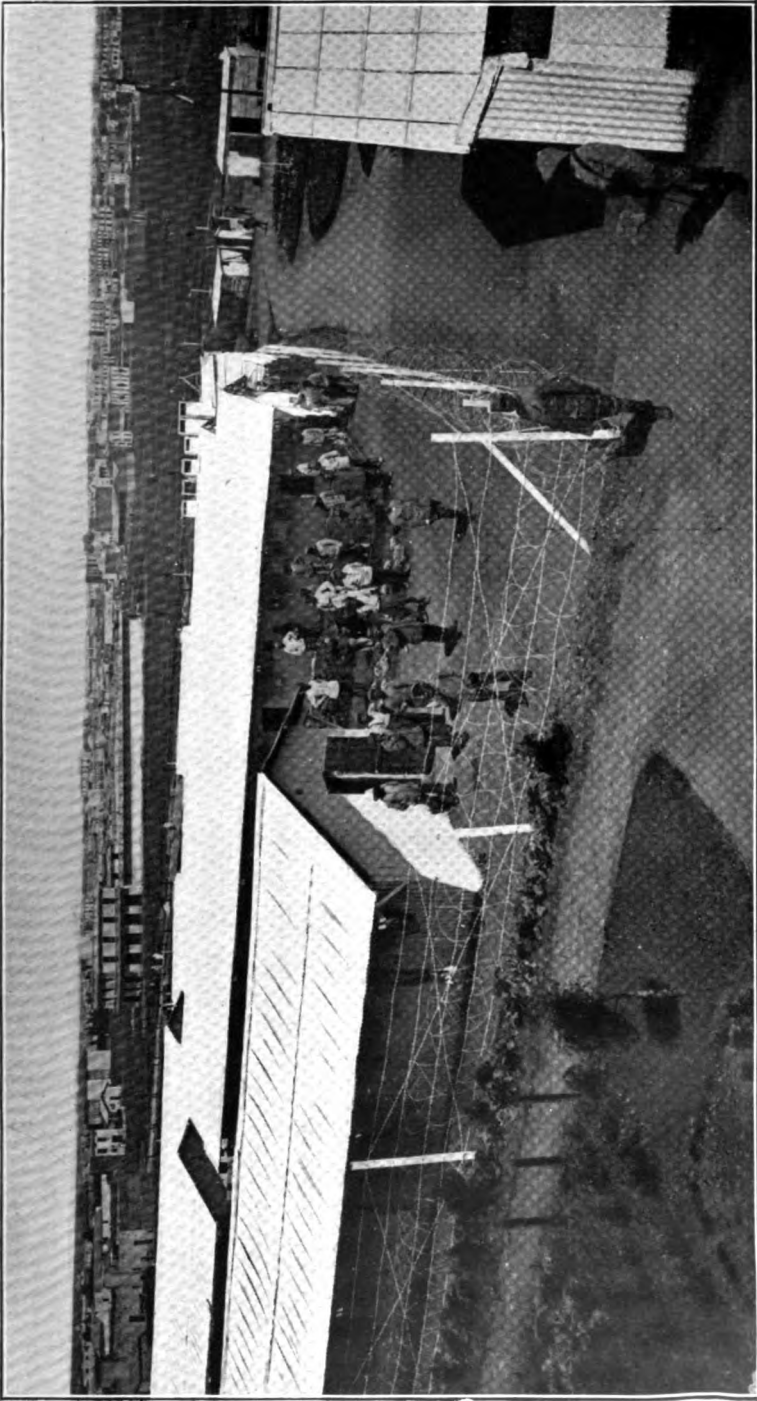
Les dépôts du Maroc ont été visités aux mois d'avril et de mai 1915 par M. le lieutenant-colonel *de Marval*, de l'armée suisse, au mois de janvier 1916 par MM. les Drs *Blanchod* et *Speiser*, délégués du Comité international de la Croix-Rouge. Voici comment ces derniers, dans les premières pages de leur rapport, rendent compte des conditions dans lesquelles se sont effectuées leurs visites.

LES VISITES DES DÉLÉGUÉS DE LA CROIX-ROUGE

« Après avoir vu les prisonniers au travail, dans la plupart des cas, nous les réunissons dans le camp et leur adressons, dans leur langue, une allocution, leur disant que nous sommes des représentants du Comité international de la Croix-Rouge, et leur apportons, avec l'autorisation du Gouvernement français, le salut de leur patrie et l'assurance qu'on ne les oublie pas en Allemagne; nous leur donnons la garantie qu'ils peuvent nous adresser, sans témoins et sans aucune crainte, toute réclamation qu'ils estiment fondée.

« Après un entretien particulier avec le sous-officier allemand, nous faisons l'inspection du camp et des tentes, le Dr *Speiser* s'occupant plus spécialement des cantonnements, des vêtements, des punitions, du travail, des communications postales, des dons de bienfaisance, le Dr *Blanchod* enquêtant plus spécialement sur les installations sanitaires, la nourriture, les soins médicaux, les maladies, les décès.

« Nous restons dans chaque camp de deux à trois heures, écoutant



Le camp de Casablanca : vue des baraquements.

les réclamations, toujours sans témoins, les officiers étant hors du camp pendant que nous sommes à l'infirmerie, à la cuisine, ou dans une tente...

« Notre visite terminée, nous reprenons, en présence des deux officiers qui accompagnent notre mission, du commandant, du médecin du camp et des sergents-majors allemands, les points qui nous paraissent litigieux et sur lesquels les prisonniers ont spécialement attiré notre attention. Cette discussion nous a permis de résoudre sur place plusieurs questions de détail, d'éclaircir quelques malentendus, et de mettre au clair l'interprétation de certains points du règlement...

« Nous tenons à exprimer à MM. les généraux *Henrys*, résident général par intérim au Maroc, et *Gueydon de Dives*, chef d'état-major, inspecteur du service des prisonniers de guerre, notre très vive reconnaissance pour l'hospitalité si large et si chevaleresque que nous avons reçue au Maroc, et la manière dont les portes nous ont été largement ouvertes, partout sur notre chemin.

« Nous remercions également les officiers qui furent nos guides, empressés à nous montrer au grand jour ce que nous désirions savoir dans l'intérêt de notre mission, les commandants de camps pour la discrétion courtoise qu'ils mirent à nous laisser procéder à notre enquête dans les détails les plus minutieux et sans exercer aucune pression sur notre jugement.

« Nous tenons enfin à spécifier qu'aucun Français n'a su avec quels prisonniers nous nous étions entretenus, ni de qui nous tenions certains vœux ou certaines réclamations. »

Les rapports de MM. de Marval, Blanchod et Speiser ont été publiés dans la collection des « *Documents publiés à l'occasion de la guerre de 1914-1915* » éditée par la librairie *Georg et Cie*, de Genève, 3^e et 7^e séries. Les passages essentiels de ces rapports sont cités avec renvoi aux pages correspondantes de cet ouvrage.

INSTALLATION

« Dans la subdivision de *Casablanca*, les campements sont, pour la plupart, à proximité de la mer, soit à 2, 3 ou 4 kilomètres de

la côte. Cette côte de l'Atlantique est rocheuse, élevée de quelques mètres seulement, et forme de petites criques où les prisonniers sont conduits au bain le dimanche.

« Largement balayés par les vents de la mer, situés en plein *bled* (prairies), ces camps doivent être considérés comme particulièrement salubres. Nous les trouvons échelonnés sur une piste que les prisonniers allemands sont occupés à convertir en route, entre *Mazagan* et *Casablanca*, et entre *Casablanca* et *Rabat*, non loin de la ligne de chemin de fer qui relie ces deux localités. »

(Rapport de M. de Marval, p. 6.)

« Tous les camps sont situés sur des collines, sur un terrain légèrement en pente, à proximité des puits d'eau, loin des endroits marécageux ; les camps de la côte ont la vue sur la mer, sont balayés par les vents de l'Atlantique. »

(Rapport de MM. Blanchod et Speiser, p. 27.)

« Ces camps de prisonniers sont situés exclusivement dans des localités où se trouvent des garnisons de territoriaux venant de France. Les prisonniers sont donc soumis aux mêmes conditions de climat et de température que les territoriaux, à la santé desquels l'autorité militaire attache la plus grande importance ; ils sont logés d'une manière identique, ils boivent la même eau, ont le même modèle de tentes. »

(Rapport de MM. Blanchod et Speiser, p. 25.)

« Les tentes dites marabouts sont les tentes réglementaires des troupes coloniales françaises ; elles nous paraissent parfaitement adaptées au climat du Maroc, elles sont bien ventilées ; pourvues de murettes, elles sont une habitation agréable, que les médecins du Maroc préfèrent aux baraquements. »

(Rapport de MM. Blanchod et Speiser, p. 28 et 60.)



Kenitra (au nord de Rabat) : les tentes.



Salé (au nord de Rabat) : les tentes.



Salé : un coin du camp.



Le camp de Dar-bel-Hamri (entre Rabat et Meknès).

ÉTAT SANITAIRE

« Le Maroc occidental paraît jouir d'un climat tempéré, et ceci est d'autant plus vrai qu'on reste plus près de la côte de l'Atlantique. La brise de mer qui se lève régulièrement vers 3 heures de l'après-midi est un régulateur de la température...

« Nous n'avons pas à nous inquiéter des chaleurs parfois torrides du Sud-Marocain ou du Maroc oriental, puisqu'on n'y a pas envoyé de prisonniers. »

(Rapport de M. de Marval, p. 7 et 8.)

« Le climat du *Maroc* occidental est un climat plus sain que celui des autres parties de l'*Afrique*. En été, la température moyenne maxima s'élève à 33° au mois d'août 1914, et à 29°,5 en août 1915. »

(Rapport de MM. Blanchod et Speiser, p. 15.)

« Les statistiques détaillées, que nous avons données, montrent que la mortalité est minime, et s'élève à 1,8 p. 100 en quinze mois.

« Nous avons, d'autre part, eu la preuve que la mortalité et la morbidité ont été plus élevées parmi les territoriaux français en garnison au Maroc que parmi les prisonniers de guerre allemands. »

(Rapport de MM. Blanchod et Speiser, p. 60.)

HYGIÈNE

« Nous nous plaisons à rendre hommage aux médecins-chefs des subdivisions, inspecteurs des camps de prisonniers, aux médecins des formations sanitaires et aux médecins attachés à chaque camp, pour l'intelligence, l'esprit scientifique et la bienveillance qu'ils mettent à traiter les prisonniers comme leurs propres soldats...

« Nous avons trouvé partout du matériel de pansement, des désinfectants, des médicaments en abondance, depuis les remèdes

courants dont il y a partout de grandes réserves, comme la quinine et le sulfate de soude, jusqu'aux médicaments **plus rares** comme l'ésérine, la pilocarpine, la cryogénine... »

(Rapport de MM. *Blanchod* et *Speiser*, p. 11.)

HABILLEMENT

« *Uniformes.* — Chaque prisonnier possède :

« 1° Son uniforme d'ordonnance allemand; les vêtements usagés sont remplacés par les uniformes allemands reçus de France, lavés et désinfectés. Les uniformes, bien que quelquefois usés, nous ont paru propres et en bon état, les prisonniers ayant bonne façon et bonne tenue.

« 2° Un habit de travail en toile kaki, remplacé dès que l'usure l'exige. Cet habit de toile est bien adapté pour le travail et pour l'été; en hiver, par les matinées fraîches, le travail se fait en uniforme, mieux approprié à la température.

« 3° La moitié des prisonniers ont encore leur manteau d'ordonnance allemand; ceux qui n'en ont pas en sentent spécialement la privation pendant les temps de pluie; l'autorité militaire française fera son possible pour leur en procurer en temps utile.

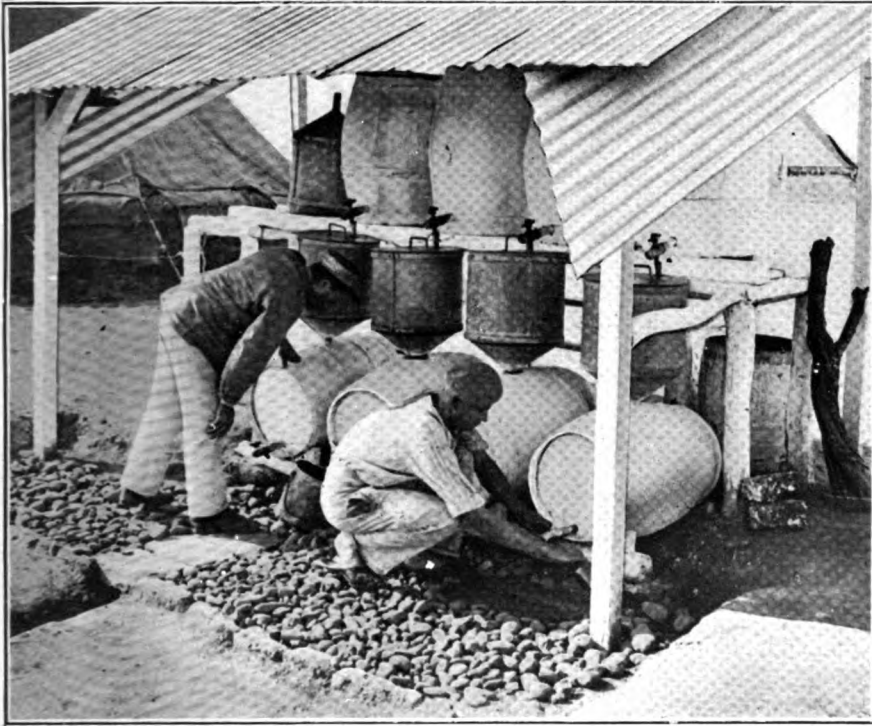
« *Couvre-chef.* — Chaque prisonnier possède :

« 1° Sa casquette d'ordonnance allemande; les casquettes usées sont remplacées par des casquettes en étoffe grise ou par des bérets de chasseur alpin d'ordonnance française.

« 2° Un chapeau de paille à larges bords, doublé d'étoffe **verte**.

« Ces chapeaux ne durant pas assez longtemps sont remplacés par des casques coloniaux blancs; grâce à cette protection, il n'y a pas, en été, de cas d'insolation.

« *Linge.* — L'administration militaire fournit aux prisonniers deux chemises et une ceinture de flanelle; les chemises détériorées sont remplacées par des neuves du modèle de celles fournies aux soldats français.



Salé-Plateau : le filtre d'eau.



Fort Provost (près de Casablanca) : la visite.



Casablanca : la visite des effets.



Fort Provost : prisonniers rassemblés pour la visite des effets.

« Les vêtements sont bons et appropriés au climat, les prisonniers décemment habillés. »

(Rapport de MM. *Blanchod* et *Speiser*, p. 40 et suiv.)

ALIMENTATION

« La nourriture des prisonniers de guerre au Maroc est la même que dans les dépôts de France, mais sans doute moins variée ; si elle est uniforme, elle est en tout cas suffisante ; presque dans tous les chantiers, la ration quotidienne est de 900 à 1 000 grammes de pain blanc ou bis (excellent), 200 grammes de viande de bœuf (parfois du mouton ou du porc), 200-300 grammes de légumes secs (pois chiches et pommes de terre), et des légumes verts (carottes, raves, poireaux, etc.), parfois difficiles à obtenir. »

(Rapport de M. *de Marval*, p. 9.)

« La viande est de très bonne qualité ; elle est fraîche et appétissante... Le pain est d'une excellente qualité ; il est exactement le même que celui fourni aux territoriaux ; étant biscuité, il se conserve frais pendant longtemps... Les *farineux* consistent surtout en macaronis et en nouilles qui sont de bonne qualité...

« Les légumes secs sont du riz, des pois, des lentilles et des haricots, dont la qualité nous a paru bonne... Les légumes frais consistent en carottes, choux, oignons, pommes de terre, poireaux...

« Les épices sont celles employées habituellement pour la cuisine ; elles sont de bonne qualité, de même que le sucre et le café qui est excellent.

« Les prisonniers font la cuisine eux-mêmes. Les chefs de cuisine sont, le plus souvent, des hommes du métier, des bouchers ou des charcutiers ; ils ont à leur disposition tous les ustensiles nécessaires, de bons fourneaux du système utilisé par l'armée française. Les cuisines sont généralement dans une baraque couverte en tôle, à la périphérie du camp. Les cuisiniers ont sous leur contrôle les provisions de vivres qui se trouvent au camp ; ils ont toute liberté

de faire la cuisine selon leur goût et les habitudes de leurs camarades. »

(Rapport de MM. *Blanchod* et *Speiser*, p. 36 et suiv.)

« Les prisonniers, comme les territoriaux de la garnison, se servent à discrétion au robinet; l'eau est dans tous les camps en quantité suffisante; elle a pu être rationnée en été, quand les hommes, peu habitués à la température, en buvaient des quantités anormales malgré les recommandations des médecins. »

(Rapport de MM. *Blanchod* et *Speiser*, p. 33.)

DISCIPLINE

« Nous pouvons affirmer que l'autorité militaire supérieure du *Maroc* est constamment occupée à assurer un traitement digne et humanitaire aux prisonniers de guerre...

« Les territoriaux français montrent toujours de la bienveillance aux prisonniers. Des ordres très stricts sont donnés pour que les prisonniers ne soient nulle part gardés par des Arabes; dans tous les cas, sauf une exception, cet ordre a été exactement exécuté. »

(Rapport de MM. *Blanchod* et *Speiser*, p. 43.)

« Les punitions sont réglées selon les prescriptions contenues aux n^{os} 56, 76, 78 du *Bulletin officiel* du Ministère de la Guerre.

« Les punitions des prisonniers sont basées sur les normes existantes pour l'armée française.

« On a appliqué, tout au début de l'arrivée des prisonniers, sans autorisation du commandement supérieur, certaines punitions en usage pour les troupes coloniales, par exemple l'incarcération dans un silo.

« Le silo est un magasin de grains indigène dans le sol avec une petite ouverture. Les locaux d'arrêts manquant, certains commandants ont cru devoir y mettre les prisonniers en punition,



Casablanca : la cuisine.



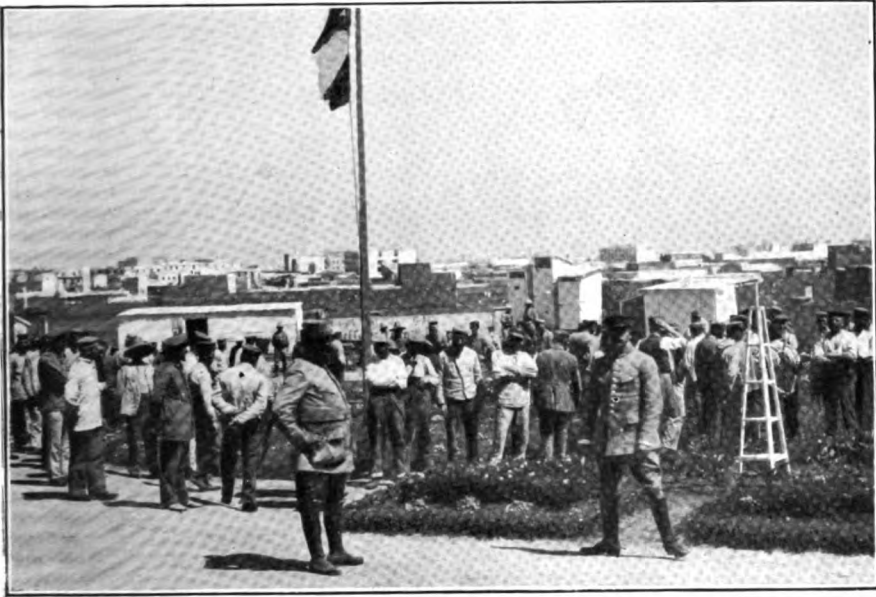
Camp de l'Aguedal (Rabat) : la cantine.



Casablanca : distribution de la soupe.



Camp de l'Aguedal : prisonnier déjeunant devant sa tente.



Fort Provost : les prisonniers dans le jardin du camp.



Kenitra : la partie de cartes.

comme ils le faisaient pour les troupes d'Afrique. Dès que la chose est venue aux oreilles de l'autorité supérieure, cette punition a été abolie. *Nous ne l'avons pas constatée pendant notre voyage.*

« Les punitions non réglementaires : déambuler avec un sac de sable, mise au mur, jeûne, privation du courrier, n'existaient pas au Maroc à l'époque de notre enquête.

« Les punitions aujourd'hui en usage sont :

« 1^o Des corvées légères dans le camp, balayage, éloignement des gadoues, etc. ;

« 2^o Les arrêts avec travail ; le prisonnier puni travaille et mange comme ses camarades, mais couche au local d'arrêt.

« 3^o La prison sans travail ; le prisonnier étant au régime normal.

« 4^o La cellule sans travail, le prisonnier étant au régime des détenus ; soit, réduction de nourriture consistant en privation de viande pendant trois jours, le régime normal leur étant redonné chaque quatrième jour. La punition peut être aggravée, en ce sens que l'homme peut être mis au pain et à l'eau pendant trois jours sur quatre, le quatrième jour il reçoit la nourriture complète. »

(Rapport de MM. *Blanchod* et *Speiser*, p. 47.)

« Les punitions, quoique sévères, nous paraissent justes. »

(Rapport de MM. *Blanchod* et *Speiser*, p. 60.)

TRAVAIL

« Le travail des prisonniers consiste en :

« Exploitation de carrières ;

« Cassage de cailloux ;

« Enlèvement et transport de terre ;

« Empierrements de routes ou tracés de chemins de fer.

« Un certain nombre sont occupés à des travaux d'ouvriers spécialistes (tailleurs et cordonniers) ; les cuisiniers sont occupés dans les camps. Les maçons, les charpentiers, les menuisiers construisent des maisons...

« Les chantiers sont à proximité du camp, le plus éloigné étant à une demi-heure de marche ; à quelques exceptions près, les prisonniers rentrent au camp pour le repas de midi. Les heures de travail réglementaires sont de 7 heures à 11 heures et de 1 heure à 5 heures en hiver, avec dix minutes de repos par heure...

« En été, une sieste de 10 à 3 heures est obligatoire ; les commandants ont la latitude de supprimer, même complètement, le travail pendant les jours de siroco, de pluie ou de chaleur spéciale...

« Les dispenses de travail sont accordées par le médecin, pour quelques jours ou à titre plus définitif : aux convalescents, aux débiles et aux blessés de guerre, qui ont gardé des suites objectives d'affaiblissement. Nous estimons que les médecins sont très justes et très larges dans leur jugement, qu'ils écoutent volontiers les indications de l'infirmier allemand à ce sujet. Nous avons même vu, dans les camps où le médecin ne fait sa visite qu'une ou deux fois par semaine (Oued N'ja, Beni Amar), l'infirmier allemand chargé de renseigner le commandant sur l'aptitude ou l'inaptitude au travail des prisonniers qui se présentent à l'infirmier en l'absence du médecin.

« Les hommes dispensés du travail de chantier sont occupés dans les petits travaux du camp, ou laissés complètement au repos si leur état l'exige. »

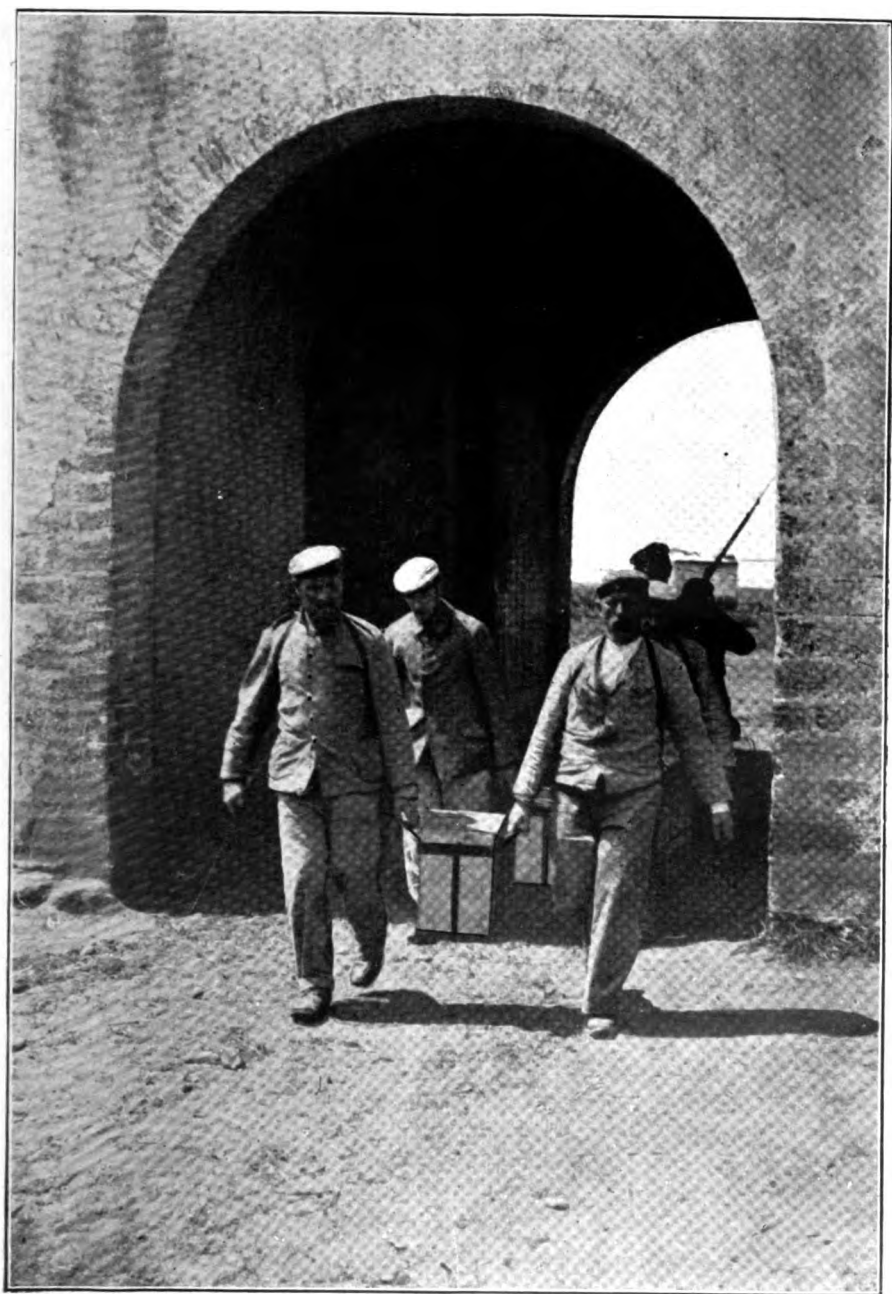
(Rapport de MM. *Blanchod* et *Speiser*, p. 44 et suiv.)

OBSERVATIONS GÉNÉRALES

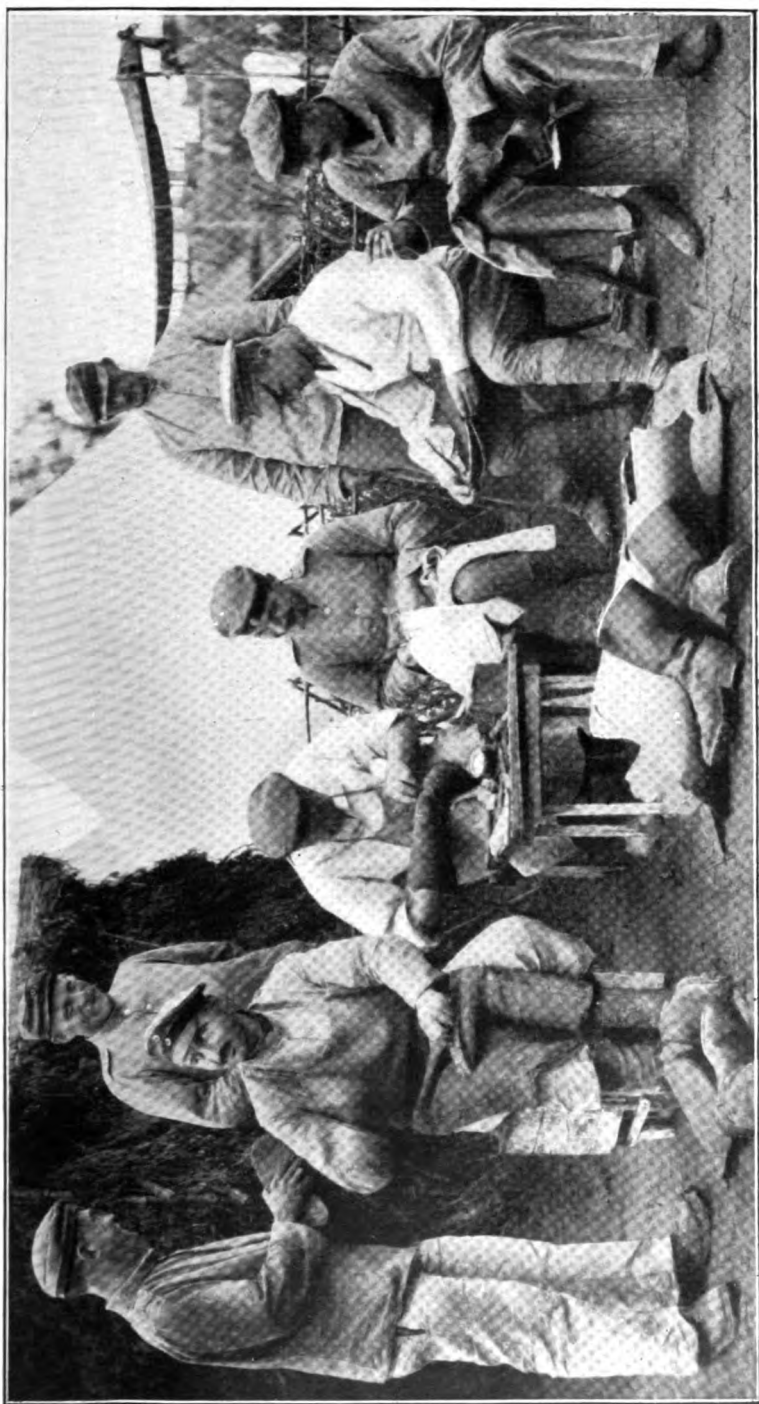
« En résumé, le traitement des prisonniers de guerre au Maroc doit être considéré comme tout à fait satisfaisant, et les craintes qu'on a pu avoir ne nous paraissent pas justifiées, après examen fait sur place. »

(Rapport de M. *de Marval*, p. 13.)

MM. *Blanchod* et *Speiser* constatent, dans la conclusion de leur rapport qui résume leurs impressions, que « les emplacements des



Camp de l'Aguedal : la corvée de soupe.



Kenitra : les cordonniers et les tailleurs.



Camp de l'Oued Djedida (près de Meknès) : prisonniers allemands au travail.



Rabat : prisonniers construisant une route.



Camp de Sidi-Moussah (au nord de Rabat) : prisonniers rentrant du travail.

camps sont bien choisis, les tentes bien appropriées au climat... », que la « nourriture est suffisante, de bonne qualité... », que « les vêtements sont bons et appropriés au climat... », que « la mortalité est minime... », que « les prisonniers sont bien traités par les autorités militaires... ».

(Rapport de MM. *Blanchod* et *Speiser*, p. 59 et suiv.)

III

LE TÉMOIGNAGE DES PRISONNIERS ALLEMANDS AU SUJET DE LA CAPTIVITÉ AU MAROC

On a pu juger, d'après les extraits de presse reproduits dans la première partie de cet ouvrage, de « l'opinion » des milieux officiels en Allemagne concernant la captivité au Maroc. Rien n'est plus suggestif que d'opposer à cette opinion le témoignage des hommes le mieux placés pour porter sur les conditions de l'internement un jugement averti et que l'on ne saurait soupçonner d'une bienveillance excessive : celui des *prisonniers allemands eux-mêmes*.

LES LETTRES DES PRISONNIERS ALLEMANDS

Dans son article précité sur les prisonniers allemands au Maroc, M. le Dr Blanchod remarque avec raison que « le prisonnier est un homme qui tourmente les autorités de réclamations réitérées, qu'il exagère très facilement, et que ses déclarations doivent être contrôlées très attentivement ». Il est d'autant plus intéressant de constater qu'un grand nombre de lettres écrites par des prisonniers allemands au cours de leur captivité au Maroc témoignent presque uniquement du traitement favorable dont ils sont l'objet ; ces lettres ont pu rassurer les familles allemandes que la campagne de presse entreprise par le Gouvernement impérial avait inquiétées. D'autres, écrites après le départ du Maroc par des prisonniers transférés dans les divers dépôts de la Métropole, témoignent d'un regret très vif d'avoir quitté l'Afrique du Nord. Il ne saurait être question de reproduire ici la généralité de ces lettres, qui sont parvenues librement aux destinataires. Quelques-unes, parmi les plus récentes, ont été copiées et photographiées. Elles constituent, en ce qui touche les conditions diverses de l'internement au Maroc, des documents dont la simple lecture garantit la spontanéité et la sincérité absolues.

Long ago 18/10/1716

Wishes from you!

Habe mir viel Freude bereitet
die Pergamentung, vorerwähnte mich
am 21. d. M., welche ich auch brand-
markten kann, und sich von der
Reichung bitten möchte, werden
von dem innigsten Dank, für
Ihre so liebe und freigegebenen
handte Worte. Wenn Sie mir eben
mehr Lohn und die ich einmischen
Brie von Johann Christen, dann
wunder ist, daß Sie mir
es antworten. Am 21. d. M.
aufgelegt unsere Gegenwart
auch. Zu danken, Sie mir
den Forscher kann ich selbst
dies mir der T. mündlich

der Pflanze, u. der
in der Erde. Ich könnte in
den mal stellen einen
solchen Sonnenschnitt,
hat mitmachen, oft die
Zeit mal nicht nicht
hald kommen, so dass
ich mit ihnen zusammen
in der schönem kann
denn ich auf baldige
Rückantworten, uel.
denn mein Herz erford
verleitet sich mit den
Berg & Lichten. Freie
die neuen Freiheit
Max Spörke
Caroline

Lettre du prisonnier Spöring, du dépôt de Carpiagne, à Mlle Eggers.

Lusten thut schon gut ge-
 fallen hatt, kummt meine
 belebnisse um schwarzen
 Knospeil ausserordentlich
 waren, woran ich Lachen
 nach dem Kriege wenn ich
 bei Jaren die pöbelles Frö-
 len möchte. Feiniger möchte
 ich jetzt schon erwähen, daß
 ich solte selbste, wie im
 Leben geredet hatte. Man
 haben besenel sich 1800-
 schen kleiner spiegel, es
 haben sich mundenhane stän-
 schen teilen wahren blickem,
 welche durch die stunden
 welche mit Lügen henden
 den stunden unpropheten
 vollstehen in das Bild
 und was ich nie ge-
 hatte, ein ganzes Pöbel
 stoffe heigeln und spren-
 gen im gewissen abspen-
 dung an dem. Und Lente
 ich daß Leben und Leben
 der Kugelbrennen.
 Was maner seiner Lente
 ande trifft, spreche ich, was
 ich auch ein Jaren hofen,
 einen vortz die dem Leben
 hat, nur, die Schwere
 wird meinem Feind, nicht
 ein meinen Menschen. Was
 die Lente Fremdling, die
 spielte heute eine gut für
 gemiesiste Kapelle den
 Vater, Mondnacht auf

Lettre du prisonnier Spöring, du dépôt de Carpiagne, à M^{lle} Eggers (Suite).

INSTALLATION

*Lettre du prisonnier Max Spöring, du dépôt de Carpiagne, à
Mademoiselle Johanna Eggers, à Rendsburg, en date du
15 octobre 1916 :*

« ... Am 10. 9. 16 erfolgte unsere Ueberfahrt nach Frankreich. Von meiner Person kann ich schreiben, dass mir der 6 monatliche Aufenthalt sehr gut gefallen hat, zumal meine Erlebnisse im schwarzen Erdteil äusserst interessant waren, wovon ich Ihnen nach dem Kriege, wenn ich bei Ihnen bin, vieles erzählen möchte. Einiges möchte ich jetzt schon erwähnen, dass ich solche Gebirge nie im Leben gesehen hatte. Unser Lager befand sich 1 800 M. überm Meeresspiegel; es boten sich wunderbare Naturschönheiten unseren Blicken, welche durch die Araber, welche mit Ziegenherden den Abhang emporklommen, vervollkommten das Bild; und, was ich nie geglaubt hätte, ein ganzer Rudel Affen hüpften und sprangen in gewisser Entfernung umher. Auch lernte ich das Leben und Treiben der Eingeborenen kennen. Was meine eigene Person anbetrifft, erfreue ich mich, was ich auch von Ihnen hoffe, einer vorzüglichen Gesundheit, nur die Sehnsucht nach meiner Heimat frisst in meinem Herzen... »

« Le 10 septembre 1916 eut lieu notre traversée pour la France. En ce qui me concerne, je puis écrire que mon séjour de six mois m'a beaucoup plu, d'autant plus que les expériences que j'ai faites sur le continent noir sont du plus haut intérêt; et lorsqu'après la guerre je serai auprès de vous, j'aurai bien des récits à vous en faire. Je puis dès maintenant évoquer le souvenir de montagnes telles que je n'en ai jamais vu dans ma vie.

« Notre camp se trouvait à 1 800 mètres au-dessus du niveau de la mer. A nos yeux s'offraient de merveilleuses beautés naturelles; les Arabes qui, avec des troupeaux de chèvres, escaladaient la pente complétaient le tableau. Et ce que je n'aurais jamais cru, toute une bande de singes sautaient et gambadaient à une certaine

distance. J'ai appris à connaître la vie et l'activité des indigènes. Pour ce qui me concerne, je jouis d'une excellente santé, ce que je vous souhaite aussi; seulement la nostalgie du pays natal ronge mon cœur. »

Carte du prisonnier Langbein, du dépôt de Bordeaux-Bastide, à M. Karl Kiesel, à Magdeburg, en date du 19 novembre 1916.

« Werte Familie Kiesel !

« Man hat lange nichts von sich hören lassen. Bin nun wieder wohlbehalten auf europäischem Boden angelangt. Die Seereise war sehr schön; überhaupt ist das Reisen das beste von der Gefangenschaft und mit Sehnsucht denk ich zurück an die schönen Sultansgärten. So schön krieg ich es nie wieder in der Gefangenschaft; das war der schöne Garten Eden, wo Orangen blühen und die Negerinnen spazieren gingen und so vieles andere mehr was man zu sehn bekam; so hatte Afrika seine Freuden und Leiden, für einen schwer, für andern leichter. Das grösste Verlangen ist doch nach dem Tag der Freiheit, der Erlösung von diesem Schicksal was uns betroffen hat. Mit freundlichem Gruss... »

« Chère famille Kiesel,

« Voilà longtemps qu'on n'a pas donné de ses nouvelles. Je suis maintenant revenu, en bon état, sur le sol d'Europe. Le voyage en mer a été très beau; en général, le voyage est ce qu'il y a de mieux dans la captivité, et c'est avec nostalgie que je pense aux beaux jardins du Sultan. Je ne reverrai jamais rien de si beau en captivité. C'était le beau jardin d'Eden où fleurit l'oranger, où les négresses se promenaient, et tant d'autres choses qu'il nous était donné de voir. Ainsi l'Afrique avait ses joies et ses peines, lourdes pour l'un, plus légères pour l'autre. Mais ce qu'on désire le plus, c'est le jour de la liberté, de la délivrance de ce destin qui nous a atteints.

« Salutations amicales... »

*Lettre du prisonnier Ernst Kirsch, du dépôt de Bordeaux-Bastide,
à la famille Kirsch, en date du 19 novembre 1916.*

« Liebe Eltern und liebes Lieschen !

« Von Hedwig werdet Ihr ja wohl schon erfahren haben, dass ich nach meiner Rückkehr von Marokko über Blaye nun glücklich hier in Bordeaux gelandet bin. Ebenso, dass ich hier auf dem Bahnhof beim Kohlen-Abladen beschäftigt bin. Es ist ein gewaltiger Gegensatz, der sich innerhalb 4 Wochen vollzogen hat. Drüben in Afrika warm, sonnig, alles in freundliches Weiss getaucht, hier in Europa das direkte Gegenteil; trübe, regnerisch, kalt, alles nicht nur grau in grau, sonder schwarz in schwarz. »

« Chers parents et chère Lisette,

« Vous avez dû apprendre déjà par Hedwig qu'à mon retour du Maroc, après avoir passé à Blaye, je suis arrivé heureusement à Bordeaux. De même, que je suis occupé ici, en gare, au déchargement du charbon. C'est une violente transformation qui s'est produite dans l'intervalle de quatre semaines ! Là-bas, au Maroc, chaleur, soleil, tout est baigné dans une douce clarté ; ici, en Europe, exactement le contraire, c'est sombre, pluvieux, froid ; tout n'est pas seulement gris sur gris, mais noir sur noir. »

CLIMAT

*Lettre du prisonnier Durasch, du dépôt de Roanne, à M. Paul
Durasch (Chemnitz), en date du 17 décembre 1916.*

« Besonders gefallen tuts mir hier eigentlich nicht, manchmal ist mirs sogar, als verspürte ich eine leise Sehnsucht nach Maroc !... Das Klima tut dazu viel bei, das warme mollige, an das wir uns in Maroc so gewöhnt hatten, fehlt eben. »

« A proprement parler, je ne me plais pas particulièrement ici. Parfois il me semble que je ressens tout au fond de moi-même

quelque nostalgie du Maroc ! Le climat y est pour beaucoup ; ce climat chaud et doux auquel nous nous étions si bien accoutumés au Maroc nous manque. »

Lettre du prisonnier Kurt Friedel, du dépôt de Toulouse, à la famille Mönch, à Niedersedlitz, du 15 décembre 1916.

« Mit meiner Gesundheit geht es ja soweit noch ganz gut, obgleich wir unter dem nasskalten Wetter, welches hier herrscht, zu leiden haben, da uns jetzt die africanische Sonne doch fehlt, aber das ist nicht zu ändern. »

« En ce qui touche ma santé, cela va encore assez bien, quoique nous ayons à souffrir du temps humide et froid qui règne ici. Maintenant, le soleil d'Afrique nous manque, mais on n'y peut rien changer... »

Lettre du prisonnier Oskar Fabian, à Lorient, à Mademoiselle Vogel, Leipzig, en date du 19 novembre 1916.

« Sehr geehrtes Fräulein !

« Ihre werte Karte vom 18^{ten} August erhalten und mich sehr gefreut, habe das Geld und auch die Paketchen erhalten. Teile nochmals vielen Dank dafür mit. Auch einen Brief von Fräulein Kupfahl, worüber ich mich sehr freute, wollte noch die Frage beantworten, welche Fräulein Kupfahl in dem Brief angibt. In Afrika hat es mir besser gefallen wie in Frankreich. Konnte eher die Wärme ertragen, als hier in Frankreich das nasskalte Wetter, fast alle Tage Regen. »

« Très honorée Mademoiselle,

« J'ai reçu votre carte du 18 août, qui m'a fait beaucoup de plaisir. J'ai reçu l'argent et aussi les petits paquets. Je vous exprime encore une fois mes meilleurs remerciements à ce sujet. J'ai reçu aussi une lettre de M^{lle} Kupfahl qui m'a fait grand plaisir. Je voudrais répondre à la question que M^{lle} Kupfahl me pose dans sa

Sonntag, 1. Februar 1917.
 Verehrte Familien Herrn!
 Wenn Ihnen sonst was so her-
 schickt ist, gehen Sie ganz gesundheits-
 lich das mit sehr, sehr, einmal, wieder
 ins Hotel zu hören. Es ist mir leid, dass
 es häufige Fieberkrank war & besonders, dass
 es durch eine Krankheit von Prellman-
 gekannt wurde. Man hat es gesundheits-
 immer gut, weniger, mehr in Hufe, mehr
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Lettre du prisonnier Meier, du dépôt de Toulouse, à Mlle Behrens.

lettre. En Afrique, je me plaisais mieux qu'en France. Je supportais mieux la chaleur que le froid humide d'ici. Il pleut presque tous les jours. »

Lettre du prisonnier Rijavec, du dépôt de Carpiagne, à Madame Olga Rijavec, Zagreb (Autriche).

« Das Leben in Afrika war nicht übel, es ging mir verhältnissmässig besser als hier, das Klima war auch ganz gut erträglich, so dass ich während der ganzen 7 Monate (9/2 16-15/9 16) nicht ein einziges Mal weder an Fieber noch an irgend einer anderen Krankheit gelitten habe. Auch jetzt erfreue ich mich einer tadellosen Gesundheit und hoffe dass dies auch bei Euch der Fall ist. »

« La vie en Afrique n'était pas mauvaise, j'allais relativement mieux qu'ici. Le climat était aussi tout à fait supportable, de sorte que, pendant tout mon séjour de 7 mois (du 9 février au 15 septembre 1916), je n'ai souffert une seule fois ni de la fièvre, ni d'une autre maladie quelconque. Maintenant encore je jouis d'une santé irréprochable, et j'espère que c'est aussi le cas pour vous. »

Lettre du prisonnier Wilhelm Meier, capturé au Togo, interné au Maroc, et actuellement à Toulouse, à Mademoiselle Behrens, de Brême, en date du 1^{er} février 1917.

« Mir hat es gesundheitlich immer gut gegangen, weder in Afrika noch jetzt in Frankreich habe ich unter Fieber zu leiden gehabt. Ich befinde mich immer noch mit anderen Kameraden auf dem Lande. Augenblicklich ist es hier sehr kalt, was für Tropenleute besonders unangenehm ist. Ich wollt, ich könnt erst wieder im schönen Afrika sein ! »

« Je me suis toujours bien porté. Ni en Afrique, ni maintenant en France, j'en'ai eu à souffrir de la fièvre. Je me trouve toujours avec d'autres camarades à la campagne. Pour le moment, il fait ici très froid, ce qui est particulièrement désagréable pour gens du

tropique. Comme je voudrais pouvoir vivre de nouveau dans la belle Afrique ! »

ENTRETIEN

Lettre du prisonnier Heinrich Kopplin, du dépôt de Bassens, à la famille Sattler, Hamborn-Marxloh am Rhein, en date du 1^{er} novembre 1916.

« Ihr lieben Alle !

« Wie ich Euch schon mal mitteilte, befinde ich mich jetzt wieder in Frankreich ; hoffentlich habt Ihr die Karte von Carpiagne erhalten. Von meiner Gesundheit kann ich Euch dieses mal nicht das Beste mitteilen, denn ich habe mich sehr erkältet, es regnet hier täglich und zum trocknen haben wir hier nichts.

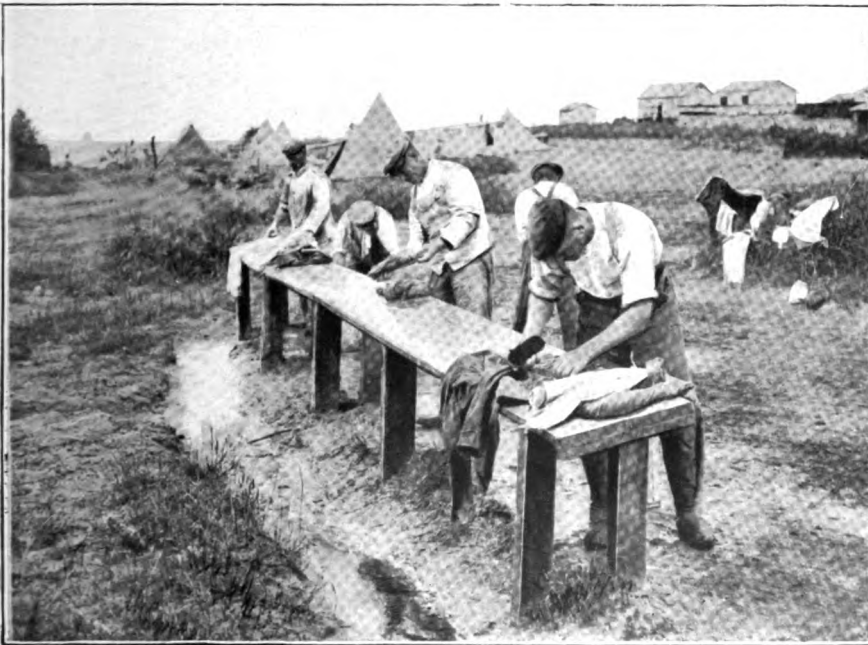
« Arbeiten müssen wir am Eisenbahnbau am Hafen. Wenn in Marocco nur das Klima besser wär, dann wäre ich lieber dort geblieben, denn man hatte in der letzten Zeit doch satt zu essen und trockene Wohnung ; auch hatten wir dort 2 warme Decken. Auch hatten wir dort jede Woche 1/2 Tag frei zum Waschen, und jeden Sonntag Ruhe. »

« Vous tous, mes chers,

« Comme je vous l'ai déjà fait savoir, je me trouve maintenant de nouveau en France ; j'espère que vous avez reçu ma carte de Carpiagne. De ma santé, je ne puis cette fois dire grand bien, car j'ai pris un gros refroidissement. Il pleut ici chaque jour, et pour nous sécher nous n'avons rien. On nous fait travailler à la construction d'un chemin de fer sur le port. Si, au Maroc, le climat était meilleur, j'y serais resté plus volontiers, car on avait, à la fin, en fait de nourriture, de quoi se rassasier, une habitation sèche ; nous avions aussi deux chaudes couvertures. Nous avions aussi chaque semaine une demi-journée de libre pour la lessive, et repos chaque dimanche... »



Casablanca : le lavoir.



Kenitra : la lessive.

Lettre du prisonnier Heinz Hugo, du dépôt de Vierzon, en date du 12 novembre 1916, à Madame Hugo.

« Aufrichtig gesagt, war es drüben in jeder Hinsicht bedeutend besser, trotzdem dass auch manches zu wünschen übrig blieb, Unterkunft und Essen war in letzter Zeit dort besser. Auch mit dem Waschen war es drüben bedeutend besser. Donnerstag Nachmittags hatten wir frei, was hier leider nicht der Fall ist. Brot hatte ich dort im Ueberfluss, hier muss ich für 0,30 alle Tage kaufen. »

« A dire vrai, on était là-bas à tous égards bien mieux, quoique certaines choses laissent aussi à désirer. L'entretien et l'alimentation étaient meilleurs là-bas dans les derniers temps. Pour la lessive aussi, c'était bien mieux là-bas. Le jeudi après-midi nous avions notre liberté, ce qui malheureusement n'est pas le cas ici. J'avais là-bas du pain en abondance, je suis obligé ici d'en acheter pour 0 fr. 30 par jour. »

Lettre du prisonnier Johannes Timm, du dépôt de Roanne, à M. Johann Timm, à Hambourg, en date du 13 décembre 1916.

« Ich für meine Person bin lieber in Marokko als hier. Da konnte man noch Eier kaufen oder Pfannkuchen, was hier alles wegfällt, weil es hier so teuer ist. »

« Moi personnellement, j'aimerais mieux être au Maroc qu'ici. On pouvait encore acheter des œufs ou des omelettes, toutes choses qui font défaut ici, parce que ici c'est si cher. »

Déclaration de prisonniers allemands du dépôt de Salé-Ville au sujet de l'alimentation.

Menukarte in Marokko :

« Täglich Morgens Kaffee mit Zucker.

Täglich per Mann 660 gr. Brod.

Abwechselnd täglich

Mittags und Abends :

Reis mit Zucker.

Makaronisuppe.

Erbsen }
Bohnen } mit Kartoffeln und Gemüse.
Linsen }

3 Mal Fleisch in der Woche (Rind oder Schweinfleisch).

Kartoffelsalat mit 2 gekochten Eiern per Mann täglich.

Des Abends oft Thee und Zucker. »

Die Richtigkeit bescheinigen :

JACOBI, Wachtmeister,

Salé-Ville (Marokko).

LANGE, HORSTMANN, HERMANN, KNORRE,

BAUERMANN, METZBE, KERSTER, HIPPLER,

JANKE.

« Chaque matin, café avec sucre.

Journellement, chaque homme, 600 grammes de pain.

Alternativement, chaque jour

A midi et le soir :

Riz avec sucre.

Soupe de macaroni.

Pois }
Haricots } avec pommes de terre et légumes.
Lentilles }

Trois fois de la viande dans la semaine (bœuf ou viande de porc).

Salade de pommes de terre avec 2 œufs cuits par homme chaque jour.

Souvent, le soir, thé et sucre. »

L'exactitude de ce menu est certifiée par :

JACOBI, maréchal des logis,

Salé-Ville (Maroc).

LANGE, HORSTMANN, HERMANN, KNORRE,

BAUERMANN, METZBE, KERSTER, HIPPLER,

JANKE.



Fort Provost : les cuisines.



Salé-Plateau : l'intérieur de la cuisine.

HYGIÈNE

Lettre du prisonnier Müller, du camp de Coëtquidan, à Madame Johanna Müller, Köln (Deutz).

« Im Felde und in der ersten Zeit der Gefangenschaft war ich zwar krank an Unterleibskatarrh oder Ruhr ich weiss nicht genau, und war ich sehr schwach, konnte wenig essen und dann der Durchfall und Uebelkeit. Am Abend vor dem Kampf sank ich mit meinem Essen, — welches ich von der Feldküche holte — in mir selbst zusammen, der kalte Schweiss brach aus allen Poren. Dann hatte ich geschwollene empfindungslose Füsse. Langsam, hauptsächlich im Winter in der Sahara erholte ich mich wieder und wurde kräftig. »

« En campagne, et dans les premiers temps de ma captivité, je souffrais de catarrhe intestinal ou de dysenterie — je ne sais au juste. J'étais très faible, je pouvais très peu manger et j'avais en outre de la diarrhée et des vomissements. Le soir avant le combat, je m'effondrai avec mes vivres que j'étais allé chercher à la cuisine de campagne; une froide sueur me coulait par tous les pores. Ensuite j'eus les pieds enflés et insensibles. Peu à peu, surtout en hiver dans le Sahara, je me rétablis et repris mes forces. »

Lettre du prisonnier Fritz Rose, du dépôt de La Pallice, à Madame Rosette Rose, Wolfs bei Ohrdruf, en date du 22 octobre 1916.

« Liebe Frau,

« Liebe Frau, endlich ist die Zeit einmal wiedergekommen dass ich einen Brief an dir senden kann. Liebe Frau, wir sind am 28. 9 in Marocco eingeschifft worden und am 2. 10 waren wir in Marseille in Frankreich. Ich kann dir aber blos versichern dass es in Marocco besser war als es hier in Frankreich ist, ich bin ziemlich 2 Jahre in Marocco gewesen und nicht gross krank gewesen, solange wie ich mich hier befinde bin ich immer krank gewesen, ich hatte 40 Grad Fieber; habe auch immer Schmerzen an Nieren. Das

kommt bloß durch Erkältung, denn man muss das europäische Klima gewöhnt werden... »

« Ma chère femme,

« Chère femme, le moment est enfin revenu où je puis t'envoyer une lettre. Chère femme, nous nous sommes embarqués au Maroc le 28 septembre, et le 2 octobre nous étions à Marseille en France. Je puis t'assurer qu'on était mieux au Maroc qu'ici en France. Je suis resté deux ans au Maroc environ, et je n'ai jamais été sérieusement malade. Depuis que je suis ici, je suis toujours souffrant, j'ai eu jusqu'à 40° de fièvre, j'ai toujours des douleurs aux reins. Cela vient uniquement de refroidissement; il faut s'accoutumer au climat d'Europe. »

Lettre du prisonnier M. Kilgus (15^e région), à Mademoiselle Hilde Schwarz, Unlingen (Wurtemberg), de Carpiagne, le 15 octobre 1916.

« ... Da wir nun hier auf europäischem Boden sind, so kann ich also auf eine 21 monatliche Afrikareise zurückblicken, und dir kurz meinen Gesundheitszustand mit gut bis sehr gut bezeichnen. Ausser den letzten 3 Wochen wo ich 2-3 mal Fieber bekam, jedoch ohne mich krank zu melden, war ich immer gesund... »

« Puisque nous sommes maintenant sur le sol de l'Europe, je puis jeter un regard rétrospectif sur mon voyage de 21 mois en Afrique, et qualifier mon état de santé de bon et très bon. Sauf pendant les 3 dernières semaines où j'ai eu deux ou trois fois de la fièvre, sans toutefois m'être fait porter malade, j'ai toujours été bien portant... »

Déclaration du prisonnier Schneider Heinrich, du dépôt de Saint-Aubin, en date du 6 octobre 1916.

« Vom 15. März 1915 bis 20. Mai 1916 in Biskra und Sétif.

« Ich bin nie fieberkrank gewesen, habe das Klima gut ertragen. In unserm Lager haben wir sehr wenig Fieber gehabt. »

Saint-Aubin, 6 octobre 1916.

Kilgus 3. 10. 9.
 Carpiagne 10. 10. 9.
 Gel. Hilde
 Nach etlichen Wochen ist es mir vergönnt die mich einmal
 ein Briefchen senden zu dürfen u zwar der erste auf
 Frankreich's Boden. 2 Karten sind schon vorausgegangen
 u haben die meine Entwürfe für mich gebracht, doch sende
 du mirst durch diese Karten, habe ich ihnen noch keine be-
 stimmte Idee für dich damit du schreiben kannst. Was ich
 verfallt geübt, als es meine genaue Idee folgt. Da
 nun nun für auf europäischen Boden sind so bin
 ich also auf eine 21 monatliche Afrikarise zurück-
 blickend u. die Kurz meinen Gesundheitszustand mit
 gut bis sehr gut bezeichnet. Ausser den letzten 3 Wochen
 wo ich 2-3 mal Fieber bekam, jedoch ohne mich
 krank zu machen, war ich immer gesund. Haupt-
 sächlich haben mir viel deine Briefe sowie auch deine
 vielen Pakete über mannes für mich gegeben u mich
 trösten helfen u Danke dir sowie auch d.
 l. feldern noch mehr verglichen für all des Gutes das
 ich erhalten habe.

Lettre du prisonnier Kilgus, du dépôt de Carpiagne,
 à Mlle Hilde Schwarz.



Caserne d'Ain-Mazi (Casablanca) : le jardinage.

« Du 15 mars 1915 au 20 mai 1916 à Biskra et Sétif.

« Je n'ai jamais souffert de la fièvre, j'ai bien supporté le climat. Dans notre camp, nous avons eu très peu de fièvre. »

Saint-Aubin, 6 octobre 1916.

TRAVAIL

Lettre du prisonnier Franz Kruschwitz, du dépôt de Carpiagne à Madame Dora Kruschwitz, à Chemnitz, en date du 15 octobre 1916.

« ... In Maroc hatte ich im letzten Jahr ganz hübsche Zeit, da ich täglich nur 2 bis 3 Stunden Lager oder leichte Gartenarbeit zu verrichten hatte... »

« Au Maroc, j'ai passé du bon temps la dernière année, n'ayant que 2 ou 3 heures par jour de travail facile au camp ou au jardin. »

Lettre de l'Unteroffizier Lauermann, du dépôt de Bassens (Gironde), à Madame Lisbeth Lauermann, Altena, en date du 1^{er} octobre 1916.

« Meine liebe Frau und Tochter !

« Endlich komme ich mal dazu, Euch ein klein wenig in unsere jetzigen Verhältnisse einzuweißen. Es ist ja kein Marocco wo wir uns jetzt befinden, aber das Klima ist doch erträglicher ; lieber etwas mehr frieren als diese unerträgliche Hitze. Trotzdem dass die Arbeitsverhältnisse schlechter gestellt sind, denn zehn Stunden Arbeitszeit ist entschieden zu lang, wo wir dagegen in Aufa nur 8 Stunden gearbeitet haben ; woher das kommt weiss ich nicht. Auch ist mir neu, dass die Unteroffiziere genau so mitarbeiten müssen wie die Mannschaften, in Marokko kannte ich solches nicht. »

« Ma chère femme et ma chère fille,

« J'arrive enfin à vous initier un peu à notre situation présente ; l'endroit où nous nous trouvons n'est certes pas un Maroc, mais le climat est pourtant plus supportable. Plutôt geler un peu que cette intolérable chaleur. Bien que les conditions du travail soient

plus mauvaises, car 10 heures de travail c'est décidément trop long, tandis que à Aufa nous ne travaillions que huit heures. D'où cela provient, je l'ignore. C'est aussi chose nouvelle pour moi, que les caporaux doivent travailler exactement comme les hommes, au Maroc je ne connaissais rien de pareil. »

Lettre du prisonnier Enders, du dépôt de La Pallice, à Madame Vve H. Enders, Hamm-Sieg (Rheinland), en date du 22 octobre 1916.

« Meine geliebte Mutter,

« Hoffentlich ist dir bereits bekannt, dass ich nicht mehr in Marokko bin, sondern mich hier in Frankreich befinde. Auch denke ich dass meine Karte aus Blaye angekommen ist, worauf ich schon die neue Adresse aufgeschrieben hatte.

« Wie wird man doch vom Schicksal auf dem Erdball herumgeschleudert! Vor kurzer Zeit noch im heissen Afrika, und jetzt friert man schon in Europa! Man muss sich ja nun wieder an dieses Klima gewöhnen und an harte Arbeit! Offen gesagt, ich für meine Person wäre gerne in Marokko geblieben, weil ich dort eine bevorzugte Stellung hatte. »

« Ma chère mère,

« J'espère que tu sais déjà que je ne suis plus au Maroc, mais que je me trouve en France. Je pense aussi que ma carte de Blaye t'est parvenue, où j'avais écrit déjà ma nouvelle adresse.

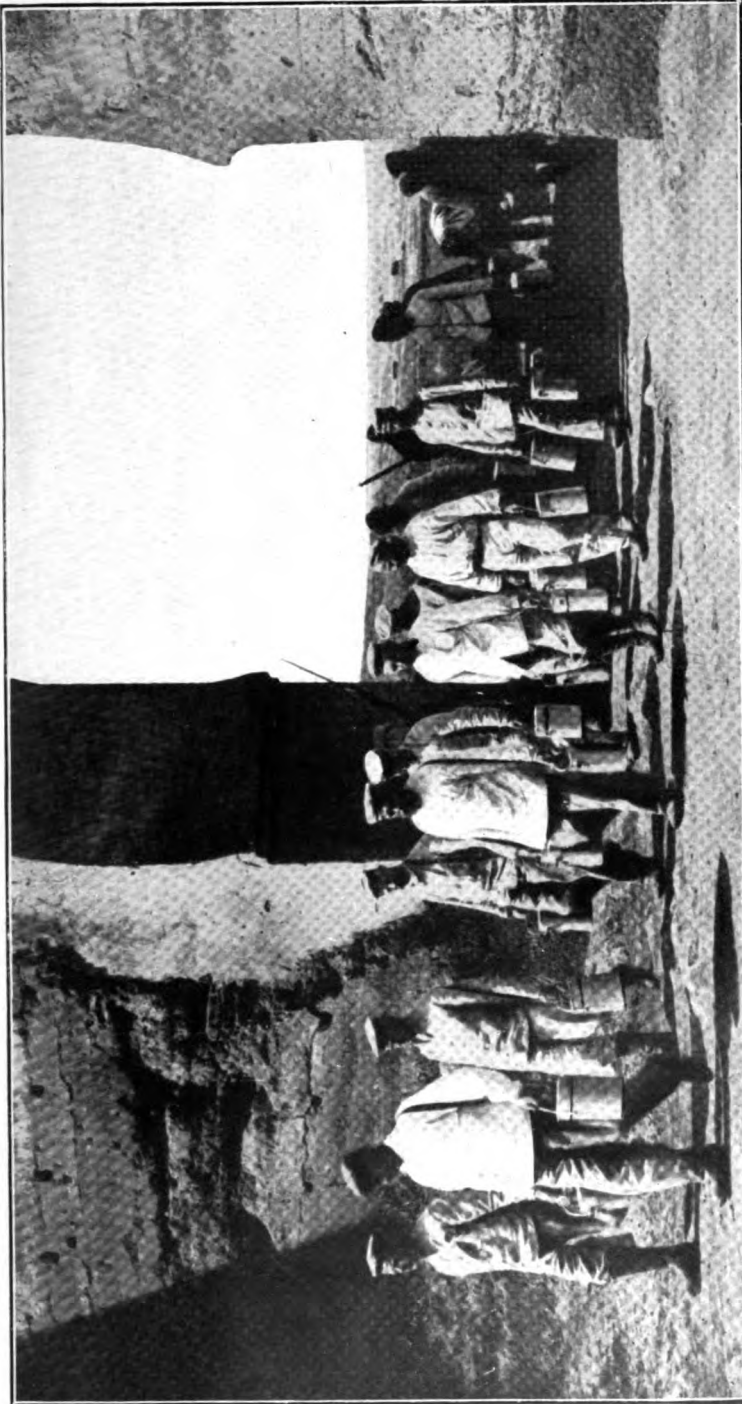
« Comme on est ballotté par le destin sur ce globe terrestre! Tout récemment encore dans la brûlante Afrique, et maintenant on gèle déjà en Europe! Il faut s'habituer de nouveau à ce climat et à un dur travail! Pour parler franchement, je serais pour ma part volontiers resté au Maroc où j'avais une position privilégiée. »

Lettre du prisonnier Dramer, du dépôt de La Rochelle, à Mademoiselle Maria Lemmens, à Clèves (Rheinland), en date du 14 février 1917.

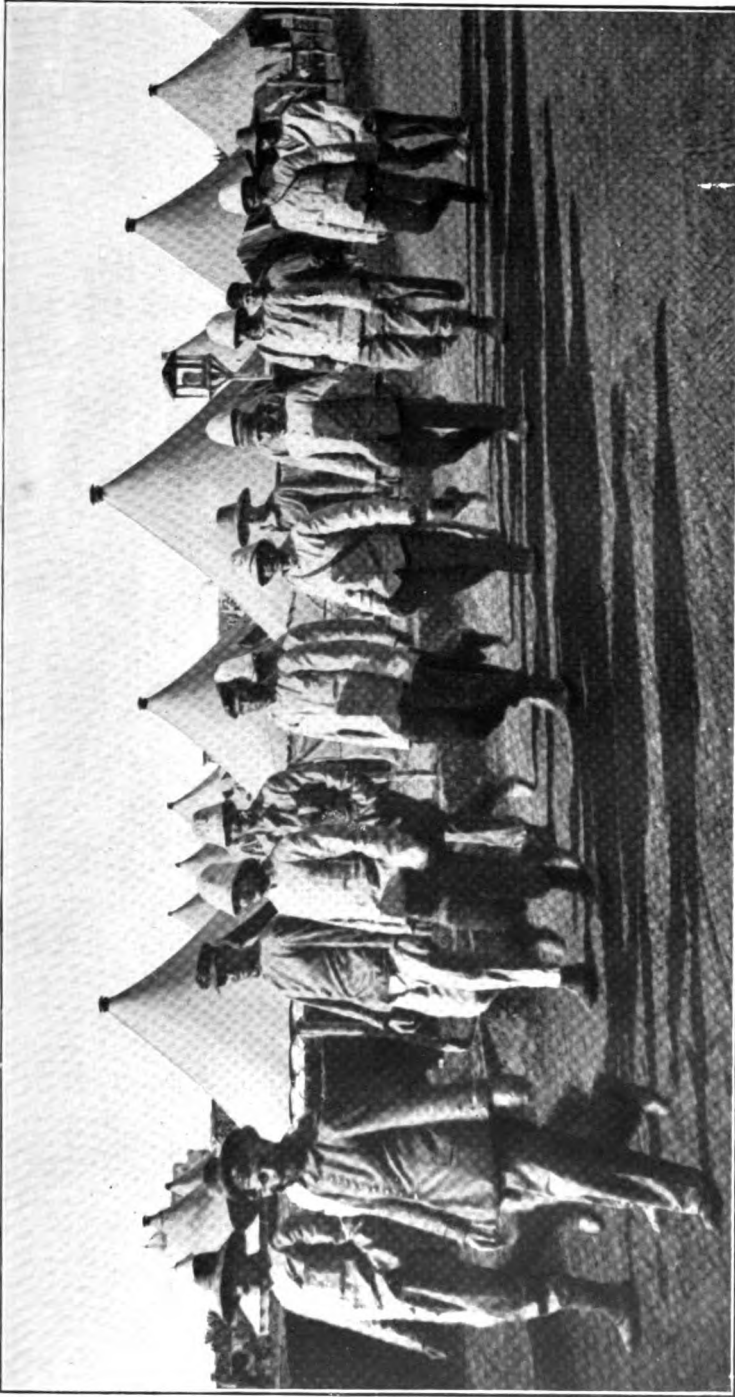
« Dortwar es bedeutend besser, auch der Arbeit wegen. Hatte nämlich in Marokko einen schönen Posten. Ich war am Wasser-



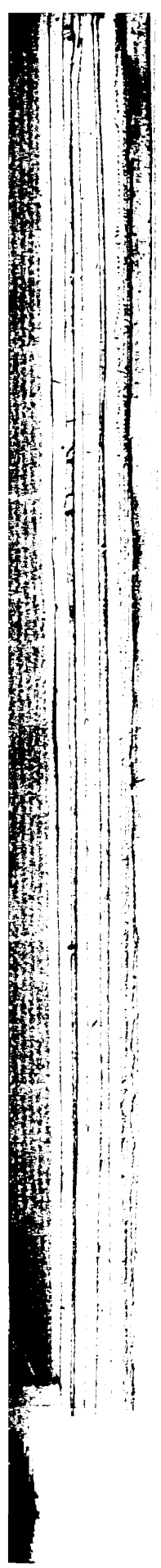
Casablanca : un cordonnier.

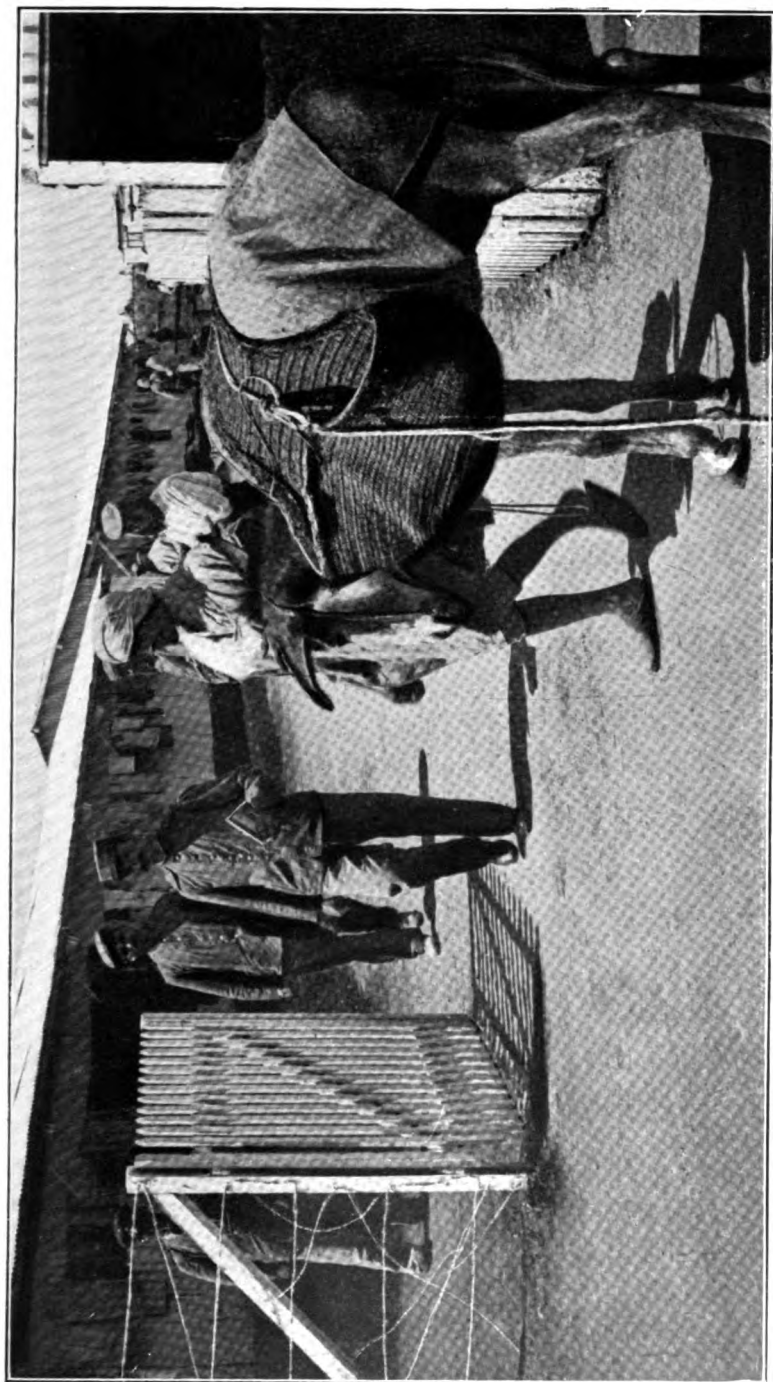


Rabat : la corvée de soupe.



Camp de Sidi-Moussah : le retour au camp.





Fort Provost : l'entrée du camp.

fahren fürs Lager mit Mauleseln. Dieses Geschäft hat mir tadellos gefallen. Es war dort wohl warm ; aber ich kann besser Hitze wie Kälte vertragen. Augenblicklich ist es hier sehr kalt, und wir sind doch keine Kälte gewöhnt. »

« Là-bas, on était sensiblement mieux ; de même au point de vue du travail. En particulier, j'avais au Maroc un bon poste. J'étais chargé d'aller chercher de l'eau pour le camp avec des mulets. Ce métier m'a plu sans réserve. Il faisait bien chaud là-bas ; mais je puis mieux supporter la forte chaleur que le froid. Pour le moment, il fait ici très froid, alors que nous ne sommes nullement habitués au froid. »

*Déclaration de prisonniers allemands du dépôt de Salé-Ville,
au sujet du logement et du travail.*

« Wir waren in Zelten und Baracken untergebracht. Jedermann hatte zwei, im Winter auch drei Decken, dazu ein Strohsack und eine Britsche von Holz.

« Wir waren fast immer beim Strassenbau beschäftigt und hatten täglich 8 Stunden zu arbeiten. Des Sonntags und am Donnerstag Nachmittag wurde nicht gearbeitet, um unsere Wäsche und Kleider zu reinigen. Auch wurde beim Regenwetter nicht gearbeitet. Die Arbeit war nicht zu schwer. »

JACOBI LANGE HORSTMANN.

« Nous étions logés dans des tentes et des baraques. Chacun avait deux, en hiver même trois couvertures, de plus un sac de paille et une couchette de bois.

« Nous étions presque toujours occupés à la construction de routes et avions chaque jour huit heures de travail. Le dimanche et le jeudi après-midi nous étions dispensés de travail pour nettoyer notre linge et nos vêtements. De même, quand le temps était pluvieux, on ne travaillait pas. Le travail n'était pas trop dur. »

JACOBI LANGE HORTSMANN.

Lettre du prisonnier Otto Friedel, du dépôt de Toulouse, à la famille Mönch, à Niederschütz, en date du 15 février 1917.

« ... Hier war es paar Tage kalt und ein wenig Schnee, jetzt ist fast Frühlingswetter. Man sehnt sich daraus aus der rauchigen Fabrik wieder in's Freie, und man bekommt beinahe ein wenig Verlangen nach Maroc retour, weil man dort stets im Freien gearbeitet und gewohnt... Morgens zeitig auf, dann zur Arbeit, abends kommt man heim, liest und studiert. Sonntags gibt es allerdings auch Theater oder Konzert; aber so wie in Marocco ist es doch nicht. »

« Ici, il a fait quelques jours froid et un peu de neige; maintenant, c'est presque un temps de printemps. Aussi l'on voudrait être hors de la fabrique enfumée et se retrouver en plein air, et l'on est bien près de soupirer un peu après le retour au Maroc, car, là-bas, c'est toujours en plein air que l'on a travaillé et habité... De bon matin on se lève, puis au travail; le soir, on rentre. On lit, on étudie. Le dimanche, il y a aussi, il est vrai, théâtre ou concert; mais ce n'est pourtant pas comme au Maroc. »

DISCIPLINE

Lettre adressée au prisonnier Reuther par Wilh. Reuther, à Laubach, le 9 septembre 1916.

« ... Franz Klippel ist jetzt aus Afrika nach Frankreich gekommen; er schrieb, in Afrika hätte es ihm besser gefallen wie in Frankreich, dort wären sie freier gewesen. Joh. Rötsch ist noch immer in Marokko. »

« Franz Klippel est maintenant revenu d'Afrique en France. Il a écrit qu'en Afrique il se trouvait mieux qu'en France; ils étaient plus libres. Joh. Rötsch est toujours au Maroc. »



Kenitra : un concert donné par les prisonniers.



Beni-Hamar (est de Casablanca) : représentation théâtrale
donnée par les prisonniers.

Lettre du prisonnier Andréas Eybert, du dépôt de l'île d'Oléron, à Madame Babette Eybert, à Weiherhammer bei Weiden, Oberpfalz (Bavière), en date du 30 septembre 1916.

« ... Du denkst natürlich dass es mir hier besser gefiele? O nein! Wollte, ich wäre bis zu Ende des Krieges in Afrika geblieben. War drüben in jeder Beziehung besser... »

« Tu penses naturellement que je me plais davantage ici? O non! J'aurais préféré rester en Afrique jusqu'à la fin de la guerre. C'était mieux là-bas à tous égards. »

Déclaration du prisonnier Eybert.

« Das dortige Klima hat mir sehr gut zugesagt. Es gab pro Woche vier Mal Fleisch. Wir wohnten in Einzelzellen, welche sehr gut eingerichtet waren; dieselben waren reinlich und geräumig. Die Behandlung durch das dortige Aufsichtspersonal war sehr human. Kapitäne Orsini sagte selbst, dass er uns als Menschen behandeln wolle, was er auch gehalten hat. Zu arbeiten hatten wir ausser Reinhaltung des Gebäudes nichts. »

A. EYBERT.

« Le climat de là-bas m'a très bien convenu. Il y avait chaque semaine quatre fois de la viande. Nous logions dans des pièces séparées qui étaient très bien aménagées; elles étaient propres et spacieuses. Le personnel de surveillance nous traitait avec humanité. Le capitaine Orsini disait lui-même qu'il voulait nous traiter humainement, promesse qu'il a tenue. Nous n'avions d'autres travaux que l'entretien des bâtiments. »

A. EYBERT.

Lettre du prisonnier de guerre Moss, du dépôt d'El-Boroudj, à un de ses amis résidant aux Etats-Unis (en date du 21 mai 1916).

« It makes me very sorry to think the war may not stop before next year, because this is a very bad condition of life and a lone-

some one, it is one good thing the Franch people threat us very good, our captain he is a very straight and a good man. »

« Je suis bien triste en pensant que la guerre ne se terminera pas avant l'année prochaine, car notre vie n'est pas gaie et on se sent bien seul. Heureusement, il y a une bonne chose : c'est que les Français nous traitent très bien, notre commandant est un homme très droit et très bon. »

Lettre du prisonnier Willy Sass, du dépôt de Tours, à Monsieur H. Sass, Peterow (Mecklemburg), en date du 24 décembre 1916.

« Im Hauptlager soll die Feier recht nett werden. Wenn ich mich zurück erinnere an vergangenes Fest, war dieselbe doch sehr nett gewesen, überhaupt hatten wir in Afrika doch manche Freiheit mehr. Aber wollen hoffen zu Gott dass dieses Fest das Letzte ist, wo die Schrecken des Krieges wüten, und bald der langersehnte Frieden im Lande einkehrt. »

« Au camp principal, on dit que la fête sera très gentille. Quand je me rappelle la fête précédente, je me souviens que celle-ci a été vraiment très gentille. Surtout nous avons en Afrique certaines libertés de plus. Mais nous espérons que grâce à Dieu cette fête est la dernière, pendant laquelle sévissent les horreurs de la guerre, et que bientôt la paix longtemps souhaitée s'établira au pays. »

Carte du prisonnier Keuer, du dépôt de Montargis, à Madame Gro-nemenn, Neukölln (Berlin).

« Liebe Verwandte !

« Zuerst noch nachträglich beste Weihnachtsgrüsse und gleichzeitig wünsche ein frohes neues Jahr. Wie Ihr wohl schon erfahren habt, bin ich jetzt wieder in Frankreich, wo es mir bis jetzt aber noch nicht sonderlich gefallen konnte. Im Maroc war das Leben angenehmer. Hoffentlich ist bald Schluss sodass wir ein gesundes Wiedersehen feiern können. »



Dar-bel-Hamri : prisonniers devant les baraques.



Sidi-Moussah : la distribution des lettres.

« Chers parents,

« D'abord, un peu tardivement, mes meilleurs vœux de Noël, je vous souhaite en même temps un heureux nouvel an. Comme, sans doute, vous l'avez déjà appris, je suis maintenant de retour en France, où, jusqu'à présent, je n'ai pas lieu de me plaire particulièrement. Au Maroc, la vie était plus agréable. J'espère que la fin est proche, et que nous aurons la joie de nous revoir en bonne santé. »

Lettre du prisonnier Schallenberg, de Lorient, à M. le pasteur Dohm, à Bonn, en date du 16 janvier 1917.

« Die Witterungsverhältnisse fallen uns noch schwer, denn in Maroc war es doch bedeutend wärmer als hier. Es freut mich jetzt doch, dass ich mal in die weite Welt gekommen bin, und das Leben und Treiben der dort Eingeborenen gesehen habe. Man hatte früher vieles gehört und gelesen von Afrika, welches einem aber kein natürliches Bild war. Was die Gefangenschaft anbetrifft, kann uns dort auch etwas mehr Freiheit geboten werden als hier. Hier liegen wir in einer Kaserne, welches uns ein gutes Obdach für den Winter ist. »

« Les conditions climatiques nous paraissent un peu dures, car au Maroc il faisait plus chaud qu'ici. Je suis heureux maintenant d'avoir vu un peu du vaste monde, ainsi que la vie et les coutumes des indigènes de là-bas. Auparavant, nous avons entendu dire et lu bien des choses sur l'Afrique, mais cela ne nous donnait aucune image exacte du pays. Quant à la captivité, on pouvait nous accorder là-bas un peu plus de liberté qu'ici. Ici nous sommes dans une caserne, qui nous offrira un bon abri pour l'hiver. »

LA CAMPAGNE DE DIFFAMATION ALLEMANDE JUGÉE PAR LES PRISONNIERS ALLEMANDS

Lettre du prisonnier Fehre, du dépôt de Montargis (Loiret), à Mademoiselle Buntebarth, à Cöpenick, en date du 7 janvier 1917.

« ... Dass du froh bist, dass ich wieder in Frankreich bin, glaub ich dir Lieb gern. Ich für meine Person wäre allerdings lieber in

Marokko geblieben. Ich glaube dass Ihr euch Marokko viel schlimmer vorstellt, als es in der Tat ist. »

« Que tu sois contente de me savoir en France, je le conçois sans peine. Mais, pour mon compte, j'aimerais mieux être resté au Maroc. Je crois que vous vous représentez le Maroc bien pire qu'il n'est en réalité. »

Lettre du prisonnier Knöll, de Montargis (Loiret), à Madame Marie Knöll, Eimsbach (Hessen-Darmstadt), du dimanche 7 janvier 1917.

« Noch hab'ich diese Woche erhalten einen Brief von dir vom 1. Okt. 16, und gelesen, dass du wild warst, weil ich nicht mit den ersten aus Marokko kam. So schlimm war es in Afrika nicht, wie man dir vielleicht erzählt hat, und du weisst ja nicht wo ich am liebsten wäre. Du schreibst, wie wenn du nur traurige Nachricht erhältst, von mir doch nicht? Und was ich schreibe ist wahr; wenn du dich beeinflussen lässt von anderen Leuten, kann ich nichts machen. Du meinst, ich hätte nicht mehr viel Bekannte bei mir. Wenn man solange in der Fremde ist, sind alles Bekannte; es ist nicht mehr wie am Anfang, dass man viele nicht versteht. Ich habe schon vieles gelernt, sogar etwas französisch; kann mich ganz gut verständigen. Musst aber nicht gleich denken, dass man viel mit Damen in Berührung kommt! »

« J'ai reçu encore cette semaine une lettre de toi datée du 1^{er} octobre 1916, et j'ai lu que tu étais furieuse parce que je ne suis pas revenu parmi les premiers du Maroc. Ce n'était pas si terrible en Afrique qu'on t'a peut-être raconté, et tu ne sais vraiment pas où je préférerais me trouver. Tu écris comme si tu ne recevais que de tristes nouvelles. Ce n'est pourtant pas de moi? Et ce que j'écris est vrai. Si tu te laisses influencer par d'autres, je n'y puis rien. Tu penses que je n'ai plus beaucoup de connaissances auprès de moi. Quand on reste si longtemps à l'étranger, on n'a que des connaissances. Ce n'est plus comme au début, où il y a

Nun jst ichalle ich wieder ein ganz
 anderes Leben das ausen jst. Ich
 den für das Leben auch solche
 praktischen Werkes entzieht. hat die
 höchsten Dank für all eure Liebe und
 Güte, aber erfüllt mir doch mein
 Dilemma und schiedel mir nichts mehr.
 Ich will jst pot. leben, meine
 Kameraden verlassen und nach mir
 ich soll mit Schicksal spielen, so
 zu hier ein Leben geringend. Das
 ist. Ihr soll mir hier alle eure
 Körper und Gesundheit frucht zu
 erhalten.

Hoffentlich, so ich bald wieder
 von euren Gedanken und anderen
 ich eueren Gastlichkeit erwarte
 unermessliche Freude ist euch zu teilen.

Euer Johannes Puder

(Post 9. 9. 9. St. Hank d. 9. Juli 18.)
 Neue Hoffnungen blieben und Schicksal.

Ich danke euch sehr, als wäre mir
 ich euch eine wider den Ausgang euer
 Bestimmung auf jst 740 Hg. Land d.
 steigen. Ich jst euch doch zur jst
 über diesen jst gesprochen, so dass ich
 keine keine Niederlegung jst in einem
 habe, so ist mir die schade, dass wir in
 hier kein Geld mehr. Keine jst in einem
 sonst hätte die Bestimmung der jst
 Weg noch einmal, wie in einem jst
 Bestimmung gemacht, so der jst der jst.
 tag abzüglich 20% auf meinem jst
 hat keine jst. Ich jst immer
 von der dem jst jst jst jst jst
 jst, dass ich hier jst jst jst jst
 jst jst jst jst jst jst jst jst jst
 wenn ich mir das jst jst jst jst
 ich jst von euch jst, dann jst
 jst jst jst jst jst jst jst jst jst
 jst jst jst jst jst jst jst jst jst

Lettre d'un prisonnier du dépôt d'El Hank à M. Gabriel Berlin (Cologne).

in die der andern, lediglich an dem einen
 und durch ihn den Grund des andern
 die Wissenschaften durch die Wissenschaften
 im Kunst und Aufklärung verknüpft. Es
 ist mir so er scheint, dass ich mich me-
 ne Gedanken die Forderung, die eine
 können. Es scheint, dass ich mich me-
 ich, dass ich meine, dass ich mich me-
 der durch die Forderung.

Es ist mir denn daran gelegen, die aus dem andern Teil zu verstehen, wie die
H. Gegend in die H. Gegend zu
in die H. Gegend zu verstehen, wie die
H. Gegend zu verstehen, wie die

beaucoup de gens qu'on ne comprend pas. J'ai déjà beaucoup appris, même un peu de français. Je puis assez bien me faire comprendre. Mais n'allez pas vous figurer tout de suite qu'on a beaucoup de rapports avec les dames ! »

*Lettre d'un prisonnier interné à El Hank, à Monsieur Gabriel
Berlin, Cologne, en date du 9 juillet 1916.*

« Ihr scheint immer noch von dem Glauben eingenommen zu sein, dass ich hier irgendwie Not leide, das ist ganz und gar nicht der Fall, und wenn ich weiter das Geld verbrauche, was ich früher von Euch erhielt, dann versage ich mir absolut nichts.

« Es ist sehr bedauerlich, dass die Presse einen derartigen Feldzug unternimmt und durch ihre Schilderung des Loses der Kriegsgefangenen deren Angehörige in Angst und Aufregung versetzt. Wo Ihr mir so oft schreibt, dass Ihr mit wenig Geschmack die Zeitung, die eine derartige Hetzpolitik verfolgt, lest, hätte ich sicher geglaubt dass Ihr weniger unter deren Einfluss lebt.

« Dazu kommt denn dass Leute, die aus der Gefangenschaft in die Heimat oder in die Schweiz zurück kehren, gerne Aufsehen von sich machen und Selbsterlebtes in den schwärzesten Färben schildern. Ich schreibe Euch das, da auch dieser Tage einige zum Sanitätsdienst gehörige Leute zur Heimat zurückgereist sind, und Euch da Grüsse und die Nachricht meines Wohlergehens wohl übermitteln werden. Das ist das einzige was Ihr glauben könnt, alles übrige könnten die Uebermittler vielleicht für ihre Zwecke dienlich machen und ist daher alles glatt von der Hand zu weisen. »

« Vous semblez toujours pénétrés de l'idée que mon sort actuel laisse à désirer sous quelque rapport. Ce n'est absolument pas le cas ; et si je continue à dépenser l'argent que vous m'avez précédemment envoyé, je n'aurai rien à me refuser.

« Il est bien regrettable que la presse ait entrepris une telle campagne, et qu'elle ait, par le tableau qu'elle a fait du sort des prisonniers, jeté leurs parents dans l'anxiété et le trouble. Vous

m'écrivez si souvent que vous lisez sans goût le journal qui poursuit cette politique de provocation, que je n'aurais pas cru que vous en subissiez autant l'influence.

« Il faut ajouter que des gens qui rentrent de captivité, soit dans leur patrie, soit en Suisse, aiment à se faire remarquer, en représentant sous les plus sombres couleurs ce qu'ils ont vécu. Je fais cette remarque à l'occasion du départ de quelques soldats appartenant au personnel sanitaire qui ont été rapatriés ces jours-ci. Ils vous salueront de ma part, et vous porteront de mes bonnes nouvelles. Ce sont les seules que vous deviez croire ; tout le reste peut servir au but que se proposent les auteurs de ces racontars ; c'est à rejeter purement et simplement. »

CONCLUSION



Les documents qu'on a lus font éclater, entre les imputations de la presse allemande d'une part — et d'autre part les constatations des neutres, les témoignages des prisonniers allemands eux-mêmes, une évidente opposition.

Les journaux allemands ont dit qu'au Maroc la chaleur serait torride, néfaste à la santé des Européens. Les délégués de la Croix-Rouge ont vu des dépôts installés dans des régions salubres, carénées par la brise de mer, éloignées des chaleurs torrides de l'Afrique Centrale. Les prisonniers revenus en Europe gardent le souvenir et le regret d'un climat tempéré, ignorant des brouillards, des intempéries, des froids rigoureux de l'Europe. Sous ce climat, la santé, ébranlée par les fatigues de la guerre, se rétablit et la mortalité, dont témoignent, chiffres en mains, les visiteurs officiels, est infime.

Les journaux allemands ont parlé d'un travail épuisant, imposé, sans distinction d'aptitudes physiques ou professionnelles, à des prisonniers de toutes catégories. Les rapports de la Croix-Rouge exposent le travail facile assigné à des prisonniers que fortifient les conditions favorables du logement, de l'alimentation, de l'entretien ; ils mentionnent, dans l'attribution des tâches, le respect des spécialités, la largeur des dispenses accordées par les médecins. Les prisonniers revenus en Europe regrettent certaines distinctions faites suivant les grades, certaines faveurs dont ils ne bénéficient pas au même degré dans leurs dépôts actuels.

Les journaux allemands critiquent les duretés de la discipline française, qui connaîtrait des peines rigoureuses, telles que le *silo* et le *tambour*. Les délégués de la Croix-Rouge constatent que ces peines, usuelles dans la discipline des troupes françaises de l'Afrique,

moins dures que les peines — notamment celle du poteau — couramment infligées dans les camps de prisonniers français en Allemagne, ont été interdites, en ce qui touche les prisonniers allemands. Ces prisonniers se louent de la bienveillance des territoriaux qui les gardent, de la justice et de l'humanité de leurs supérieurs français. Moins que personne, ils n'ont d'illusions sur le but véritable et sur la nature de la campagne politique instituée « en leur faveur ».

Il est, au tableau qui précède, une contre-partie : l'histoire, infiniment douloureuse, des souffrances imposées aux prisonniers français transférés en juillet 1915 dans les marais du Sleswig et du Hanovre, en avril 1916 dans les steppes de la Courlande et de la Pologne occupées. Ici, les témoignages des neutres font défaut, puisqu'en violation flagrante des accords internationaux, l'accès des « camps de représailles » est resté interdit aux délégués des ambassades et de la Croix-Rouge. Mais les sources privées abondent : les milliers de lettres écrites par les prisonniers à leurs familles, ou par les rapatriés, ou par les internés en Suisse. Il faudra qu'on publie ces lettres. Elles constituent, contre le Gouvernement qui a créé les camps de représailles, qui les a nommés, qui en porte *seul* devant l'humanité la responsabilité et la honte, le plus sanglant des réquisitoires.

Voici la traduction d'un document allemand. Il est daté du 24 avril 1916, et porte avec le n° 6514/16 5/1 le timbre du ministère de la Guerre allemand. Il décrit en termes brefs — sans doute à l'image du Maroc, vu à travers la presse allemande — ce que doit être le *régime des représailles*.

LOGEMENT. — Conforme aux usages du pays, mais réduit au strict nécessaire. Baraques simples ou tentes. Installation rudimentaire pour le lavage et le nettoyage du linge. Fournitures insuffisantes en fait de vaisselle et de savon. Chauffage réduit. Pas d'éclairage. Séparation complète de la population. Réduire au minimum la liberté de mouvements à l'intérieur du camp.

HABILLEMENT. — Ne délivrer, en dehors des chemises, aucun vêtement de dessous.

TRAVAIL. — *Pénible, mais non en rapport avec la guerre. Huit à neuf heures de travail par jour. Un jour de repos par semaine, qui, en général, ne tombera pas le dimanche, et sera consacré au lavage. Les caporaux sont astreints au travail ; les sous-officiers ne sont employés qu'à la surveillance.*

ALIMENTATION. — *Voir le menu ci-joint. Beaucoup de légumes secs, surtout des pois. Pas d'eau chaude. Cantine réduite au minimum ; interdiction de vendre sucre, friandises, fruits, etc...*

PUNITIONS. — *Longs arrêts, dans de mauvais locaux. Pour la plus petite faute, suppression de nourriture. Pas de voies de fait (Prügeln).*

REPOS. — *Aucun rapport de société. Ni chant, ni musique. Confisquer les instruments. Pas de service religieux.*

SERVICE POSTAL. — *Ne délivrer les lettres que huit semaines au moins après leur expédition. Permettre à tout nouvel arrivant l'envoi immédiat d'une carte. La censure est faite au camp de concentration. Confisquer les colis munis d'insignes patriotiques, et punir le destinataire. Interdiction de tout envoi collectif.*

ARGENT. — *5 marks par semaine, et en bons-timbres.*

ÉVASIONS. — *Toute tentative d'évasion sera suivie de peines disciplinaires sévères. Tous les évadés repris, les hommes ayant encouru plusieurs punitions et les réfractaires seront affectés à des camps spéciaux, et astreints aux travaux les plus durs.*

On connaît les instructions officielles du résident général au Maroc, que la *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* signalait avec ironie comme un « document imprégné d'humanité officielle française ». Elles s'opposent tristement au document qu'on vient de lire. Nous dénonçons ce document comme un monument — officiel ou officieux — de la sauvagerie allemande.

Qu'on ne s'y trompe pas, d'ailleurs. Le sens véritable de ce document en dépasse le texte ; et le régime instauré, en fait, par les

tortionnaires d'outre-Rhin, sur l'ordre et suivant l'esprit de leurs gouvernants, ne comporte pas les réserves qu'un reste de pudeur a laissé se glisser dans la lettre des instructions.

Il est faux que les « représaillés » aient bénéficié d'un régime postal quelconque, puisqu'ils furent privés de lettres, ne purent faire aucun achat, et ne reçurent leurs colis, après plusieurs mois d'attente, que dans un état d'avarie et de décomposition qui les rendait inutilisables.

Il est faux que les « représaillés » furent dispensés de travaux militaires, puisqu'ils furent astreints, tout autour de *Mitau*, à la construction de chemins de fer, de routes stratégiques, et que, sur la ligne de *Mitau* à *Jacobstadt*, à 8 kilomètres du front russe, plusieurs sont tombés blessés ou tués par des obus.

Il est faux, enfin, que les voies de fait furent interdites. Elles furent tolérées, encouragées, habituelles. Elles causèrent la mort de prisonniers, celle notamment du malheureux *Durand*, tué à *Bielowicz* par une sentinelle, pour avoir voulu adresser au feldwebel une réclamation justifiée. Et, pour la peine du *silo*, la voici, décrite par un prisonnier, telle qu'elle fut appliquée par les brutes allemandes : « ...Un trou dans la terre ; 1^m,20 sur 0^m,80 de profondeur ; la fermeture sur place ; on rabattait la terre dessus. Enterré vivant ! Le fond était tapissé de pierres pointues, les côtés et le dessus de fil de fer barbelé. Pain et eau ; il fallait faire ses besoins sur place. Le soir, de 8 à 10 heures, on nous sortait, on nous crucifiait à des poteaux, les mains tirées par derrière avec une poulie, le corps serré par des cordes, le véritable martyr. Et cela quatorze jours ! »

Des milliers de jeunes gens, des étudiants, des blessés, des malades ont enduré cela pendant six mois. Et la Suisse hospitalière et compatissante, la Suisse qui pleura sur les massacres d'Arménie, qui s'éleva avec indignation contre les déportations de Belgique, la Suisse recueillit, sans compter, sur son territoire, ces victimes de la tuberculose dont la jeunesse est flétrie, l'avenir perdu...

Ce but de destruction où se sont efforcées en vain les armées allemandes, la terreur allemande ne l'a pas atteint non plus.

L'indignation des peuples a réalisé un miracle que les larmes des opprimés, les angoisses des mères, le deuil des orphelins devaient prévenir. La barbarie germanique révolte encore, mais elle ne terrifie plus. Alors elle s'est entourée d'hypocrisie.

L'agresseur de 1914, l'auteur éternellement responsable de la guerre européenne, a tendu sa main à l'Europe. L'homme du chiffon de papier a, dans un document officiel adressé aux neutres, parlé d'une paix qui donnerait aux peuples « le bienfait du travail commun pour la solution des grands problèmes de la civilisation dans le respect mutuel et dans l'égalité des droits ». Et rejetant sur ses ennemis les griefs dont il est accablé par la conscience universelle, il a cité « les traitements inhumains infligés aux prisonniers, particulièrement en Afrique ».

Fort d'avoir accompli, en Afrique et ailleurs, vis-à-vis de ses prisonniers, la mission que le droit et l'humanité lui imposent, le Gouvernement français n'oppose à cet outrage que l'exposé des faits et l'autorité de témoignages non suspects. La vérité sur le Maroc n'est pas un mystère ; elle s'exprime par la voix d'arbitres incontestés ; le mensonge, si insidieux et persévérant qu'il soit dans les écrits et sur les lèvres des propagandistes allemands, ne prévaudra pas contre elle. La France attend de l'opinion européenne et de l'histoire la condamnation sans appel d'une campagne dont le mobile inavoué fut un dessein politique, dont le procédé habituel est la calomnie, dont la conséquence est le deuil jeté dans les familles, la souffrance et la mort infligées à des innocents.

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RÉPONSE
A L'APPEL ALLEMAND
AUX
CHRÉTIENS ÉVANGÉLIQUES
DE L'ÉTRANGER



PARIS
—
LIBRAIRIE FISCHBACHER
33, Rue de Seine, 33
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COMITÉ PROTESTANT DE PROPAGANDE FRANÇAISE A L'ÉTRANGER

RÉPONSE A L'APPEL ALLEMAND

AUX CHRÉTIENS ÉVANGÉLIQUES DE L'ÉTRANGER

Un appel rédigé au nom de toutes les missions protestantes d'Allemagne et signé par une trentaine de notabilités allemandes, a été adressé, au commencement de la guerre, » aux chrétiens évangéliques de l'étranger, » c'est-à-dire aux protestants des nations alliées et des pays neutres.

Le texte original de ce document a été inséré dans divers périodiques allemands (1). Une traduction en français a paru dans le *Mouvement pacifiste* de Berne (n° d'août-décembre 1914), et, plus tard, le *Journal des Débats* l'a cité, en modifiant d'ailleurs le titre, comme si les protestants allemands n'avaient visé que les membres des églises protestantes de *langue française*.

En réalité, la plupart des protestants français et même des pasteurs ont ignoré pendant de longs mois l'existence de cet appel : c'est pourquoi ils ont négligé jusqu'ici d'y répondre.

Et cependant un tel document s'impose à l'attention de tous ceux qui connaissent l'autorité et l'influence qu'exercent dans leur pays et au dehors, dans des cercles étendus, des hommes comme Axenfeld, directeur des Missions à Berlin, le pasteur Bodelschwingh, A. Deissmann, Dryander de Berlin ; R. Eucken de Iéna, Ad. de Harnack, G. Haussleiter, D. W. Herrmann, de Marbourg, Kaftan, Loofs, Meinhof, Mirbt, Wobbermin, W. Wundt, ses principaux signataires.

Nous tous, protestants français, signataires de cette réponse, nous avons considéré comme un devoir de lire cet appel avec autant de soin qu'on a mis à le rédiger, et comme le document tout entier consiste en une série de paragraphes énonçant chacun des affirmations que nous croyons fausses, nous nous proposons

(1) Par exemple dans le *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin* de Bale, livraison de novembre 1914, pages 411-415.

d'y répondre à la fois avec franchise et avec toute la modération possible dans une heure où notre pays subit encore les horreurs et les violences inouïes d'une invasion qui rappelle les heures les plus tragiques et les plus humiliantes de l'histoire humaine.

Les auteurs de l'*appel* se montrent tout d'abord soucieux de l'avenir du christianisme dans le monde. « Les peuples chrétiens semblent avoir choisi le moment unique dans l'histoire où le christianisme pénétrait au sein de l'humanité non chrétienne pour se livrer une guerre fratricide ». Le fait est là, et il est scandaleux. Mais à qui la faute ? Quel est l'empereur chrétien qui s'est montré le protecteur du bourreau des Arméniens, qui est aujourd'hui l'allié des Ottomans ? Quels sont les empereurs chrétiens qui ont voulu, préparé et déchaîné cette guerre, si ce n'est Guillaume II et François-Joseph ? Ce sont « des mensonges » dit le document. Les auteurs de l'appel pouvaient peut-être le croire à l'heure où ils écrivaient, mais aujourd'hui, toute l'Europe, le monde pensant est instruit de la suite des événements. Le meurtre déplorable de l'héritier d'Autriche n'a été que le prétexte habilement invoqué pour déchaîner la guerre dès longtemps préparée et dès longtemps voulue. Déjà en 1913, a déclaré M. Giolitti, l'Autriche méditait une action contre la Serbie à laquelle elle voulait donner un caractère défensif. Le livre *jaune* français (N) 3 p. 13), a révélé les projets belliqueux du Kaiser en 1913, et rapporté les aveux faits par lui et par le général de Moltke au roi des Belges.

Donc, nous sommes sensibles à la sollicitude des chrétiens allemands à l'égard des Missions, mais avant de songer aux païens, il faudrait songer d'abord à rappeler à son propre pays les principes les plus élémentaires de la morale chrétienne, le respect de la vie, des biens, de l'honneur, de la femme, de son prochain.

Sur ces points-là, nous avons eu le regret de ne pas trouver un seul mot dans le document qui nous est parvenu. Mais nous, les faits nous ont terriblement instruits, et, devant l'attaque allemande et les pratiques allemandes de la guerre, celles que nous connaissons de *visu* ou par des témoignages qui ne pourront être contestés, nous songeons tristement à la réflexion de Luther :

« Un vrai chrétien est un oiseau rare, et nous pourrions rendre grâce à Dieu, si la majorité des Allemands étaient de pieux païens. »

Il est douteux, en tous cas, que la guerre actuelle fasse plus de mal aux Missions que la manière dont les Allemands ont traité en 1904, les Herreros qui avaient osé se révolter contre eux. Le nombre des révoltés Herreros ne fut guère que de 6 à 7,000. Pour les punir les Allemands en tuèrent plus de 40,000, hommes, fem-

mes et enfants. Quant aux 70 ou 80,000 survivants, ils furent parqués dans des territoires militaires ou condamnés à des travaux forcés... C'était l'application à la lettre de la doctrine de Maximilien Harden qui osait écrire dans la *Zukunft* : « Contre des bandes de sauvages et de barbares, la doctrine de Nazareth n'a pas cours, et nous ne pouvons aborder les tropiques avec des préjugés européens tels que la chasteté et le respect de la vie humaine ».

Certes, nous ne rendons pas tous les Allemands, chrétiens ou non, responsables d'une telle parole. Mais enfin c'est chez eux qu'elle a été dite, et l'autorité de celui qui l'a prononcée n'en a pas été atteinte puisqu'il est resté jusqu'ici un des publicistes très influents d'outre-Rhin. Il n'y a pas d'ailleurs de différence essentielle entre le sentiment qui l'a dictée, et l'inspiration de l'empereur lui-même lorsqu'il adressait à ses troupes de Chine l'ordre du jour barbare qui n'a guère dû favoriser en son temps la cause des Missions.

Nous ne contesterons point à Guillaume II le droit d'en appeler dans sa détresse au vieux Dieu allemand. C'était déjà le Dieu de Bismarck et de Guillaume I^{er}, mais nous avons le droit de nous demander si c'est bien le Dieu de l'Evangile qui inspire l'empereur allemand quand, à Damas, il envoie au Sultan Abdul-Hamid le message suivant : « Puisse sa Majesté le Sultan, ainsi que les 300 millions de fidèles qui vénèrent en lui leur Kalife, être assurés que l'empereur allemand leur est ami pour toujours. » Or, celui dont il se déclarait l'ami, c'était le sultan rouge, le massacreur des Arméniens chrétiens comme ses dignes successeurs alliés de l'Allemagne sont aujourd'hui les persécuteurs des missions américaines d'Ourmiah.

Le paragraphe suivant nous montre une Allemagne pacifiée qui n'aurait tiré l'épée, que pour se défendre contre d'injustes attaques. « L'Allemagne, depuis 43 ans, n'a songé qu'à travailler dans la paix. Si elle a tiré l'épée, c'est qu'elle a été forcée de se défendre par une attaque criminelle. »

Evidemment, les auteurs du document croient cette énormité, mais nous, nous restons stupéfaits de leur sincérité crédule. Quoi, ces savants, ces intellectuels, ces directeurs d'œuvres, n'ont pas vu se former, se préciser, s'exaspérer autour d'eux ce rêve d'hégémonie mondiale que fait l'Allemagne guerrière et pensante au lendemain de 1870, et qui aboutit finalement à la catastrophe de 1914-1915 ! Pas un mot de ces associations patriotiques ou pangermanistes qui deviennent avec les années les vraies directrices des destinées nationales ! Pas une allusion à l'*Allgemeiner deutscher Verband*, à l'*Alldeutscher Verband*, aux

Alldeutscher Blätter, ni à ces brochures de propagande qui expriment les ambitions grandissantes de la nation ? C'est pourtant dans un tract populaire intitulé *La Pangermanie* et l'Europe centrale en 1950 que nous pouvons lire ceci : « Deux groupes seront constitués dans l'Europe centrale. L'un politique, ou Confédération germanique, comprendra l'empire allemand, le Luxembourg, la Hollande, la Belgique, la Suisse allemande et l'Autriche-Hongrie ; l'autre sera un immense Zollverein ; il embrasera les provinces baltiques, le royaume de Pologne, le pays Ruthène, la Roumanie et la Serbie agrandie. Dans ce nouvel empire de 131 millions de consommateurs, seuls, les Allemands exerceront le droit politique. Ils auront alors comme au moyen-âge, le sentiment d'être *un peuple de maîtres*. »

C'est un ancien ministre, le maréchal baron Bronsart de Schellendorf, qui a écrit textuellement :

« Nous proclamons, dès à présent, que notre nation a droit non seulement à la côte du nord, mais encore à la Méditerranée et à l'Atlantique. Nous nous annexerons donc successivement le Danemark, la Hollande, la Belgique, la Franche-Comté, le nord de la Suisse, la Livonie, puis Trieste et Venise, enfin... le nord de la région gauloise, de la Somme à la Loire. »

Même affirmation dans une brochure de propagande parue à Berlin en 1900. « Nous n'hésiterions pas à enlever à la France, ainsi qu'à la Russie de longues bandes de territoires pour en faire des marches devant nos frontières de l'est et de l'ouest. Il faudrait stipuler que ces territoires seraient évacués par la population. » « Deutschland bei Beginn des 20 Jahrhunderts ».

Au début de 1914, M. Rudolph Teuden publiait à Berlin une brochure intitulée : *Que nous rapportera la guerre ?*

On y peut lire ceci : « L'Allemagne s'annexera purement et simplement le Danemark, la Belgique, la Hollande et la Suisse » ; ou encore : « La frontière allemande doit s'étendre demain jusqu'à l'Adriatique. »

Est-ce là la littérature d'un peuple pacifique ? N'est-ce pas la preuve plutôt que l'Allemagne s'est laissé prendre à son tour à ce rêve fou de domination universelle qui fut, pour son malheur et le nôtre, le rêve de Napoléon I^{er}, par exemple ?

Exagérations nationalistes, dira-t-on. Tous les peuples ont les leurs. Oui, nous avons cru cela, on nous avait fait croire cela avant la guerre. Mais le coup de foudre nous a tous éclairés. Nous avons vu qu'en Allemagne, ce sont les nationalistes qui gouvernent. Ils voulaient la guerre, ils l'annonçaient, ils la faisaient préparer sur terre et sur mer, ils en escomptaient d'avance, ouvertement, cyniquement, les profits merveilleux, ils

l'ont eue. (Voyez pour le détail des preuves le bon livre de Saint Yves : Les responsabilités de l'Allemagne dans la guerre de 1914, Paris, Nourry, 62, rue des Ecoles).

En vérité, les hommes qui acceptent d'être dirigés par de pareils écrivains et de pareils chefs sont mal venus à nous parler des sentiments pacifiques de leur nation, une nation disciplinée qui finit toujours par obéir à ses autorités, quelles qu'elles soient.

Vient ensuite un paragraphe qui vise la Russie et l'Angleterre. Le document affirme que pendant que le gouvernement allemand « *s'efforçait de localiser le châtiment mérité par un régime infâme et d'empêcher la guerre d'éclater,* » la Russie belliqueuse menaçait les frontières de l'Allemagne innocente et la forçait de défendre ses frontières contre la « Barbarie asiatique » et l'Angleterre à son tour, malgré le lien du sang et de la religion, se rangeait du côté de ses ennemis.

Nous demandons, nous, protestants français, à quel homme sensé, en dehors de l'Allemagne, on pourra faire accepter ce roman utilitaire ? Ce qui saute aux yeux, aujourd'hui, c'est que l'Autriche elle-même, sentant que la Russie n'abandonnerait pas lâchement la Serbie, reculait, acceptait un compromis, quand l'Allemagne, brusquant tout, rendait la guerre inévitable par son ultimatum hautain et injustifié à la Russie.

La Russie ne pouvait pas vouloir la guerre. Elle n'était pas prête. On l'a vu, depuis, au temps qu'il lui a fallu pour sa mobilisation, aux embarras que lui ont créés ses chemins de fer insuffisants.

S'il était vrai qu'elle en fût encore à la « Barbarie asiatique » à qui la faute, pourrions-nous dire aux Allemands ? Depuis 300 ans, vous êtes ses instituteurs ! Si elle a eu des impératrices sans scrupule, c'est vous qui les avez fournies : Catherine II sortait d'une cour allemande. Mais nous qui savons ce qu'est et ce que sera la vraie Russie, nous avons confiance dans la piété, la douceur slave. Nous avons confiance dans l'esprit d'Alexandre I^{er} qui revit dans l'empereur pacifique Nicolas II.

Aujourd'hui, pour les besoins de la cause, vous appelez « Barbares asiatiques » ces Russes, dont vous avez si longtemps recherché l'alliance et l'amitié. Ce n'est pas ainsi pourtant que les qualifiait un illustre Allemand, Treitschke, oui Treitschke lui-même qui écrivait en 1876 : « Les Russes ne sont point le peuple barbare que certaines gens voudraient nous faire croire. Nous ne sommes plus au temps de Nicolas I^{er}.... Il faut être aveuglé par la haine pour soutenir que la Russie accable l'Europe d'une domination paralysante. Le gouvernement russe a prouvé, aussi bien dans l'Amérique du nord qu'en Italie, en Al-

Allemagne et à Rome qu'il savait respecter les forces vivantes du siècle. (Cité par la Bibliothèque universelle de Lausanne, avril 1915, p. 180).

Passons à l'Angleterre. Elle voulait si peu la guerre que nous, Français, nous avons été inquiets jusqu'au dernier moment de ses hésitations. Nous connaissions le mouvement anglais, dit pro-german, nous savions que plusieurs ministres au pouvoir étaient de déterminés pacifistes. Pour faire marcher l'Angleterre, il a fallu la heurter dans sa politique fondamentale et dans ses sentiments généreux, il a fallu commettre cette erreur et ce crime qui s'appelle la violation de la neutralité de la Belgique.

Erreur parce que, sans cela, l'Angleterre où le sentiment religieux est si fort ne se croyait pas le droit de participer à la guerre ; crime parce que rien, pas la plus lointaine apparence de tort n'est à imputer à la glorieuse Belgique dont personne d'autre que l'Allemagne ne méditait de violer ni n'a violé en fait le territoire, la liberté et les droits. Car lorsqu'on affirme, avec le document, que cette neutralité était « déjà violée par l'ennemi », on affirme un mensonge sur lequel la pleine lumière est faite aujourd'hui dans tous les esprits bien informés.

Les auteurs de l'appel se plaignent ensuite des mauvais traitements dont des femmes, des enfants, des blessés, des médecins auraient été victimes chez les alliés. On croit rêver en écoutant une telle plainte. C'est une allusion, sans doute, aux yeux crevés à des Allemands par des Belges. Mais on sait aujourd'hui que c'est là une odieuse calomnie dont la *Gazette de Cologne*, elle-même, a fait justice. (Saint-Yves, les responsabilités de la guerre, p. 540-43). Au contraire, les atrocités des Allemands en Belgique, en France, leurs aberrations morales et celles des Autrichiens s'avèrent, se prouvent tous les jours aux yeux épouvantés des neutres trompés jusqu'ici. (1).

C'est un neutre, un Suisse qui écrivait dans la *Gazette de Lausanne*, du 18 mars, ceci : « Les officiers français que j'ai pu rencontrer, sont unanimes à s'étonner de la façon effroyable dont les Allemands font la guerre. Tant d'inhumanité les stupéfie. Leur parole ne saurait être mise en doute, ils ne savent pas mentir. » Ils ne mentent pas non plus, les enquêteurs officiels belges ou français qui nous ont fait ces rapports sur les cruautés, les viols, les vols subis par des populations sans reproche, et qui ont

(1) Elles sont avouées par leurs auteurs eux-mêmes. Voyez le livre du triste personnage qui s'appelle Paul Oskar Hokler *An der Spitze Meiner Kompagnie*. Berlin Allstein. Voyez aussi les preuves irréfutables fournies avec autant de modération que de force dans les brochures de Bédier.

constitué pour l'histoire un réquisitoire écrasant qui cloue pour jamais au pilori du monde, l'Allemagne barbare de 1914-1915.

Il ne suffit pas de nier les faits les plus avérés pour les détruire. « Ce n'est pas vrai », diront sans doute encore les intellectuels germains. Mais qui les croira parmi ceux qui savent ? Qui les croira parmi ceux qui ont entendu un Allemand, un officier, le colonel Koettschau proclamer dans sa Prochaine guerre franco-allemande que « le droit des gens n'impose point de restriction au but et au devoir de la guerre » et d'autre part que « la violence et la brutalité du combat ne comportent aucune limite. » (Finot, *La Revue*, octobre-novembre 1914, p. 353-354).

Les faits ne répondent, hélas ! que trop bien à la théorie. Aussi voit-on aujourd'hui un Américain, le révérend Dr Charles T. Baylis, de Brooklyn, membre du Comité américain de secours aux Belges qui, de retour de New-York après avoir parcouru en automobile, toute la Belgique, forcé de déclarer qu'il n'eût jamais imaginé qu'un pays civilisé pût être aussi complètement dévasté par une armée d'invasion soi-disant civilisée. Et si vous lui demandez ce qu'il pense de la méthode allemande de faire la guerre, le Rév. Dr Baylis répond dans le *Sun* que « les Allemands sont les guerriers les plus inhumains de l'histoire, et qu'à côté d'eux les Huns et les Vandales ne sont que des amateurs. »

Les Allemands ne se sont pas montrés jusqu'ici scandalisés de ces procédés, mais ils affectent de l'être de ce que « les peuplades primitives de l'Afrique ou de l'Asie » soient maintenant conduites en armes les unes contre les autres par ces mêmes blancs qui leur ont apporté l'Evangile... »

A quoi nous laisserons un neutre, un Suisse, répondre dans la *Gazette de Lausanne* : « Dans la guerre actuelle, il n'est pas exagéré de dire que ce sont les sauvages qui se sont conduits en gens civilisés, et les gens soi-disant cultivés qui se sont conduits en sauvages ».

D'ailleurs, ajoute-t-il : « Les Allemands oublient toujours de le dire, c'est de leur plein gré que toutes ces peuplades versent leur sang pour ceux qui les ont initiées à une vie supérieure. Tirailleurs algériens, tirailleurs marocains, tirailleurs sénégalais, Gourkhas, Sikhs, tous sont des volontaires qui se battent parce qu'ils le veulent bien. S'ils le font, il faut bien admettre que ceux pour qui ils se battent ont su se faire aimer d'eux, leur inspirer confiance et respect. Leur dévouement est un hommage à cette civilisation qui leur a été apportée et dont ils commencent à goûter les bienfaits. Et cet hommage, quoi qu'en disent les intellectuels germains, est beau et touchant. »

En terminant, les compatriotes des assassins de femmes et

d'enfants, les compatriotes de soldats qui protègent leur ligne de feu par un cordon de femmes, de vieillards et d'enfants, les compatriotes des incendiaires de Belgique et de Reims nous disent : « Nous nous adressons à la conscience de nos frères chrétiens à l'étranger, et nous leur posons la question : « Qu'est-ce que Dieu attend de vous » ?

Eh bien, pour vous répondre, nous consultons notre conscience et les faits que nous estimons définitifs et prouvés, et c'est devant Dieu que nous vous disons à notre tour : Informez-vous. Actuellement, vous ne savez rien sur la façon dont vos chefs et vos soldats ont conduit cette guerre. Si vous le saviez, nous vous faisons cette confiance que vous reculerez d'horreur.

Faites votre enquête et dites-nous ce que vous pensez. C'est à votre réponse que nous pourrions juger de votre valeur morale et de la qualité de votre christianisme .

En attendant, nous ne pouvons vous dire qu'une seule chose : nous n'avons, nous Français, aucune responsabilité dans l'origine de cette guerre. Si notre peuple l'avait voulue, il l'aurait au moins préparée, et, pour la déclarer, il eût attendu que la loi de trois ans eût atteint son plein effet en 1916.

L'Allemagne, au contraire, y a été conduite par les conséquences de sa fatale politique industrielle et commerciale ; par ses ambitions politiques, par la propagande incessante de ses militaires et de ses publicistes. Elle y était dès longtemps décidée, et cela est si vrai que c'est sous la plume des neutres, Américains ou Suisses, que l'on trouve des déclarations comme celle-ci : « Nous savons par les révélations de M. Giolitti, que les alliés de l'Europe centrale voulaient la guerre dès 1913, un an avant l'assassinat de l'archiduc héritier d'Autriche, dont ils ont pris prétexte en 1914. (E. Millioud, *Bibliothèque universelle*, avril 1915, p. 82).

Dans ces conditions, nous ne pouvons, nous, chrétiens protestants français, que tenir notre place au milieu de notre peuple et à côté de nos alliés pour les aider de nos prières, de nos vœux, de la vaillance et du sang de nos fils à faire jusqu'au bout une guerre de justice et de libération.

La Prusse, depuis des siècles, et l'Allemagne depuis 1870, ont mené une politique de violence et de conquêtes qui ne pouvait aboutir qu'à liguier un jour contre elle tous les peuples qui ne veulent pas de maîtres et qui entendent poursuivre librement leurs destinées nationales. La guerre actuelle, imprudemment déchaînée par une nation qui avait trop compté sur ses forces, libérera les provinces que la politique de l'intérêt avait asservies ; elle libérera l'Alsace et la Lorraine arrachées

contre leur volonté à leur mère-patrie. Et pour nous, tout en plaignant ceux qui n'ont pas vu jusqu'où une politique mondiale sans générosité et sans vraie grandeur entraînerait leur pays, nous saluerons de nos bénédictions toutes les revanches du droit, tous les retours attendus de la justice et de la liberté.

En nous exprimant ainsi, nous ne perdons pas de vue la grande cause de l'évangélisation du monde païen et musulman, au nom de laquelle les chrétiens protestants d'Allemagne ont cru devoir s'adresser à leurs coreligionnaires de l'étranger. Nous avons autant qu'eux le désir ardent d'amener à la foi chrétienne les peuples d'Asie et d'Afrique, afin qu'un jour vienne où, selon la promesse du Christ, il n'y ait plus sur la terre « qu'un seul troupeau, un seul pasteur. » Nous déplorons que cette guerre ait affaibli la chrétienté protestante en la déchirant en deux grandes fractions, comme d'ailleurs la chrétienté catholique. En des temps plus heureux, beaucoup d'entre nous s'étaient plu à entretenir, avec les protestants d'Allemagne, des relations d'amitié aujourd'hui brisées. Nous ne voyons pas quand ces relations pourront être reprises, et comment une assemblée analogue à la conférence missionnaire d'Edimbourg pourra être convoquée à l'avenir.

Mais, en nous remettant à Dieu du soin de réparer, si possible, les ruines qui nous affligent, nous restons convaincus que la paix ne doit pas être rétablie au prix d'un malentendu. Nous disons avec nos coreligionnaires anglais : « Si chère que nous soit la paix, les principes de loyauté et d'honneur nous sont encore plus chers. » (1) Et, en attendant le jour, sans doute lointain, où l'unité morale du protestantisme pourra de nouveau se manifester dans son entier, nous sommes résolus à marcher cœur à cœur avec nos frères d'Angleterre, et coude à coude avec nos amis d'Amérique, de la Suisse romande, de Hollande, des pays scandinaves, ayant la certitude de représenter avec eux la tradition la plus pure de la Réforme du XVI^e siècle, celle qui entend unir toujours plus étroitement à la piété évangélique la pratique de la justice, le respect de l'indépendance d'autrui, et le souci de la grande fraternité humaine.

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(1) The Primate's Reply to German theologians, 23 sept. 1914.

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LA DÉVIATION MATÉRIALISTE

DE LA

CIVILISATION CHRÉTIENNE

LES IDÉES DU GÉNÉRAL VON BERNHARDI



PARIS

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LA DÉVIATION MATÉRIALISTE

DE LA

CIVILISATION CHRÉTIENNE

(LES IDÉES DU GÉNÉRAL VON BERNHARDI) (1).

Messieurs,

Dans une étude sur le *Protestantisme et la guerre de 1870*, Frédéric Lichtenberger, alors en Alsace, et qui devait être quelques années plus tard le premier doyen de la Faculté de théologie protestante de Paris, en observant l'état religieux et moral de l'Allemagne à cette époque, écrivait dans la *Revue chrétienne*, en 1871 :

« Rien de plus impuissant et de plus insipide que ce christianisme officiel de Berlin, cette dévotion aristocratique qui vide les Eglises et jette le peuple dans les idées matérialistes et socialistes. Le protestantisme que la Prusse patronne actuellement n'est qu'un catholicisme bâtard, sans grandeur, sans poésie ! Qui pourra réparer le tort qu'il a fait à la religion véritable ? Dès maintenant, en dépit des apparences contraires, il y a plus d'incrédulité et d'aversion systématique contre l'Evangile en Allemagne que dans d'autres pays moins éclairés et moins instruits qu'elle. »

Ainsi déjà en 1871, Frédéric Lichtenberger, qui avait été professeur à Strasbourg et avait entretenu les relations les plus étroites avec quelques-uns des représentants de la pensée allemande, constatait, chez nos ennemis d'alors et d'aujourd'hui, un affaiblissement de l'influence chrétienne et protestante, et prédisait un acheminement de la nation vers une conception de plus en plus matérialiste, ou pour être plus exact, *naturaliste*, de la

(1) Conférence prononcée à l'Oratoire du Louvre le 25 mars 1915.

vie et surtout des relations entre les peuples. Jugement singulièrement pénétrant et que confirme d'une manière éclatante un regard jeté sur les origines et la nature de la guerre actuelle.

Notre intention n'est pas d'expliquer, ce soir, cette perversion de la conscience allemande sous l'influence du militarisme prussien — peut-être est-il prématuré d'essayer cette explication ; certaines données, celles qu'on ne connaîtra qu'après la guerre, nous manquent, — ni de décrire l'évolution de l'idéal philosophique et politique de l'Allemagne depuis 1870 jusqu'à nos jours. Vous avez peut-être lu ce que nos deux célèbres philosophes français contemporains, MM. Boutroux et Bergson, en ont pensé, et vous trouverez aussi sur ce sujet des pages magistrales de M. Henri Lichtenberger, dans son livre sur l'*Allemagne moderne*, et dans l'ouvrage tout récent de M. Ernest Denis, intitulé *La Guerre*, avec ce sous-titre révélateur : *L'intorication d'un peuple*.

Notre tâche, en un sens, est plus circonscrite. Nous désirons vous présenter un des produits les plus authentiques de l'esprit allemand contemporain, au moins en ce qui regarde la guerre, l'Etat, et la suprématie prétendue de la culture allemande. Nous désirons vous parler d'un livre que les Anglais appellent avec un peu d'emphase : *Le livre qui a fait la guerre*, et qui, en tous cas, représente la fleur — si on peut se servir d'un tel mot pour désigner un objet affreux — la fleur du militarisme prussien le plus récent.

Ce n'est pas que le livre du général von Bernhardi : *L'Allemagne et la prochaine guerre*, (1) paru en 1911, ait obtenu en Allemagne un succès étourdissant — je dois faire cette réserve, — et qu'il n'ait, chez ceux qui l'ont lu, soulevé quelques protestations. Je rappellerai même qu'en septembre 1913, l'*Association allemande pour la conciliation internationale*, a publié un livre rédigé par le secrétaire de la société, le professeur Nippold, de Iéna. Ce volume, intitulé *Deutscher Chauvinismus*, reproduit des citations de Bernhardi, et son but, tel qu'il est énoncé dans la préface, était de révéler au peuple allemand le danger que cet écrivain faisait courir à l'Allemagne. Malheureusement, ces sages avis n'ont éveillé qu'un très faible écho, et l'ouvrage dont je veux vous entretenir ne nous fournit pas moins le point d'arrivée de la philosophie militaire de l'Allemagne actuelle, et un exemple de la déviation stupéfiante subie par la conscience po-

(1) Traduit en anglais : *Germany and the next war*. Les citations sont d'après l'édition anglaise.

litique d'un peuple auquel l'humanité est pourtant redevable d'un Luther, le héros de la conscience chrétienne au 16^e siècle, non le plus radical mais le plus génial réformateur de l'Eglise, d'un Leibnitz, d'un Sébastien Bach, d'un Lessing, d'un Kant, d'un Beethoven, d'un Schiller, proclamé par la Révolution française, citoyen de la République, d'un Goethe, d'un Schleiermacher, l'incomparable rénovateur de la piété et de la théologie protestante au début du 19^e siècle, et j'ajouterais ici encore le nom d'un musicien, si notre grand Saint-Saëns ne nous suppliait en ce moment de ne pas le prononcer.

Donc, le livre de Bernhardi, élève docile du pangermanisme militariste des Clausewitz, Treistchke, Julius von Hartmann, nous permet de saisir en raccourci la doctrine qui a déterminé — à moins que cette doctrine ne soit elle-même le résultat de causes plus profondes, — la déviation de la civilisation allemande depuis cinquante ans.

Avant de vous en donner un aperçu, voici quelques indications sur l'auteur lui-même et sur les mérites de son œuvre.

Le général von Bernhardi est surtout connu comme auteur d'ouvrages sur la tactique militaire, et ce n'est qu'assez récemment qu'il s'est aventuré à écrire des ouvrages sur la philosophie de la guerre et l'avenir politique de l'Allemagne (1). On le dit très lié avec le Kronprinz, et un des familiers de la maison.

Son livre sur *l'Allemagne et la prochaine guerre* est d'une clarté saisissante, ce qui est rare dans un livre allemand. L'auteur est inquiet des tendances de la vie allemande à se complaire dans la jouissance grossière encouragée par une trop longue paix, et il écrit pour réveiller son peuple endormi. Il est versé dans la philosophie de l'Etat, un peu selon Fichte, un peu selon Hegel, mais surtout selon le célèbre historien Treischke, et son exposé des devoirs que l'Etat demande aux individus de remplir pourrait servir de modèle à bien des réformateurs sociaux. Il s'élève parfois à une certaine hauteur morale, en s'appropriant quelques affirmations de Kant sur l'obéissance au devoir, pour la seule valeur du devoir, et commente à plusieurs reprises cette maxime que je trouve assez belle, de Maximilien Harden, le célèbre journaliste pangermaniste : « Celui qui veut jouir avant tout, ne sera jamais le maître de son destin. » La religion est décrite comme une expérience intérieure ; le formalisme et

(1) L'autre ouvrage de Bernhardi *L'Avenir*, n'atténue en rien les opinions contenues dans le livre que nous analysons.

le dogmatisme sont condamnés. Les connaissances en économie politique, en histoire, en psychologie sociale, en sciences militaires, sont puisées aux meilleures sources. Aucune déclamation. Un style sobre, précis, fort. En résumé, on pourrait dire que ce livre, en un grand nombre de ses pages, fournit le modèle de ce qu'un penseur doit savoir s'il veut se mesurer avec le problème de la destinée d'un peuple.

Mais à l'intérieur de cette science, de cette philosophie, de cette morale, se joue un drame horrible. Au centre de cette vaste toile, se tient une araignée féroce. Les ressources des connaissances humaines sont mises au service et à la merci d'une obsession qui mérite d'être appelée diabolique, à savoir que la civilisation moderne n'est qu'un système de forces, toutes scientifiquement contrôlables, et pouvant par suite être captées, exploitées, en faveur de l'ambition égoïste d'une seule nation.

L'humanité est considérée comme une simple proie pour le peuple qui sait se montrer, par le moyen de la guerre, le plus violent et le plus fourbe. Considérées dans le détail, plusieurs des valeurs qui composent ce livre sont pleines de sagesse et parfois de grandeur morale, mais dans l'organisme général du système, elles deviennent des sources d'iniquité et ne servent qu'à glorifier la guerre, à la rendre atroce et impérissable.

Tel est l'esprit vraiment satanique de ce livre, de ce quadruple extrait du pangermanisme militariste.

Et voici maintenant quelques citations ou résumés d'idées qui achèveront de vous éclairer.

Je continue simplement à exposer :

« La guerre est une nécessité biologique de la première importance, un élément régulateur de la vie de l'humanité. Privé de cet élément, la vie devient la proie d'une évolution malsaine qui exclut tout progrès de la race et par suite toute vraie civilisation. » (1)

« La guerre laboure et ensemence le champ où germent toutes les vertus, car à chaque instant de sa durée, elle fait fleurir la magnanimité, la pitié, l'héroïsme, la courtoisie. » (2).

« La force est de prime abord le droit suprême et la querelle pour savoir où est le droit n'est vidée que par la guerre. La guerre donne toujours une décision biologiquement juste, et ses décisions s'appuient sur la nature même des choses. » (3).

« C'est dans la guerre qu'une nation vraiment civilisée trouve la plus haute expression de sa vitalité et de sa culture. » (4).

(1) p. 18. (2) p. 19. (3) p. 23. (4) p. 26.

Ici, intervient le rôle de l'Etat, et nous nous trouvons en présence d'une notion à la fois mystique et naturaliste de l'Etat qui est bien dans la manière de la philosophie moniste allemande, surtout de celle de Haekel.

Si, continue Bernhardi, la vie de l'individu et de la nation est considérée comme un incident qui se termine après la mort — l'auteur semble croire tout au moins à la survivance individuelle — alors le but suprême de l'homme est de jouir de cette vie, et l'Etat bornera son action à protéger la vie et la propriété de ses membres. Si l'Etat n'est qu'un bureau d'assurances pour les individus qui le composent, alors la guerre est un mal. Mais si, au contraire, nous considérons la vie individuelle et celle de l'Etat comme une fraction de l'existence collective de l'humanité, dont le but final n'est pas la jouissance individuelle, mais le développement mondial des puissances intellectuelles et morales, le rôle de l'Etat apparaît tout différent. Il n'a plus pour tâche essentielle de procurer les avantages de la civilisation à l'individu, mais d'exalter le plus possible l'énergie de la nation et de lui procurer cette influence sur le monde qui contribue au progrès combiné de l'humanité. Mais l'Etat ne peut rien directement pour l'humanité, il ne peut travailler que pour lui-même. Son devoir est de devenir toujours plus fort, et il ne le devient que par la guerre.

L'Etat est un absolu. Environné par d'autres Etats qui prétendent eux aussi à l'absolu, il ne peut trancher le différend que par le glaive.

Si un Etat n'est pas en mesure de défendre sa neutralité, celle-ci ne peut-être respectée. (1). Les petits Etats sont destinés à disparaître. Il n'y a pas de droit international, parce qu'il n'y a pas de force capable de l'imposer. Les obligations internationales cessent du jour où l'intérêt de l'Etat l'exige. Négocier sans avoir une armée prête à se battre, c'est vouloir faire de la musique sans instruments. Le mot est de Frédéric II, et il est d'ailleurs assez juste.

Enfin l'Allemagne est encerclée par ses ennemis qui l'empêchent de s'étendre conformément à l'augmentation incessante de sa population, et à la supériorité de sa culture générale. Tout ce que les autres nations ont obtenu par la guerre, pourquoi l'Allemagne ne l'obtiendrait-elle pas par les mêmes moyens ? Si l'Etat allemand n'aspirait à gouverner le monde, il serait infidèle au devoir premier de tout Etat qui est de croître en puissance, et comme il n'y a point de puissance spirituelle séparée de

(1) p. 19.

celle des armes, la préparation de la guerre constitue la politique par excellence.

Que si nous demandons à Bernhardi ce que devient en tout ceci la religion ou tout au moins la morale chrétienne, il répond que celle-ci n'a aucune signification possible entre les Etats. Elle ne s'adresse qu'aux individus à l'intérieur de l'Etat. La morale, et spécialement la morale chrétienne est purement individuelle et nullement politique. » « Surtout que MM. les pasteurs ne fassent pas de politique, s'écriait en 1896, Guillaume II, car des pasteurs qui font de la politique sont des monstres. » L'objet de la religion, continue Bernhardi, est la sanctification de l'individu en vue d'accroître la puissance de l'Etat. Mais l'action religieuse s'arrête aux frontières. « Vous représentez-vous un Etat discutant avec un autre Etat, la catéchisme à la main ? » Imagination absurde ! « Aimer un autre pays, dit textuellement Bernhardi, c'est manquer d'amour envers son pays. »

Il est vrai que le Christ nous a commandé d'aimer nos ennemis, mais il n'a pas détruit le fait de l'inimitié. Le christianisme n'abroge nullement la loi universelle de la lutte pour la vie entre les Etats, et l'œuvre du christianisme comme celle de la guerre, consiste à encourager l'héroïsme.

Le passage sur les rapports entre le christianisme et la théorie allemande de l'Etat ne tient qu'une page. (1) Et cela se comprend.

Telle est, messieurs, la substance de ce livre ; voilà sur quels principes repose, au moins chez les dirigeants, le patriotisme allemand de 1914.

Vous comprendrez qu'il nous est impossible de faire une étude complète des nombreux et difficiles problèmes que soulève un semblable exposé.

S'agit-il des rapports entre le christianisme et l'Etat ? Il faudrait alors commencer par distinguer, dans le christianisme, *le sacrifice*, qui ne s'opère que dans les consciences individuelles, sans aucun contrôle possible, et *la justice* qui peut faire l'objet d'une règle générale, d'une loi d'Etat et aussi d'une loi internationale.

En tant qu'inspirateur des sacrifices, le christianisme n'a point de rapports avec l'Etat. En tant que le sacrifice est un phénomène purement individuel et spontané, ne relevant que de la conscience de l'individu, l'Etat reste en dehors de cet élément caractéristique du christianisme ; l'Etat, à ce point de vue, n'est

(1) La page 29.

et ne peut être chrétien. Aucun Etat n'est obligé de se sacrifier lui-même. Telle est la lueur de vérité que contiennent les théories de Bernhardi.

Mais, par contre, le christianisme est aussi justice, loyauté, fidélité aux engagements ; et alors séparer absolument le christianisme de l'Etat, et l'Eglise, de la vie politique, arracher l'Etat, comme le font aujourd'hui les pangermanistes, à l'influence chrétienne de la justice et du respect chrétien des conventions internationales, c'est le livrer aux seules influences du « matérialisme historique » et nécessairement le paganiser. C'est le cas de l'Etat allemand, en ce qui regarde les relations internationales.

Mais on voit la difficulté du problème, et je n'en ai indiqué que quelques données.

Voici maintenant l'affirmation de la nécessité biologique de la guerre entre les peuples. Cette prétendue nécessité suppose l'impuissance absolue de l'idée de justice dans l'ordre des réalités sociales, c'est-à-dire l'incapacité absolue, pour une collectivité d'êtres humains, d'évoluer vers un autre idéal que celui d'une collectivité purement animale ; c'est finalement la faillite non seulement de l'Evangile, mais encore de la loi morale. Si la biologie seule est appelée à régler désormais les relations humaines, il faut donc abolir tous les progrès sociaux si péniblement obtenus, rétablir officiellement l'esclavage et la polygamie et chercher notre modèle chez les peuplades sauvages qui honorent grandement le caractère « biologique » de la guerre, puisqu'elles passent leur vie à se battre les unes contre les autres. Nous n'avons pas le temps de discuter de pareilles insanités.

Voici le rôle éducateur de la guerre. Ici, on pourrait en effet rappeler certaines secousses salutaires, produites par les conflits armés, sur l'organisme d'un peuple, certaines victoires du droit obtenues par certaines guerres, et reconnaître que si un peuple ne veut pas obéir à la discipline chrétienne de la vie, s'il ne veut pas se charger du joug aisé du Nazaréen, il se trouve engagé tôt ou tard, pour ne pas périr dans la corruption, à passer sous les roues ensanglantées du militarisme absolu. Ou la discipline de la loi chrétienne, ou celle de la guerre. J'admets pour mon compte ce dilemme. Il faudrait cependant ajouter que les petits Etats si méprisés par l'Autriche et l'Allemagne d'aujourd'hui, les Etats pacifiques comme la Suisse, la Hollande, la Suède et la Norvège, ne se montrent nullement inférieurs en valeur morale, en puissance intellectuelle, à leurs grands voisins guerriers, et que l'exemple donné par la petite Serbie et par la résistance de l'innocente Belgique — la Belgique qui ne faisait pas de la guerre son industrie nationale — l'emporte par

la noblesse et l'héroïsme sur toutes les vertus de leurs agresseurs.

Donc la plupart des affirmations du militarisme allemand prêtent à des objections de fait que Bernhardi n'entrevoit même pas, et il serait facile d'indiquer d'autres exemples des défectuosités de sa pensée.

Mais voici, nous semble-t-il, le point central de toute la philosophie de la guerre actuellement en vogue chez les maîtres paganisés de l'Allemagne, et qui explique le caractère barbare de son patriotisme.

Le principe fondamental de ce patriotisme à la Bernhardi d'où découle ce qu'on a appelé une « barbarie scientifique », c'est en réalité le caractère à la fois mystique et naturaliste, ou naturiste, de l'Etat.

Si, à l'intérieur de l'Etat allemand, la loi morale, et je dirai même la morale chrétienne, garde autant de prestige qu'elle peut en avoir dans d'autres Etats, malgré l'affaiblissement reconnu de l'influence des Eglises officielles, aussi bien protestantes que catholiques, en dehors de l'Etat, nous l'avons vu, ce prestige s'évanouit, car l'Etat par lui-même, répétons-le, est un absolu qui n'a de comptes à rendre à personne.

L'Etat, c'est Dieu sur la terre, selon la formule de Hegel, formule reprise en tous sens, et parfois déformée, — car chez Hegel l'Etat ne repose pas avant tout sur la force — et surtout militarisée par Bismarck et Treitchke. Disons plus nettement : pour la pensée allemande actuelle, l'Etat est une idole, et cette idole ne connaît d'autres lois, dans ses relations avec les autres Etats que les lois de la nature, dans le sens matérialiste du mot, et renie les lois de l'esprit.

Il faudrait ici, en bonne logique, une analyse critique d'une pareille notion de l'Etat et de l'idolâtrie qu'elle provoque chez ceux qui le constituent. Mais une théorie — au moins dans l'ordre politique et social, peut être condamnée non seulement par la découverte de ses contradictions internes et l'impuissance où elle se trouve d'expliquer tous les faits, mais aussi par la nature même de ses conséquences, et de conséquences telles — il y a une conscience générale du bien et du mal, il y a la conscience assez désintéressée des peuples neutres — si révoltantes et si absurdes, que la théorie s'écroule sur elle-même, se détruit elle-même à mesure qu'elle essaie de s'appliquer. Le service rendu par une pareille démonstration est le seul dont nous puissions savoir quelque gré au général Bernhardi et à ses amis.

Voici donc ce que produit tout d'abord, doctrinalement, la théo-

rie allemande de l'Etat, illustrée — si l'on peut dire — par cette guerre.

A l'intérieur des nations chacun doit à son prochain la justice, la pitié et la vérité, mais au delà des frontières de chaque Etat, on ne se connaît plus. Il n'existe pas de droits que nous soyons tenus de respecter. La couleur du ciel par un beau jour d'été subsiste de ce côté-ci du Rhin comme de l'autre ; le mystère de la vie humaine est aussi captivant, la noblesse de l'art et du chant, les merveilles de la science demeurent équivalentes, mais il y a une exception. La loi morale a disparu. Dès que l'on franchit la limite « allemande » de l'Etat, l'étranger n'a plus aucun droit sur vous ni vous sur lui. Vous êtes absolument libre de le traiter à votre fantaisie, si vous en avez la force, bien entendu, et pourvu que votre attitude ne cause aucun dommage à votre pays. Il vous arrivera, il est vrai, de nuire à votre propre intérêt ou à celui de votre pays, si vous allez trop loin — l'Allemagne ne vient-elle pas de tomber dans le piège de cette horrible doctrine ? — mais vous n'avez aucun devoir à l'égard de l'étranger, ni de la nation ennemie, ni de l'humanité. Le cours du Rhin change toutes les conditions de la conduite. Ainsi, en politique étrangère, l'homme d'état peut mentir sans déshonneur, falsifier les dépêches, violer ses serments. Telle était déjà la doctrine de Frédéric II remise en vigueur par Bismarck et Bethmann-Holweg.

A l'humanité en tant qu'humanité, l'homme d'Etat ne doit rien. En fait, les intérêts de l'humanité sont toujours mieux garantis quand chaque Etat ne songe qu'à lui-même. Telle est la seule concession de l'étatisme allemand à l'idée d'une communauté d'intérêts entre les peuples.

Rien de répugnant comme le spectacle de l'humanité future tel qu'il résulte de la théorie allemande, alors que la suspicion, la violence et la crainte seront les seules maîtresses du monde. Il me semble — je ne sais pas si je me trompe — que si l'on n'a gardé même qu'un souvenir de l'Evangile, une telle humanité fait songer à une maison de fous. La conclusion est inévitable. La loi biologique de l'Univers c'est la lutte pour la vie. La lutte pour la vie, c'est la guerre. Donc la guerre est d'institution divine, puisque la théorie allemande n'ose pas se dire athée. Ah ! si elle le reconnaissait, on serait au moins soulagé !...

Donc, la guerre est d'institution divine ; c'est la théorie trop souvent, il est vrai, pour la honte de l'Eglise, soutenue par un grand nombre de docteurs chrétiens, notamment par le grand écrivain catholique français Joseph de Maistre, mais remise au point de la culture moderne.

Donc, si elle est divine, elle est bonne, utile, bienfaisante. Regardez la vérité en face. Les races fortes accepteront cette loi et s'en feront un collier de gloires. Elles s'armeront sans cesse aussi bien pour une guerre agressive que pour une guerre défensive. « La guerre, dit Bernhardi, est la terrible médecine que Dieu emploie pour remédier à la lâcheté et à l'égoïsme humains. L'amour de la paix chez un peuple prépare sa décadence. »

Et l'on se flatte que de pareils principes en politique étrangère ne réagissent pas fatalement sur la vie intérieure de l'Etat ? On s'imagine que cette négation radicale du droit international ne détruit pas, à la longue, la notion du droit entre les citoyens d'un même pays ? Pourtant l'histoire nous montre ce que deviennent les races de proie quand la conscience du droit ne se réveille pas. Elles périssent, comme périt l'empire romain, comme agonise, dans l'anarchie, l'empire de Mahomet. Se conduire comme un bandit hors de chez soi encourage tôt ou tard le banditisme entre les membres de la famille. Et si on regarde assez longtemps, je ne vois pas dans l'histoire d'exception à cette règle.

Voilà donc quelques-unes des conséquences, au moins doctrinales, de la théorie allemande de l'Etat.

Voici maintenant depuis sept mois de guerre les conséquences pratiques. Nous savons aujourd'hui comment l'état-major allemand comprend la guerre. Nous reconnaissons, si vous voulez, qu'il nous en a montré aussi les aspects grandioses par le courage et l'esprit de sacrifice dont chaque Allemand a fait preuve vis-à-vis de sa patrie. Si la guerre ne consistait qu'à développer une endurance et une discipline splendides et à donner sa vie pour son pays, on pourrait peut-être s'entendre ; mais avec la notion allemande de l'Etat et de la guerre, il ne s'agit pas seulement de « briser la volonté des armées ennemies » par le moyen de cette discipline et de cette endurance, — ce qui est la bonne doctrine de l'état-major français — il s'agit de *détruire l'ennemi*, quand même il faudrait ainsi infliger aux populations civiles les plus effroyables souffrances. Or, jamais comme dans cette guerre, sinon dans les guerres du moyen-âge — relire à ce sujet le chrétien désespoir de la Jeanne d'Arc, de Ch. Péguy, — de pareilles tortures n'ont été subies par les populations sans défense de la Belgique et de nos départements envahis. Il n'est pas nécessaire ici de lire des récits d'atrocités spéciales, mais de s'appuyer uniquement sur les faits reconnus de tous et qui ont été approuvés publiquement par le militarisme en faveur duquel Bernhardi a écrit son livre. Or, ces faits, d'après sa théorie, font partie de la divine nécessité de la guerre. Un homme et une femme sont assis, causant tranquillement entre eux, à Anvers, dans le calme

d'un soir d'automne. Aucun avis préalable de bombardement n'a été donné. Un Zeppelin cingle dans le ciel noir, jette des bombes tout près d'eux, et ce qui reste de ces deux créatures inoffensives est une bouillie de chair et de sang. Près d'une centaine de personnes sont tuées ou blessées à côté d'eux. A Paris, plusieurs jours après la bataille de la Marne, à 80 kilomètres du front de bataille le plus rapproché, un vieillard et un enfant se promènent, avenue Kléber ; un taube passe au-dessus d'eux ; explosion ; le vieillard est tué et l'enfant a une jambe emportée. L'auteur de ce haut fait, un fort et hardi guerrier, s'en retourne triomphalement à travers les airs pour recevoir à son arrivée les honneurs militaires (1).

Et combien d'autres crimes plus atroces encore, plus étendus et aussi inutiles !

Cependant, d'après la théorie du général Bernhardi, d'après son enseignement technique, de pareils actes militaires sont une conséquence des lois biologiques, et ces lois viennent de Dieu. Comme je le disais, il y a un instant, l'athéisme est une doctrine paradisiaque en face d'une religion de cette sorte. Tous les sophismes concernant l'immoralité obligatoire entre nations flambent comme des bouts de fil sous le feu de la colère qu'allument de pareils actes en toute conscience non corrompue par le militarisme allemand.

Dira-t-on, bien que Bernhardi ne fasse cette réserve nulle part, que de pareils actes restent en dehors de la pratique loyale de la guerre ? Mais pourquoi n'y seraient-ils pas inclus si on les juge efficaces ? D'après sa théorie, ils ne méritent aucun blâme. En état de guerre, tout est permis à l'égard des hommes, des femmes et des enfants de la nation ennemie. Ils n'ont ni droits, ni sauvegarde. Toutes les atrocités se trouvent légitimées dès l'instant qu'elles peuvent concourir à l'agrandissement de l'Etat. Si le militarisme pangermaniste a raison, il faut aller jusque-là.

C'est comme l'espionnage. Toutes les nations le pratiquent. L'espion est, paraît-il, aussi nécessaire à la conduite de la guerre que les héros dans les tranchées. Cependant qui niera la vilénie d'un homme qui voyage en pays étranger, noue des relations amicales avec les habitants, est reçu avec courtoisie et bienveil-

(1) Le bombardement de Carlsruhe, par les avions français, n'eut lieu qu'en juin. C'est une imitation aussi tardive que possible des procédés allemands, et qui mérite, à mon sens, la même condamnation. Mais des actes de cette nature — distinction notable — ne font point partie de la philosophie française de la guerre. Ce sont de simples accès de colère que beaucoup trouvent légitimes.

lance dans les familles, et là, ne pense qu'à exploiter la confiance et la bonté dont il est l'objet, pour amener sur la terre dont il est l'hôte respecté les horreurs de l'invasion ? Est-ce que des ignominies pareilles constituent un élément nécessaire au développement des Etats ? Est-ce qu'il existe une nation douée de quelque noblesse d'âme qui soit fière de ses espions comme de ses héros ?

Eh bien, selon les principes du militarisme allemand, il n'y a là que préjugé sentimental. L'hospitalité accordée à un étranger est une folie criminelle, et l'étranger qui sait tirer parti de cette hospitalité est un sage et magnifique patriote.

Donc la guerre en permanence entre les Etats — d'une manière ouverte ou latente — puis, entre les individus appartenant à des nationalités différentes, une guerre continuelle de fourberie, voilà l'idéal politique et social que la culture allemande de ces dernières années propose à notre admiration.

Les peuples organisés en féodalités militaires, répudiant comme une émanation de l'enfer l'esprit de la Révolution française, écrasant l'individu sous un perpétuel état de siège, et tous les peuples de l'Europe placés sous l'hégémonie de l'Allemagne, voilà le salut mondial que Bernhardi et ses émules ont prêché à leurs concitoyens.

Sinistre exemple de la déviation de la civilisation chrétienne, a-t-on dit ? Disons plus exactement *de la civilisation*.

Car depuis le déchaînement de cette guerre, organisée par des peuples officiellement chrétiens, depuis le lâche ultimatum de l'Autriche à la Serbie et la violation de la Belgique, le visage du Christ a été recouvert d'une épaisse nuée de sang et de fumée. On ne le voit plus. Il n'y a plus, pour le moment, en Europe de civilisation chrétienne.

Mais il y a, pour ne parler que de notre principal ennemi et de nous-mêmes, une civilisation allemande et une civilisation française. L'idéal politique de chacune des deux races apparaît maintenant dans sa nudité, et il se trouve que l'idéal de la France, officiellement libre penseuse, laïque et démocratique rayonne d'une souveraine beauté en face de l'idéal d'une Allemagne officiellement dévote, féodale et militarisée. Car enfin, pourquoi la France a-t-elle été obligée de tirer l'épée ? Parce que la Russie n'a pas voulu laisser écraser la Serbie et que la France a pris fait et cause pour son alliée. Sans doute, il y avait tous les souvenirs de 1870 qui nous rongeaient le cœur, il y avait le sort de l'Alsace et de la Lorraine tyrannisées dont nous ne pouvions pourtant pas nous désintéresser ; mais qui a créé l'unanimité splendide de la nation le soir du 1^{er} août ? Est-ce l'idée d'une re-

vanche, est-ce le désir d'un agrandissement territorial, est-ce la moindre velléité de domination, est-ce le culte matérialiste de l'Etat ? Jamais de la vie ! Nous sommes restés des individualistes indisciplinés, nous avons failli être la victime — nous l'avons été en quelque mesure — de notre imprévoyance, de l'incurie de certaines administrations, de notre va comme-je-te-pousse, qui est l'un de nos péchés nationaux — et nous en avons d'autres — ; nous prenons même plaisir à les étaler, presque à nous en vanter, ce qui faisait dire à M^e Swetchine, dans son premier voyage en France : « Depuis que je suis en France, je n'en entends dire que du mal. » Mais, derrière ces tares et ces vices de notre tempérament national, par dessous toutes ces déformations de la surface, est arrivée tout à coup une lame de fond qui a fait surgir devant nos regards, le vrai génie de la France, toujours aussi vivant, aussi pur qu'en 1789, le génie des droits de l'homme et de la libération des peuples.

« La civilisation allemande, disait déjà Henri Heine en 1833, a pour effet de rétrécir le cœur qui se contracte comme le cuir par le froid ; l'Allemand hait tout ce qui est étranger, il n'est plus européen, il ne veut plus être qu'un Allemand exclusif. La civilisation française échauffe au contraire le cœur et par cette chaleur le cœur s'ouvre ; le Français n'aime pas seulement ses proches, mais la France entière et son amour embrasse tous les pays de la civilisation. »

Et dix-huit siècles auparavant, Tacite écrivait déjà : *Germani ad proedam pugnabant. Galli pro libertate*. Les Germains se battaient pour conquérir du butin, les Gaulois pour la liberté. Et cela n'a pas changé. Les Germains suivent leur instinct et nous le nôtre. Oui, nous nous battons toujours, la France se bat aujourd'hui plus que jamais, non pas seulement pour ses droits à elle, mais pour le droit et pour le salut des petits peuples asservis. C'est pour cette cause-là que des milliers d'entre nous ont donné leurs enfants, leurs maris, leurs pères, leurs amis et leurs frères.

Cette guerre se livre entre la culture allemande qui ne reconnaît que le droit allemand, et l'idée française de la culture humaine qui ne reconnaît que les droits de l'homme, quelle que soit sa nationalité.

Cette guerre nous permet donc de nous ressaisir dans notre tradition la plus intime, de nous replacer dans notre meilleure nature, de suivre notre véritable génie ; et ce génie, tout laïque et démocratique et libre penseur qu'il s'affiche, infesté, dit-on par l'esprit des encyclopédistes, et par tous les Michelet et les idéalistes français du 19^e siècle, ressemble davantage au génie

du Fils de l'Homme que celui de l'actuelle civilisation allemande, déshonorée devant l'histoire par l'adoration fanatique d'un Etat idolâtre et meurtrier.

C'est en croyant à cette résurrection splendide que tous les Français d'aujourd'hui laissent couler leur sang.

Puisse la France, à la conclusion de la paix, ne pas se renier elle-même, ne pas s'annexer la mentalité allemande ; alors son calvaire de 1914-1915 sera suivi d'une magnifique résurrection qui profitera à l'humanité tout entière

J.-Emile ROBERTY

"Scare- Mongerings"

FROM THE

Daily Mail

1896—1914

The Paper that Foretold the War.

Compiled by

TWELLS BREX

THIS BOOK

THIS collection of extracts traces the beginning of Prussian hostility to the British Empire from 1864, pointing out how it was accentuated by England's neutrality in 1870, and by her attitude in 1875.

The book is of value as showing the great efforts made by successive British Governments to avoid conflict with Germany. Above all, it is a record of unremitting newspaper effort, in the face of intense hostility, to urge that the British Navy and Army should be kept in a condition to meet the present crisis. Particularly interesting are the accounts of German spy work in England, and the speeches and writings of our pro-German public men and journalists, who were either personally hypnotised by the Kaiser or grossly deficient in prevision. The work contains a good deal of forgotten writings by the late Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. W. T. Stead, and Mr. G. W. Steevens, as also by Lord Roberts, Admiral Mahan, Mr. A. J. Balfour, Mr. Winston Churchill, Professor Hans Delbrück, Mr. H. G. Wells, Mr. Lovat Fraser, Mr. Robert Blatchford, Mr. Austen Harrison, his distinguished father, Mr. Frederic Harrison, and many others, and is, in fact, a record of Anglo - German relations for the last eighteen years.

TWELLS BREX.

SOME OTHER PROPHETS

"There will be No War with Germany."

—MR. CADBURY'S *Daily News*.

(*Vide p. 142*)

"Where is the danger that now confronts us?"

—SIR JOHN BRUNNER, seconder of a
resolution for reduction of armaments.

(*Vide p. 53*)

"A well-known Socialist writer (Mr. Blatchford) has been pressed into the service of a Tory newspaper in order to make your blood creep with horrible imaginings as to the designs of a great friendly Power."

—MR. McKENNA

(*Vide p. 92*)

"I speak of one whom we admire in this country and regard as one of ourselves.

"He (the Kaiser) knows our language and our institutions as we do, and he speaks as we do.

"The German Emperor is something more than an emperor—he is a man, and a great man. He is gifted by the gods with the highest gift that they can give—I use a German word to express it—Geist (spirit). He has got Geist in the highest degree. He has been a true leader of his people—a leader in spirit as well as in deed. He has guided them through nearly a quarter of a century, and preserved unbroken peace. I know no record of which a monarch has better cause to be proud. In every direction his activities have been remarkable.

"He has given his country that splendid fleet that we who know about fleets admire; he has preserved the

tradition of the greatest army the world has ever seen ; but it is in the arts of peace that he has been equally great. He has been the leader of his people in education and in the solution of great social questions.

"That is a great record, and it makes one feel a sense of rejoicing that the man who is associated with these things should be half an Englishman. I have the feeling very strongly that in the last few years Germany and England have become much more like each other than they used to be. It is because we have got so much like each other that a certain element of rivalry comes in.

"We two nations have a great common task in the world—to make the world better. It is because the German Emperor, I know, shares that conviction profoundly that it gives me the greatest pleasure to give you the toast of his name."

—LORD HALDANE

(*Vide p. 120*)

"I can assure you that the scaremongers are making us look ridiculous in the eyes of the world ; our German friends wonder what is the matter with our nerves."

—SIR ALFRED MOND

"We (British and German Socialists) can kill the war spirit even before it is born. To Herr Bebel and our German comrades all, hands all round, and pledge deep the toast : 'Hoch ! hoch ! hoch ! for the international solidarity of Labour.'"

—MR. KEIR HARDIE

(*Vide p. 55*)

Many More to Follow if Required—TWELLS BREX.

1864—1896

THE BEGINNING OF PRUSSIAN HATRED

THE "Daily Mail" claims no prophetic instinct, but it does claim to have made a close study of Germany, through a series of eye-witnesses, despatched to all parts of that country, practically every month of every year since 1896. Prussian hatred of England dates back long before January of that year (when the German Emperor sent his famous telegram to President Kruger).

It commenced as far back as 1864, when the sympathy of Great Britain for Denmark in the Schleswig-Holstein campaign aroused the bitter resentment of the Prussians.

It was increased during the Franco-German War of 1870, by German chagrin at England's neutrality, and by a German belief—studiously fomented by Bismarck, "one of the most sinister of figures that has ever been painted on the canvas of history" (Sir Robert Morier, in his "Memoirs")—that the British Government was hostile to Germany; that the French naval expedition would have been impossible but for contracts entered into with Newcastle coaling firms; that the horses wanted for the French artillery were mainly supplied by purchases in England and Ireland, and that contracts on a gigantic scale had been entered into at Birmingham and elsewhere for the ammunition required for the chassepot rifle.

In the summer of 1875 Bismarck planned another and unprovoked attack on France—lying weak and helpless after her defeat of four years earlier. England and Russia intervened, and war was averted by the firmness of Lord Derby and Schouvaloff. Bismarck cloaked the defeat of his project by a suave declaration that the threatened war was only a war of bourses and newspapers, "but behind our backs Bismarck raves like a maniac, and swears he will take his revenge." (Letter from Lord Odo Russell to Sir Robert Morier.)

Bismarck took his revenge. On the death of the Emperor Frederick, thirteen years later, the German officially inspired Press broke out into a bitter

attack against Sir Robert Morier, British Ambassador then at St. Petersburg, but for many years previously resident in Germany in the British Diplomatic Service, and a personal friend of the dead Emperor. Sir Robert Morier was as Germanophile as any Englishman who ever lived, but he had himself summed up the German character, and the German feeling against England in 1870, and the enduring nature of a German grievance, in these significant words: "It is a peculiarity of the German race that the sentiment of the great crises of national life translates itself into solid, practical fact; it is to a German what glory is to a Frenchman, and *it should not therefore be kept out of sight in practical speculations of the future.*"

Sir Robert Morier, in short, prophesied that the German animosity against England would last; that "it might take generations to allay the vindictiveness of the German people."

Jealousy of British prestige and commerce was sufficient to keep that hatred simmering; it bubbled in wrath at Cecil Rhodes's extension of our Empire; and the Kaiser's telegram to President Kruger (January 3rd, 1896), surprise and shock though it was to the British people, animated by nothing but friendliness towards Germany and its Emperor, was only an outburst of an old passion.

These were the words of the telegram (on the occasion of the Jameson Raid):

I express my sincere congratulations that, supported by your people, and without appealing for the help of friendly Powers, you have succeeded, by your own energetic action, against armed bands which invaded your country as disturbers of the peace, and have thus been enabled to restore peace and safeguard the independence of the country from attacks from outside.

WILLIAM.

Germany sent warships to Delagoa Bay; the German Press flamed out into hostility to England; a German military paper declared that "the impossibility of invading England is only a legend"; and the German Government tried to persuade France and Russia to go to war with England.

France declined to believe that German indignation was disinterested, and a calmer tone became apparent in Germany on realisation that other Powers were not prepared to join her against Great Britain. The "*Kölnische Zeitung*" hastened to remark (January 8th) that "the Emperor's telegram was dictated not against England but against Dr. Jameson and his raiders"—an explanation discounted by a declaration of the German Secretary of State that the telegram was "a German State act" (February 7th); by its own subsequent remark (January 17th) that "at any moment the stone may be set rolling that will threaten the clay

feet of the powerful English colossus," and by the further revelation that the Kaiser promised Dr. Leyds prompt intervention in case of open conflict of the Transvaal Republic with Great Britain, and advised Kruger to "announce absolute independence of England, and repudiate the Convention of 1884."

It is notable that—as in all subsequent crises—Germany had been watchful of internal difficulties in England. Strikes and lock-outs prevailed at Belfast and on the Clyde. But the sudden activity of our dockyards, the despatch of cruisers to Lorenzo Marques, the decision to forthwith commission a flying squadron, the warm Colonial offers of support, and the first discussion of the organisation of an expeditionary force, postponed for a while that "Day" of which German militarists and professors were already dreaming.

1896

THE KEYNOTE IS MILITARISM

"From the moment that one passes through the sluggish frontier towns of Holland or Belgium the keynote of modern Germany is struck—and that keynote is militarism."

The "Daily Mail" appeared first on May 4th, 1896, and these words are extracted from its first article on Germany and the Germans (August 17th). Three days later a leading article warned the British nation of the inevitable Boer War, and discussed German machinations with President Kruger. A further article upon Germany and the Germans (August 31st) thus spoke of the then young Kaiser:

"The touches of Imperial arrogance, the oratorical bombshells, that so frequently astonish the civilised world—the perpetual harping upon the fearlessness of the Hohenzollerns—the belief in succession by divine right—and the all-pervading atmosphere of Ego."

In a spirit of prophecy, the writer of this article (the late Mr. Gilbert Burgess, one of the first "Daily Mail" special inquirers to make a tour of investigation in Germany) applied to the Kaiser George Meredith's line from "The Egoist":

"Through very love of self, himself he slew."

The German Character

Of the modern German character the same writer said:

"The influence of the half-naked barbarians who swept over the Thuringian forests soon after the birth of Christianity has never been totally eradicated. There is, *au fond*, an inherent brutality in the German character which the saving grace of the art of music has never destroyed."

Already, unknowing, he was writing the epitaph of Louvain.

On September 14th, the "Daily Mail" gave its first description of German Army manœuvres.

By his Majesty's orders the Prussians attacked at a juncture when defeat seemed inevitable. And so in truth it proved. Had this occurred in war, whole regiments would have been uselessly sacrificed.

In all later criticisms of German manœuvres recurs the same comment on these tactics, which in actual combat have cost so much in 1914.

September 18th.

The Plain Course

The plain fact is that England is not now ready to fight.

Our strength lies in our fleet, and our fleet is palpably inadequate to retain for us that command of the sea which has been for centuries our national boast and safeguard.

If we are to be the great Power of the future, and to take our share in determining such mighty issues as the fate of subject nations and the rise and fall of monarchies, our plain course is to strengthen our Navy.

In the same issue Lord Charles Beresford expressed equally strong views, and on September 19th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd, 24th, 25th, and 26th appeared an important series of articles by Mr. H. W. Wilson (the first of an eighteen years' campaign by that brilliant naval writer), entitled "Our Naval Weakness."

In these articles, and their accompanying leaders, the "Daily Mail," while expressing itself as strongly against Jingoism, urged the gravity of defensive measures.

In September Germany joined a hostile Continental combination against England over the Armenian atrocities.

Trafalgar Day

The "Daily Mail" (September 30th) urged a Federated Union of the British Empire, and on the anniversary of Trafalgar (October 21st), declared that:

England is but slowly awakening from a half-century of sloth and neglect, and beginning to realise the danger which menaces her. Nations armed to the teeth and fiercely jealous of her prosperity surround her on every side. They hope to wrest from her failing hands the maritime sceptre, to strip her of her wealth, colonies, and commerce.

The article urged the younger generation of England to join the Navy League. It pointed out how much greater our stake was than in Nelson's time.

Then the country fed itself—now it will starve if our fleet is not strong enough.

A leading article (October 23rd) suggested an end to England's isolation, and a rapprochement with Russia.

October 24th.

The man who opposes the increase of England's fleet is a traitor in act, if not in intention.

The Commercial Invaders

November 9th.

A leader, on the invasion of England by German clerks, urged British employers to employ British instead of Germans.

The German is our most dangerous trade rival of the future, and in helping him to learn the art of beating us in our own fields of commerce, we are doing as foolish an act as if we built warships and moulded cannon for a nation actually hostile to us.

1897

Our Only Defence

"The sea is not only our first, but practically our only line of defence. That lost, all is lost. We could never hope successfully to oppose the innumerable hosts that could be poured into our country if our fleets were seriously defeated."

January 2nd.

Europe begins the year with fresh preparations for war, and the millennium of peace recedes further into a doubtful future.

January 15th.

A Prophetic Statement

Russia, not the insolent and overbearing Hohenzollern, is the great factor in the future settlement.

Germany must learn that the world's politics are not exclusively hers.

January 18th.

We say once, and twice, and over again, that the task of keeping our fleet in front of the world, of building ships, and forging guns, and training men for sea service, is the vital work that confronts British statesmen. Let them neglect it for a generation, and the British Empire will be tottering to its fall.

March 23rd.

"Canada in Arms"

We shall want our fighting cousins of the colonies one of these days. The world is not yet converted to peace, and the final war of the world remains to be fought. In the day of danger that will all too surely come, we shall be right glad to know that the soldiers of the Empire are the comrades and friends of the soldiers of England.

On July 2nd the "Daily Mail" made the ironic comment that:

A considerable portion of the Press of this country appears to be under German influence.

July 19th.

German War Pigeons in England

Can the War Office say to what extent reciprocity in the matter of exercising military

pigeons is practised between Germany and this country? A consignment of 2,000 German war pigeons is now at Dover. Do we take war pigeons to Bremen? We do not send them to Cherbourg, because the French authorities stopped the game. Nevertheless, French war pigeons visit the south coast of England. This is not a case of Free Trade and Protection; it is a case for reciprocity, or no pigeon-flying.

July 21st.

When will our War Office and Admiralty awake to the fact that the fighting secrets of Russia, Germany, and France are closed books to us, while our own war appliances, plans, and fortifications are common property to every foreign expert? German pigeons fly from England, but Germany prohibits reciprocity. Russian and German princes visit our arsenals, shore defences, and the rest as guests of the nation, when, in reality, their visits are merely high-class espionage. When war bursts, we shall then learn, too late, the folly of this free-trade variety of national defence.

September 2nd.

"The Kaiser's Good Intentions"

The keynote of the German Emperor's every action and every speech still appears to us to be a deplorable personal vanity, spoiling and overshadowing quite a host of virtues. Judging him as dispassionately as we may, we are still forced to the conclusion that, except for this ungovernable vanity, England would to-day be rejoicing as a friend one of the most able and esteemed princes in Europe. We see virtues and abilities in the Emperor William that it would be invidious and un-English to deny. But we see this vanity; we have felt its sting; and the sting abides. Its worst feature, too, is that it increases, in spite of sermons, protest and compassion. We have lost nothing by it; we have even profited; so we can safely pity it, for it keeps two nations apart that should be friends in the interests of common civilisation.

THE LATE G. W. STEEVENS ON GERMANY

Commencing on September 24th, the late G. W. Stevens wrote in the "Daily Mail" his memorable series of sixteen articles upon Germany, entitled "Under the Iron Heel." This pen panorama of modern Germany, its life, government, people, and mental attitude, has never been excelled. With all his renowned incisiveness, observation, and brilliancy of phrase, the famous writer presented a picture of Germany that holds good of the Germany of to-day. And, even seventeen years ago, his acute perception foresaw the trend of German militarism, and the growing hatred of England that would culminate in the great struggle of to-day.

It is possible to give here from these vivid columns only such passages as bear on the Kaiser, German militarism, and German relations with England.

THE KAISER (The Autumn Parade)

In Germany somebody has always arranged things for you. "All right" is the national cry of the Englishman all the world over; the German for it is, "Alles in Ordnung"—"Everything in order." But "All right" usually means that things will do as they are; "Alles in Ordnung" means that they are as somebody up above has ordained that they shall be.

Between the walls of acclamation came riding the Kaiser. A man of middle size, sitting constrainedly and bolt upright; a dead yellow skin, hard-pencilled brows, a straight, masterful chin, lips jammed close together under a dark moustache pointing straight upward to the whites of his eyes. A face at once repulsive and pathetic, so harsh and stony was it, so grimly solemn. A face in which no individual feature was very dark, but which altogether was as black as thunder. He raised his gloved hand in a stiff mechanical salute, and turned his head impassively from left to right; but there was no courtesy in the salute, no light in the eye, no smile on the tight mouth for his loyal subjects. He looked like a man without joy, without love, without pity, without hope. He looked

Like a Man who had Never Laughed

like a man who could never sleep. A man might wear such a face who felt himself turning slowly to ice.

He was gone again, and the crowd was flooding the street behind him. "Ach," sighed an old lady in crape, "pity that he always looks so cross. So different from our dear, dear old Kaiser." And I saw more than one grey head shake as she spoke, not angrily, but with a kindly and even touching regret. But all the older men are not quite so sparing in their condemnation. The young—I am speaking now only of the well-to-do—are often ecstatic in their admiration; he is German through and through; they will tell you; he means to make Germany the only nation on earth, they tell you, though they do not tell you how. Even their elders will own that he is a rousing speaker. "He

hits the nail on the head; his speeches thrill us all through when we read them in the newspapers. Then, perhaps, they will tell you an anecdote of his readiness. One day as he rode through a by-street he came on a score of Socialistic workmen. Eighteen took off their hats reluctantly, two remained covered. Whereon the Kaiser rode straight up, and saluted them till their caps came off for shame, if not for loyalty.

That was well and kingly done. But that is almost the only action I have heard of him which might win his people's personal love. The young may admire and trust in him, but

He is Not the Beloved Sovereign

his grandfather was—not even what his father was. The old Kaiser came to his study-window every morning of his life to greet his people; the present Kaiser began by shutting a gate of the Royal Palace that had always stood open. It was a small thing, but it was noticed. The old Kaiser and Unser Fritz had a smile and a cheery word for the meanest of their subjects; this Kaiser has sometimes a machine-made salute and always a scowl. He seems to despise his people, and even the Germans dislike too obvious a show of scorn, even in a Kaiser. What has he done? they ask. His father and grandfather had done great things for Germany; this man has talked much and done nothing.

In the evening of that day I saw the Kaiser again. There was a State performance at the Opera for the King of Siam, and the house was decorated with a simple good taste which shamed the luxuriance of Covent Garden on gala nights. In the first eight rows of stalls or so sat only officers.

The Ladies had to Scramble

for the back seats as they liked. The whole house, from floor to upper gallery, shone with orders and uniforms. The ballet was to begin at eight, and end at nine. But eight o'clock came, five past, a quarter past, half past, and the Royal box was still empty. If punctuality be the politeness of princes, this was an unmannerly prince indeed.

At last a chamberlain, or something, came to the front of the Royal Box and tapped thrice with his wand. The whole house rose. Then appeared the Kaiserin—plain, plump, not interesting—on the arm of the little yellow King of Siam. Behind came the Kaiser. Stiffly he moved to the front of the box; stiffly he brought his heels together and drew himself up. He seemed to bring himself into position in pieces; you could see him squaring his shoulders; you could see him inflating his chest. Then with a fixed unmoving face, he pushed his head forward perhaps two inches; that was his salute. A king who cannot smile is bad; a king who cannot bow is worse.

He fixed himself very bolt upright and stared unwinking straight before him at the stage. The curtain

THE LATE G. W. STEEVENS ON GERMANY (Continued)

went up and the ballet began. The Kaiser still sat without moving a muscle, a face and a figure like that of a statue. Now and again the King of Siam's questions became too insistent; the Kaiser bent over for a moment, as if he had one joint in the middle of his back, and then drew back to the jointless graven image. Once he turned to somebody behind him, and I hoped he laughed. Laughter on that face would be like moist grass in a desert.

It was over. The Kaiser rose, squared his shoulders, inflicted his chest, pecked at his people, and went. The last I saw of him he was giving his arm to a princess; he looked like a coloured plate out of a book of etiquette. I wondered vaguely whether he ever unbends enough to get his clothes off?

THE MILITARY GRINDSTONE.

Military service grinds harder and harder. There is no escape now for anybody; and the young peasants go to it with loathing and come back after their three years of Prussian sergeant with deeper loathing yet. But they must hold themselves ready to fight the enemies of Prussia—possibly England, for example. They feel kindly towards England, but Prussia hates her, and Prussia gives the order. It so happens that the Low German the peasant speaks is as much English as it is German; of course the Prussian officer does not talk it. From all of which it follows that when there is a case of theft or beggary, the peasants say, "It must have been a Prussian." And if you want to insult a peasant to blows you have only got to call him "old Prussian"; he will come for you with a whip or scythe.

WILLIAM II., AUTOORAT

"Sovereignty by the grace of God," explained the Kaiser, preparing to empty his glass—"sovereignty, with its never ending, ever enduring toils and anxieties, with its awful responsibility to the Creator alone, from which no Minister, no Parliament, no people, can absolve the Prince." He has said it before in various forms, but perhaps he never put it quite so plump as the other day at Coblenz. These words are the key to his whole character, his whole reign. They may be read in the deadly solemnity of his face; they may be read in the flighty irresponsibility of his actions.

Of course, the Kaiserite Press hastened to point out that the Kaiser didn't mean what you all thought he meant. Everybody is what he is, they remarked with perfect truth, by the grace of God. No doubt. By the grace of God, Charles the First was King of England, and by the grace of God, Cromwell cut off his head. There is no more divine right discernible in the one than in the other. It is easy to show that the apparent meaning of the Kaiser's words involves a fallacy, but for all that

the Kaiser meant them so. Mark that he did not confine himself to the platitude "responsibility to the Creator"; "to the Creator alone" is what he said. He meant the kind of divine right that dates from the heathen days when a king was really different from a man, and traced his pedigree right back to a god. He meant, in short, that he is and ought to be an absolute autocrat.

An Absolute Autocrat

And an autocrat to-day he virtually is. So far his ten years of reign have been as completely successful as even his own inflated imagination could desire. The desire is notorious:

"My course is the right one," he has informed his people, "and that course shall still be steered." "There is only one law," he observed on another occasion, "and that is my law." But it may not be so generally realised that the notorious desire is now fully accomplished. The Kaiser is fully as absolute as the Emperor of Russia—less so in theory, more in practice. The only Sovereign who can compete with him in fulness and irresponsibility of authority is his friend the Sultan; and, curiously, both have gained their position in the same way.

The Reichstag as a Whole

has no cohesion, no set policy, no power.

When Parliament is thus weak the Ministry cannot possibly be strong. Between the extremes of Agrarian Conservatives, who want the State to fix and maintain a high price for wheat, and Social Democrats, who would like the State to fix and maintain a low one, the Minister finds no party, no faction which he can call his own. He may have belonged to a party before he took office; but he cannot command its votes afterwards, and must pick up his majority by cajolery and little concessions or by threats, wherever he can find it. A Minister in this position is hardly the man to keep his end up against his Sovereign, even were he a strong man at one with his colleagues. But the Kaiser makes it his business to pick for Ministers weak men, and to see that they do not agree among themselves. Can you recall offhand the name of a single one of the Kaiser's Ministers? Except Prince Hohenlohe, probably not one. . . .

Of course, as there is no Party Government in Germany, the Ministers do not go in and out in a body. Each owes his place to the Kaiser's choice. When the Kaiser has done with him, he goes on sick leave for a while—and then goes outright. Each naturally tries to keep the Kaiser's favour, and with it his place, as long as possible.

Each Works for His Own Hand

Not for the Ministry; there is no Ministry, only Ministers; and not for the country. . . .

A divided, impotent Parliament, a divided.

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impotent Ministry—but that is not all. There has grown up an extra-constitutional, but very powerful, Second Ministry, consisting of the Kaiser's private Cabinet and his private friends. When he asks advice from anybody he asks it from them. . . . The members of this camarilla, who have no responsibility to anybody in the world but their master, are

The Most Powerful Men in Germany.

Yet one more cleavage in the Empire the Kaiser sedulously widens—the gulf between civil and military. In a country like ours, where soldiering is a profession, like the Church or tailoring, you could understand the all-important distinction. In a country like Germany, where all men must take their turn at soldiering, the Army ought to be the people. The Kaiser takes care that it is not. He loses no chance of impressing on the soldiers that they are his men in some undefined special sense in which other citizens are not. As for the officers, he is the main bulwark of the belief that the officer is a man of other and finer stuff than the civilian: that the officer is to be upheld and encouraged is a luxurious sense of honour denied to his fellow-men. It would be stupid to try to belittle the German officer either as a soldier or a man; personally he is, as a rule, of the very best element of the country; naturally also, for his is the best career. But when it comes to shielding an officer, who has stabbed a defenceless civilian, from the ordinary procedure of the law courts, then divine right is going, perhaps, too far

No united Ministry, no united Parliament, no united people; the Kaiser stands unmatched and alone. He is probably afraid of nothing in the world, but in any case there is nothing in Germany to be afraid of. He may boast, but his boasts are no way empty ones. As near as any man can be absolute, he is absolute lord over 50,000,000 souls.

WILLIAM II., FAILURE

William II. has now been on the throne of Germany for ten years. During the greater part of this time his rule has been, in practice, if not in theory, quite despotic. He is now thirty-eight years old—that is in the high prime of life, though the Germans, by contrast with his grandfather, often speak of him as if he were a mere boy. His abilities are unquestioned; his sincerity and honesty of intention, to my mind, beyond suspicion. His worst enemy could not accuse him of not knowing his own mind. His energy well-nigh amounts to a wonder of nature. His hand is in every detail of government; he can ride in icy rain all day at the head of his cavalry, transact business in the after-

noon, attend a banquet, and stagger Europe with a drink-speech, and then go off to sleep in his special train, and do the same thing next day, and the next, and the next. There are all sorts of mysterious stories about mysterious maladies, but whatever may or may not be affecting him has certainly not curtailed his powers of work. With all his high qualities, his quickness, insight, sincerity, self-confidence, resolution, energy, he has in ten years

Accomplished Nothing—Absolutely Nothing

Absolutely nothing to show for himself by the side of the Great Elector, of Frederic the Great, of Friedrich Wilhelm III., of William I. Even his father had taken a man's share in the making of Germany; the son has made nothing. And not only that, but throughout his whole Empire—ruled, be it remembered, almost literally in accordance with his personal wishes in every smallest particular—broods sullen discontent and irritation.

. . . When we pass to economic discontent the sky seems blacker. Socialism in Germany we are accustomed to think of as a dark and menacing cloud. At the last election to the Reichstag there were over 1,750,000 votes cast for Social Democracy. And remember, say alarmists, that of these 1,750,000 every man is a trained soldier. It looks as if the Kaiser were blundering towards the edge of an awful precipice. *But I doubt it.*

HELGOLAND

Nothing grows in Heligoland except potatoes, did I say? What a magnificent crop of notice-boards, long in the straw, heavy in the ear, embowers the fortifications. With what sternness is the Heligolander forbidden to approach the fortifications, referred to section so-many-hundred-and-so-many of the Strafgesetzbuch, and threatened with the penalties of the Act dealing with the betrayal of military secrets. Strafgesetzbuch means, literally, punishment-law-book, that is to say, criminal law. Criminal law is a necessity of all civilised States—and yet there is something about the conception of the "punishment-law-book" quite German. You picture the German buying the work in a bookshop, and reading it up to find what things it is naughty to do, and how hard he will be smacked for each naughtiness respectively. The Heligolander would seem to be beset by few temptations; but with the Germans came the new crime of betraying military secrets. Before, there were no military secrets to betray. Now, in the ample space devoted to official notices, you may read directions how the Heligolander is to avoid this crime. He must not sketch or photograph forts or guns; he must not take notes of their bearings; he must keep off the grass near them, and in general he must not look at them too often or too long. And

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he must remind all strangers politely—no naughty rudeness!—that they must do likewise.

You may some of you remember

The First Recruit.

He was the first baby born after the cession of the island, and when his time comes he will have to serve in the Army or Navy. You may see that poor little wretch's pinched face—he is seven years old now—in almost every shop window in Heligoland. He has been photographed in a busby and sabre, with a toy horse at his feet, from which I infer that the idea is to make a Hussar of him. Possibly Heligoland's only horse has been imported to familiarise him betimes with the fact that such a quadruped exists. Now, shortly after the First Recruit was born, the Kaiser and the Kaiserin visited the island in state; and of the scandalous behaviour of the First Recruit on this occasion I speak on the testimony of an eye-witness. When the Kaiserin landed there met her six maidens of Heligoland bearing a bouquet of flowers. Behind them was the First Recruit in the arms of his mother; the Kaiserin approached him and made to pat his cheek. The First Recruit made one wild clutch at the bouquet and tore the middle out of it. Next came the Kaiser, who, undeterred, also made to pat his cheek. Then the First Recruit once more raised an impious hand and smote his sovereign across the face. And then turned right round and showed his back, and hid his face and refused to be comforted.

From this it may be inferred that the First Recruit is of the old Heligoland party, which objects to German rule—the new Heligoland party not being yet in existence. The Heligolanders are a square-built race, akin in dress and looks to our East Coast fishermen, with faces seared brick-red by the salt wind. They

Say Little, but They Do Not Like It.

They do not like the police, they do not like the regulations. They do not like the guts of their island torn out to make fortifications, which they must not walk over. They do not like a lump of their island to fall into the sea when the heavy guns are fired: there is not much of the island, and all there is they want. They do not like the prospect of sending their sons away for three years to serve a sovereign whose quarrels are not theirs. Only the iron heel is down in Heligoland, and human nature must be squeezed out.

Heligoland stands all by itself in the sea, its people have their own little history and traditions and ways, their own German-Danish-Dutch-English speech. But they are part of the German Empire now, and in the German Empire there is only room for the one pattern. Poor little Heligoland, melting away into the German Ocean!

THE GERMAN ARMY

The German Army is the most perfectly adapted, perfectly running machine. Never can there have been a more signal triumph of organisation over complexity. The armies of other nations in days past may have been as well organised, but the problem of organisation was infinitely less complex. The armies of other nations to-day may be as complex, but they are not so completely organised. To quote a friend, "in the French, the Austrian, the Italian services, it works, but it works not with oil." *The German Army is the finest thing of its kind in the whole world; it is the finest thing in Germany of any kind. It is even worth the price that Germany pays for it.*

To the Germans themselves the Army is the cause and the justification of the whole nation. Comment to a German on the want of personal liberty in some little detail of daily life, and he counters at once with an appeal to the army. "Yes,

It is No Doubt Annoying

to an Englishman to have to wait on a railway platform until the guard tells him he may get in; but then you must remember that we have powerful military nations on both frontiers." To the English mind the logic is ridiculous; to the German it is irrefragable. He accepts the dragooning of his country as a necessary correlative to the efficiency of his army. He may approve or he may disapprove. "I belong to it," said an officer to me, "and, belonging to it, I see what a splendid thing it is, and I'm very proud of it; but I see also that it is the ruin of everything else in Germany." But even to this exceptional officer it did not seem to occur that civil life need not be cut to the military pattern. For good or evil the Army is Germany.

Germany pays dear for it, and the year's military budget represents only the smallest fraction of the burden. Two or three years out of the life of every working man, one year out of the life of everybody else, eight weeks a year for five years more, the whole lives of 30,000 of the best men in the country—these are only the most obvious of the other items. Germany pays cruelly, but also gets something back. To the English eye the German private appears lumpish and stupid. Heavy in form, heavy in face, he just does what he is told to do, like a rather clumsy machine. At the manœuvres you may see whole companies, when they are not ordered to march or fire, lying down with their faces on the ground, not taking the dimmest interest in the operations which are the test and crown of their whole year's work. Yet if they are dull, you may safely say that, without their years of service, they would be duller yet. *Take your peasant for two years into a garrison with a company of 120 others,*

Teach Him Drill

and discipline, show him at least a corner of the

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world; he will not go back quite the clod he came. No doubt the quickening of his wits has primary regard to military operations; at the manœuvres' it was a revelation to see the peasants turn out of their huts and drop their carting, to see the keenness with which they followed the troops, recognising the name, the nature, and intention of each evolution. Seeing this, you began to understand what the phrase "a military nation" means. But it is safe to conclude that the man whose intelligence is sharpened to the point of following and understanding military manœuvres is sharpened in his appreciation of other sides of life also. In the towns, where the mind does not need the stimulus of military training, the good of it works out in the body. The years of service are the only healthy ones in the German's life; they stiffen him out of a flaccid boy into a straight-shouldered man. In after life he may degenerate into a beer-barrel, but it takes years to get the soldierly set out of his limbs. Returning from Germany, you will find it almost painful to walk about London. What business have these slouching, stooping, chestless young men in an Imperial city?

But, good influence or bad on the country, that is not the question. The country exists for the army, not the army for the country. In the army German thoroughness, German industry, German common-sense, German devotion to duty, are found at their full. From the chief of the great general staff to the driver of the field telegraph waggon every man knows what he has to do, and every man does it.

There is Some Definite Person

charged with every possible service that war might require. To find out about foreign armies, to determine what force, applied in what way, is necessary to defeat them, to raise and train that force, to supply it with arms, ammunition, food, clothing, saddlery, medical attendance, to move it from one place to another, to lead it into the field—the details of every function have been thought out beforehand, and have been provided for.

"Suppose war should suddenly break out," I said to an officer on leave, "I suppose you make for your regiment at once?"

"No," he replied; "if war breaks out I go at once to Niederschlossburg. There are certain horses there that I have to requisition."

"Do you know exactly where to lay your hands on them?"

He smiled.

"Should I be of any use if I didn't?" he asked.

No waiting in war-time to ask what is wanted, and then find it; he just goes and gets the horses.

Briefly, the difference between the German and, for instance, the English armies is a simple one.

The German army is organised with a view to war, with the cold, hard, practical, businesslike purpose of winning victories. The question what show it makes in the eyes of Germany or the world comes a long way second; absolute efficiency is its one and only test. In Germany you can stake your life that every penny spent on the army is spent honestly, and that every man, or horse, or cartridge that is on the paper is there in fact. And that, what with official corruption and lassitude, and a desire to put off public opinion, is what you cannot be certain of in any other nation on earth. The British Army, we know, is ready to go anywhere and do anything; but when we say that we are talking only of the temper of its officers and men. In the German army the men are ready; and the plan, the railway-carriages, the gas for the war balloons, and the nails for the horseshoes are all ready, too.

In the manœuvres you could see the system in action, in the snap and go and dash at every point. The men looked bumpkins, but they were bumpkins drilled into unswerving, unhesitating obedience. A battery was surprised by infantry fire; one word, and the guns were in line, the limbers were unhooked and falling behind, the guns were whipped round, and flashing imaginary shell before you quite realised that the battery was there. The cavalry came into line like the turn of a kaleidoscope. The infantry opened fire, charged, fell back, lined up, and opened fire again, charged again, on either side, like a smart rally at tennis. No officer was content to rest on the defensive; a glimpse of an opening, and he was up at the enemy. The captain knew his company; he has made it; and his career depended on the way he made it. Each higher officer knew what he could do with what he had. Within that limit he was untrammelled in the doing of it, and could give his whole heart and head freely to doing it with the intensest energy. It impressed you as a mighty, resistless machine, all in one piece, and yet working quite freely in every joint. Each wheel seemed flying round on its own account, yet you could see that the guides and connecting rods—smooth, well oiled, but fast fixed—were combining and regulating the whole.

Nothing overlooked, nothing neglected, everything practised, everything welded together, and yet everything alive and fighting. The highest unity with the most strenuous individuality. The army is a machine, yet the men remain men. And what should we ever do if 100,000 of this kind of army got loose in England? Volunteers? Good Lord!

THE GERMAN ORGANISATION

The Germans lavish so much of themselves on the small and ordinary things of life that they can have nothing to spare for the greater. If a

THE LATE G. W. STEEVENS ON GERMANY (Continued)

steamer goes faster than another steamer they never speak of it but as a "fast steamer," and then what word is left for the Wilhelm der Grosse? The very Kaiser could not possibly improve on his sour solemnity of aspect

Were it Never so Necessary;

if he ever had a tragic, an immortal moment, a new retreat from Moscow, or a new surrender of Sedan, he could not look any more impressive than he does when he is going out for a drive. Germany to-day is so loaded with monuments, showing that she conquered France in 1870, that if she now conquered the whole world there would be no room to commemorate the feat. *All this makes you wonder. Everything is so complete, so mapped out, so tensely strong every day that you wonder what would happen in an unforeseen and unfamiliar crisis. Would not everything break down? Every moment, over every rifle, Germany seems to be doing every jot it knows; if it were called on to do more, could there be any more forthcoming?*

The knockabout adventurous race of Britain has this tradition: that when the moment of need comes every subaltern will command a regiment, every voter will form a Ministry. He has never done it before, he seems to have no particular qualification for it, but—he does it. Somehow or other, against all the rules, he pulls it through. He has a reserve of strength—yes, and even of tact—stored away somewhere, and at the supreme moment it comes into play. Has the German? For the affirmative it must be said that the German, being of a cautious and very practical turn, succeeds as a colonist in new lands better than any countryman, except the Scotsman. And yet—it may be unreasonable—the doubt remains. Except in the army, the German has flung himself headlong into the details of so narrow, so straitly circumscribed a sphere that you are bound to believe the initiative must be in some degree starved within him. He concentrates himself so thoroughly on doing what he is told that you are bound to wonder how much he could do if he were not told.

DOWN WITH ENGLAND!

William II. is not, as I have explained already, adored by all his subjects. But at one point he gathers up the blind devotion of the younger part of them, and the enthusiastic approval of all. That point is patriotism, which the German people, most rightly, regard as the first qualification of a German emperor. Frederick III. squandered all his hoard of popularity during the three months of his reign because he was believed to be led by his English wife. William II. recoups his heavy debts of personal unpopularity because he is beyond suspicion and

beyond measure German. His whole life is a perpetual chant of "Deutschland, Deutschland, uber Alles." He adds the corollary, "Wilhelm, Wilhelm, uber Deutschland"; but Germany, on the whole, is quite willing to pay for the practical enforcement of the first sentiment with quiet acquiescence in the second.

The depth and fervour of the Kaiser's Germanism needs no excuse and no witness. Everything about him must be German—except, to be sure, his racing yacht, and trifles of that kind. It is true that he has many English tastes. But when the Germans cite that as a sign of his benevolence towards England, I think they are more polite than discerning. Unquestionably, the Kaiser admires us in many ways; but I think he imitates us in some, with a view

To Naturalise in His Own Country

what he thinks valuable, the better to equip her for rivalry with us. He would like to see his nobility and officers sportsmen, to see his middle class tinctured with the spirit of the merchant-adventurer—very properly, from his point of view. On other points he is said to be even fanatically German. I pass over such tittle-tattle as that he once wrote to his mother to say that if she wished him to answer her letter, she must write in German, not in English. It is said, though, that he cannot tolerate a French menu, so that the wretched cooks of the Royal household have had to invent German names for every dish they send to table. In the best hotels of Berlin you will find a menu in German on one side, French on the other—for the very German does not know what "Beef, loin piece, Niederschlossberg way" might mean till he sees it translated, "Filet bearnaise," on the other side. As for the Kaiser, they say his zeal for the German language goes so far that he cannot even do with the imported word "cigar." Instead, he endowed his people with the alternatives, "glim-stick" and "smoke-roll." Neither masterpiece is yet generally accepted.

These are all straws, to be sure, but they show which way the wind blows. More outspoken are the Kaiser's many references to "Greater Germany," his frequent unmistakable hints that he aspires to have his country one of the great Imperial influences of the world. It is this that brings him up against England.

Rivalry in projects of colonisation and empire—these, beyond question, are the chief springs that feed German hostility towards England.

Hostility, of course, could not have waxed and flourished as it has without a fertile soil to grow in. Competition in South Africa, or for the Peruvian export trade, is not enough to make two nations hate each other. As in England the Kaiser's telegram was the occasion, but the German clerk the real cause, of anti-German hatred, so with Germany

THE LATE G. W. STEEVENS ON GERMANY (Continued)

the groundwork of dislike was the utter antipathy and repugnance with which the German regards our manners and national character. Both as a nation and as individuals the Germans detest us. True, they water their detestation with a sneaking admiration for our sports, our athletics, our clothes. In the German sporting papers you will meet such a sentence as "Trainer Brown, wird die letzten Galops seiner Cracks selbst leiten; sein First-string, Little Duck, wird für die Chesterfield Stakes starten." But meet the man who talks this sort of language, and dresses in the nearest he can get to a covert coat, and tell him he looks like an Englishman. In his heart he will rejoice, but he will pretend to be insulted. With the German Anglomaniac, as with the Kaiser, it is some of our ways, not our whole selves, that are to be imitated.

External antipathy is a far more potent factor in national relations than the inner sympathy. Few experience the last; all can feel and resent the first. Therefore it is that an anti-English policy in Germany starts with the prodigiously strong leverage of national dislike.

Now to hark back to policy. "Our Kaiser," said one of my German friends, "is one of the greatest men in history. He has the clear eye and the strong will. He sees the time for the Continental policy is gone by; first of Germans, he pursues a world-policy while all the other nations have pursued Continental policy; England has had no rival. From now on we Germans pursue a world-policy also."

"To do this is

The Greatness of Our Kaiser.

But, alas! nowhere is this greatness less appreciated than in Germany."

That is true. For the German colonies, even the strongest Bismarckians have little to say. They will faintly suggest that there may be valuable land in the interior of Damaraland, where nobody has been, but they will hardly allege that much has been done with their colonies so far. Outside the ruling Prussian circles most people will be in favour of giving them up. As for the strong Navy, which is the essential condition of world-policy, the people, as a whole, are dead against spending the money. They say they spend quite enough on the Army for one nation, and they call the Kaiser "Yondol-Willy," which is Berlinese for "Willy the Boatman."

"But I am thinking," pursued my friend when I offered these remarks, "that some day we shall have the Dutch colonies also—not by force, but because we must naturally absorb Holland. And then"—his mouth watered before my eyes—"what rich colonies. It will be well worth the Fleet. And though we can never be a naval Power like England, yet, together with France and Russia, and two corps—

only two corps—landed in England we would take London, my friend."

Germany, France, and Russia! I would not say positively this is what the Kaiser is working for, but certainly it is what his warmest sympathisers believe him to be working for. For myself, I believe it, too. For years now he has been trying to draw nearer to France and Russia, and the public announcement of the Franco-Russian alliance is no real set-back to the design. Continental alliance against Britain—that is the dream, the daily preoccupation of all Imperialist Germans. It is some little way off yet, because even the Kaiser dare not give back Metz in the lifetime of the men who bled at Gravelotte. "But it will come, my friend, and where will you and your Navy be then?"

"Yes, where shall we be?"

(NOTE.—Subsequent, though fruitless, machinations of the Kaiser to persuade France and Russia to join him against England proved the foresight of Mr. Steevens's predictions.)

Politically, as well as industrially, Germany has sown her wild oats. There

Will Be No German Revolution

in the visible future. Particularism, as I have said, is dying hard, but inevitably dying. Socialism is not the covered mine which many people suppose it. The German mind is given to reckless theorising about ideal states of society as about all other ideals, but the German workman is not the man for barricades. He is not unprosperous, and though he is undeniably discontented, he is making slow but sure progress in his political aims. In practice, the German Socialist is not more than a Radical trade unionist, and as such he is making a steady advance towards his ends. In the near future he will probably maintain that advance, so that the very strengthening of Social Democracy will make it less discontented and less dangerous. Most Germans would deny this; yet I have talked with many who admit it freely.

One difficulty may be foreseen—the question of the Navy. If the Kaiser insists, and the Reichstag refuses, there is the making of a serious internal situation. If next year's new Reichstag defies the Kaiser, and is dissolved, and the next Reichstag is again defiant, we may see a complete deadlock, and a constitutional crisis. But neither the Kaiser's impetuosity nor his people's obstinacy are likely to force crisis to revolution. There is likely to be much friction and faction in the immediate future, as there has been in the past. But there will be no revolution in Germany.

Germany, that means, will keep her hands free to deal with us.

Let Us Make No Mistake

about it. It is natural to deplore the unfriendship of the two nations, but it is idle to ignore it. Hostility to England is the mission of young Germany.

THE LATE G. W. STEEVENS ON GERMANY (Continued)

It is idle to ignore it, but we need be neither furious nor panic-stricken. It is as much Germany's right to seek after the good things of the earth as it is ours. It is proper that we should be plain with ourselves, and admit that for the time Germany is our chiefest rival in all fields. We can be competitors without being enemies. Only in the honest effort to avoid enmity we need not cease to compete. Be very sure, at least, that methodical, patient, unrelenting Germany will make no such mistake. So, for the next ten years, fix your eyes very hard on Germany.

October 21st.

Trafalgar Anniversary

The history of our race is not yet written. There is combat before us in the future, combat fierce and furious. We hold the mastery of the sea still, but our empire of the waters is menaced by forces more dangerous than have ever been accumulated against it since Nelson's famous battle was fought. How shall we better prepare for the trial that lies before us than by recalling the triumphs of the past, and implanting in the hearts of the Englishmen of our generation the glorious lesson of Trafalgar.

December 7th.

Berlin correspondent :

"With an all-powerful Army and a strong Navy, the German Emperor's reputed hatred for England may go to lengths which no one can foretell."

It was at this time that Count von Buelow first put forward the German claim to "a place in the sun."

December 16th.

From an article reprinted from the "Gaulois" :

"Germany is now able to build not only as well, but as fast as England, and her new policy has changed from a defensive to an offensive direction. . . . Her rival is England."

December 17th.

It is easy to make merry over the German Emperor, but he knows what he is about, and his absurdities are no laughing matter. Just as the Mark of Brandenburg has grown to a mighty Empire by dint of hard work, wise organisation, and the persistent adoption of the best means to that end, so the German Empire is extending its powers from European to world-wide importance.

The "Mailed Fist" Speech

Kiel Banquet, on the departure of Prince Henry of Prussia to assume command of the Second Division of German China Squadron.

The Kaiser :

Should, however, anyone ever attempt to affront us or prejudice us in our good rights, then strike out with your mailed fist, and, if God willing, weave round your brow the laurel wreath which no one in the German Empire will begrudge you.

Prince Henry's reply :

I am only animated by one desire, to proclaim and spread abroad to all who will hear, as well as to those who will not, the gospel of your Majesty's sacred person. This I will have inscribed on your banner and will bear it wherever I go. I raise my glass and call upon those who, with me, enjoy the happy privilege of being permitted to go forth, to remember this day to impress the person of the Emperor on their minds, and to let the cry resound far out into the world—Our most Serene, Mighty, Beloved Emperor, King and Master, for ever and ever. Hurrah! Hurrah!!

Extract from German Press :

"Since 1870 Germany has resolutely remained on the defensive. But the time has come for the German Eagle to spread out its wings once more and show the world what it can do."

1898

The Prussian View of Invasion

From Army reform articles, by Sir Charles Dilke. January 28th, 1898, and February 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th.

With regard to invasion, I might plead that successive Governments and their military advisers have admitted its possibility, that the military authorities of the great Continental military Powers have always pronounced it to be feasible, and have, with much frankness, explained to us by what means it could be carried out. Voltaire had not lived with Frederick the Great for nothing, and knew a good many modern maxims of war. He says: "Always do what your enemy fears that you may possibly dare to attempt. Luck gives one a single time the chance of a decisive blow."

That is the Prussian military view with regard to the invasion of this country.

The Sower of Tares

During the Eastern tour of the Kaiser in August, the Fashoda crisis arose between England and France. The Kaiser suddenly left Beyrout and announced that he would call at various Spanish ports in his yacht. The world took this as a move against Great Britain and America. The Spanish commissioners were at that time resisting the American demands.

The "Neues Wiener Tageblatt":

The Kaiser's visit may well be regarded as an affront to British supremacy in Egypt.

August 9th.

Spy Pigeons Again

A great flight of German carrier pigeons was started yesterday morning at Dover on a 300 mile race to Düsseldorf and other German towns. The birds were contained in sixty-three crates, and in all they numbered very little short of 2,000. They were liberated by two German gentlemen. One of them is said to be a Government agent.

It is believed that the birds were flown under the auspices of the German War Office.

August 11th.

The flying of German carrier pigeons wholesale from the vicinity of a British fortress is unquestionably a breach of international etiquette. There is no other country where the Government is so careless of the interests

of national defence and so apathetic as to permit this kind of experiment on so colossal a scale.

The attention of Parliament is required. A Bill should be introduced forbidding the flying of pigeons within a certain distance of all fortresses, and only permitting the introduction of foreign pigeons where British pigeon-flyers were granted corresponding facilities. Moreover, each pigeon imported should be registered, and an official should attend at the foreign flyer's expense to see that all are liberated. It is useless for the Government to control the telegraphs and cables in the event of war if spies can send intelligence by means of pigeon post.

The Harmless Pigeon

To some the harmless pigeon may seem unworthy of this attention. But the truth is that this bird has become as much a part of foreign and British signal services as the semaphores to be found upon the headlines of all coasts. We should certainly not permit foreign semaphores to be established along our seaboard, and therefore it is not obvious why we should tolerate foreign pigeon-cotes.

August 12th.

While the British authorities are slowly and painfully preparing to move in the great pigeon affair, Germany, alert as usual, and well-informed as usual, has already acted. The flying of foreign carrier pigeons, we read, has been prohibited in the neighbourhood of Kiel, Ploen, Eckernford, and Heligoland; in other words, wherever there is a German naval station.

November 11th.

Room for Germany

As a colonial Power, Germany will not find England an exacting neighbour. We do not want the whole earth, as Continental journalists sometimes absurdly pretend, and there is certainly room for Germany in many directions. If she is anxious to do in the Near East the work which England is accomplishing in Egypt, there is no reason why she should not try her hand. If she wants coaling stations her acquisition of them will arouse no British jealousy.

1899

January 12th.

THE GERMAN NAVY

Early in 1899 the "Daily Mail" again called attention to the increase of the German Navy and the determination that inspired it.

There are to be no fresh additions in 1899 to the German naval programme at present being carried out, but, as this programme involves a heavy and increasing expenditure, this is not to be wondered at. The country is determined to have a strong fleet, and, after all, patriotism and interest in the navy must be strong when the German Navy League has over 50,000 members. Moreover, what there is of the navy in actual existence is heavily armed, well organised, and admirably drilled.

March 2nd.

The Kaiser's Marital Ohlvalry!

While Professor Fritz August von Kaulbach was painting the portrait of the Empress, the Kaiser, who was in the best of spirits, entered the room and made some remarks about the colour of the dress worn by the Empress, which, in his opinion, "did not allow of minute treatment by the artist's brush, the shades being too dark, and not pronounced enough."

The Empress evidently did not share this opinion, and tried to dissuade her "dear William." She succeeded at last, but when the Emperor left shortly afterwards, he laughingly turned to the professor and said:

"Machen Sie sie nur nicht zu alt, lieber Kaulbach." ("Don't make her too old, I beg, my dear Kaulbach.")

April 14th.

The Budget

If we economised in armaments and cancelled a great block of Consols, the certain result would be that we should have to pay not millions but hundreds of millions to an external enemy.

April 20th.

Imperial Insurance

The "Daily Mail" has repeatedly pointed out that expenditure on the Army and Navy constitutes an Imperial insurance fund. . . . Both Army and Navy need strengthening; it would be sheer madness for England to check the growth of her armaments, her naval armaments more especially, so long as the Continental Powers continue to increase theirs.

December 12th.

Increase of Germany's Navy

The Navy Bill which Prince Hohenlohe, the German Chancellor, yesterday announced would be submitted to the Reichstag, is a measure which, broadly speaking, will entail the expenditure of £17,000,000. Germany has now seventeen battleships constructed or in course of construction, and if this Bill passes, their number is to be doubled. It is a large programme, but one which will in every probability be accepted, for the German Navy League, which has now on its roll fifty thousand members, has conducted a systematic campaign against the opposition which in former years was displayed against a liberal naval policy.

1900

January 1st.

A NEW VOLUME

Before us opens an age of fierce competition, in which our ascendancy will be challenged in all directions. The highest statesmanship, the acutest foresight, the utmost business capacity will be required if that ascendancy is not to be lost, and if England is not slowly to dwindle to a second-rate Power. It is not in the field of arms that we shall have to fight the hardest, though here, too, it is vital for us to adopt that cool calculation, systematic organisation, and spirit of self-sacrifice which have in this generation secured for Germany such greatness.

Our War Office has failed to provide our Army with the best and latest engines of war; our Admiralty has been slow to provide the speedy cruisers needed for the defence of our commerce; our Board of Trade has suffered the merchant service to be depleted of British seamen.

January 2nd.

War Office Excuses

"If we are obliged to stake the blood of our people against our enemies in the field, then we are also bound to provide them with the best weapons of offence and defence which money can procure."—BISMARCK.

Newspaper criticism improved the transport and secured the enrolment of Colonial troops. Public opinion can, in the same way, induce the Government immediately to secure some of the Krupp and Schneider-Canet guns and ammunition which were ordered by the Boer Government, which are now ready for instant use, and full particulars of which the "Daily Mail" will be most happy to afford the War Office.

January 4th.

German Spies in England

Our readers should have no delusions on this point. Our strength and our deficiencies are very accurately known to at least four Governments—much more accurately, indeed, than is comprehended by the English people. For some eighteen years the German Intelligence Office has provided its Government with ordnance maps of England, charts of our coast, plans of every harbour, every railway, road, lane, and each source of water supply. These maps are brought up to date each year. It is, indeed, from the German and other foreign military papers that one learns more about our

national defences than from the home Press.

... The invasion of England is one of the stock military topics in Germany. Every German officer has his own little bit of England marked off upon which he has been examined.

February 23rd.

The Hour of Preparation

It is not for South Africa alone that we must go on. Great Powers look with greediness on our prosperous dominions, our world-wide dependencies. A sudden change of a Continental ministry, or the death of a great ruler, may force on us a conflict compared with which our present campaign will appear trifling. The more unready we are the more likely is such a conflict to come. There is a time to prevent it by preparing. Such preparation takes time. A soldier is not disciplined and taught to shoot in a week; the construction of guns and the training of gunners take many months. Every military expert agrees that the nation which leaves preparation for war till war is on her is hopelessly handicapped. *This is our hour of preparation; to-morrow may be the day of world-wide conflict.*

March 2nd.

The "Daily Mail" commented on the reception by the foreign Press of the relief of Ladysmith, and called attention to the fact that German lucubrations continued as violent and hostile to Great Britain as ever.

March 13th.

It was urged that the South African war had shown our need for a mobile force available for foreign service.

March 20th.

England and Her Colonies

In a leading article it was emphasised that the South African struggle had proved in a most conclusive manner the strength and reality of the Imperial ties. Hitherto, outside England, there was no great certainty felt that the great self-governing colonies would stand side by side with the Motherland in the hour of danger and trial. Foreign authors of imaginary wars, in which the British were supposed to be fighting for their existence, had always represented her Colonies as seceding and claiming their own independence. This was because the foreigner has always been profoundly ignorant of the relations which have

existed between England and her Colonies. In a struggle in which the interests of the great Colonies were involved—and we shall never fight except under those conditions—we should have the whole energy of these new communities, each a State in itself, at our backs.

April 25th.

A PROPHECY OF THE SUBMARINE'S FUTURE

"If it could be demonstrated that a really practicable submarine boat had been constructed, the effect would be to revolutionise naval warfare."

May 4th.

The Council of the Empire

Great tasks lie before us, great responsibilities have to be borne.

It is for the power, the greatness, the supremacy of this Empire, that we have stood. In the heart of every Englishman has dawned the consciousness that a still greater destiny awaits us. The glorious pages of yesterday in our history are to be succeeded by brighter achievements of to-morrow. Ours is no limited task. If the burdens of Empire are great, the results are worthy.

We have never thought it our duty to hush up unpleasant truths. We know that real strength must rest on a solid foundation. Therefore, we have at all times spoken plainly about national shortcomings, for we care too much for England to gloss over defects by which her supremacy is endangered. The policy of the "Daily Mail" has found a responsive echo on every side. The glorious vision of a new era has come to many men. The turmoil of the present, the grief, the loss, the anxiety of to-day will pass. In the near future is coming the greater Empire, in which all England's sons in all the seven seas shall share in England's work. The day is coming when from the far West and the distant South our sons shall come to the council of the Empire, and when we shall stand, against every foe, a united people. It is for this end that the "Daily Mail" has striven, and, as the splendid loyalty of the Colonies in our present need attests, has striven not in vain.

September 6th.

The Lost Atlantic Record

There is another and more serious aspect of this victory of the German mercantile marine. Such ships as the Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse,

Kaiser Wilhelm II., Deutschland, and Kronprinz Wilhelm, have a prodigious naval value. They have two points in their favour—a coal supply with which no cruiser as yet designed can compare, and a speed which enables them to show a clean pair of heels to the fastest creations of the naval constructor. Imagine these four ships turned loose upon British commerce; and reflect that we have nothing whatever, whether in our merchant service or in our Navy, which could overtake them. If the bare suggestion does not cause uneasiness, it is because the reader does not realise the intense vulnerability of our British trade, or the vast superiority of the great ocean liner, in the matter of fast steaming and seaworthiness, to even the best of cruisers.

October 12th.

Speech of the Kaiser

(Laying of foundation-stone of the Imperial Museum at Saalburg.)

I strike the first stroke on this stone to the memory of Kaiser Friedrich, and the second stroke to the German youth of the coming generation, who here in this museum will learn what a world empire means, and the third stroke to the future of our German Fatherland, that it may be destined in the future times by the united co-operation of our princes and peoples, their armies and their burghers, to become as strongly and firmly welded and as commanding as was once the Roman world empire, so that in the future it may be said, as in old times, "Civis Romanus sum."

October 16th.

Germany—Slow and Sure

(Germany, instigated by the immensely powerful German Navy League, acquired coaling stations in the Red Sea from the Sultan of Turkey.)

Not without purpose has Germany been pro-Boer throughout the present war. The system and care with which Germany is laying the foundation of her sea power merit attention in England. Already in Africa she has sites for coaling stations in Togoland, the Kamerun, South-West Africa, and German East Africa. In the West Indies the fear that she might obtain from Holland Curacao already causes anxiety in the United States. *But Germany will go slow'y and surely. She is not in a hurry; her preparations are quietly and systematically made; it is no part of her object to cause general alarm, which might be fatal to her designs.*

October 29th.

Germany and the C.I.V.

(From Berlin Correspondent.)

The remarkable outburst of enthusiasm in London over the return of the C.I.V.'s has evoked much comment here, the greater part being of an adverse kind. In fact, the cartoon issued by the satirical journal, "Simplicissimus" (of Munich), at the time of the departure of the C.I.V.'s, and now republished, perhaps hits off the general feeling. This represents a sort of chaotic Bank Holiday march through the City, immature youths of the weediest type being escorted along by unprepossessing female friends, who are shouting in mad discord, and even carrying the Volunteers' rifles.

Indeed, many critics go so far as to regard the enthusiasm which has recently been so conspicuously manifested in Britain as indicating a change for the worse in the national character, as a symptom of degeneration, as an evidence that the nation is losing its grip of the finer qualities of the Anglo-Saxon race.

To the austere military German mind, however, the Volunteers were despatched on a species of picnic; they were to be kept in the safety of the background at the seat of war,

and then brought home with as much glory as possible. But probably no German yet fully appreciates the good work they have done, and few Germans certainly can understand the welcome they are receiving.

There is small room for appreciation by the average German mind of the great principle underlying the formation of the regiment; a principle which the welcome in London is intended to emphasise even more than the gallantry of the men who have so conspicuously placed it on record.

December 13th.

The Implacable Kaiser

Count von Buelow: "I can state in the most emphatic manner possible that neither from the British Court, nor from the British Government, has any wish or any proposal been offered, either to the Emperor or to me, as the responsible Chancellor, regarding Mr. Kruger's journey or our attitude towards the war in South Africa.

"To suppose that the Emperor would allow himself to be influenced by his family connections shows little comprehension of his Majesty's character or of his patriotic feeling."

1901

January, 1st.

"Lost We Forget"

It may be that certain events of the closing years of the old century have taught us a less confident and presumptuous note than heretofore. We have seen our armies checked, as they were never checked in all the earlier years of the century, by an apparently insignificant enemy. We are aware that we are bitterly envied and hated by the world, and that at this very critical moment in some inscrutable manner the old fire of energy seems to be waning within us. *We are entering stormy seas, and the time may be near when we shall have to fight in very truth for our life, "neath novel stars beside a brink unknown."* Some there are who question whether England will survive the terrible conflict. If we are worthy of our great place in the world we shall boldly face the question and not blink it because it is unpalatable.

January 17th.

Something Like a League

The German Navy League, which was founded in 1898 upon lines similar to the British Navy League, has evidently made vast strides in a very short time, as it is stated that it has now 600,000 members and associates.

January 19th

The Kaiser and the German Navy

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the bicentenary celebrations of Prussia is the earnest utterances of the Kaiser on the navy. The army has been eulogised—that was to be expected—but that the increase of the navy is the subject, perhaps, dearest to the Kaiser's heart no one can fail to perceive.

The German Fleet may be relatively slow of growth, but the Kaiser intends to place it at the very forefront of the world's navies. The conviction is growing that it is his life's work, and his notorious energy will go far towards achieving his end.

February 8th.

The German Navy is a force of the utmost importance. Though still small in numbers, it is perfectly organised. There is nothing to criticise adversely; nothing is overlooked; nothing is neglected. The officers are competent, zealous, and instructed; the men are of good physique,

drill smartly, and are cheerful and contented; the ships are excellent. An enormous programme of construction is now in course of execution, and is being rapidly and systematically carried out. "First ships, and then coaling stations," said one captain to me. When the ships are finished, as they will be in the next ten years, Germany will have to fear no comparisons. In her own tongue, her navy is "ganz gut!"

February 9th.

When Blucher Won Waterloo

Not only the anti-English and pan-German papers, but the influential and sober-minded Conservative journals, are showing irritation at the bestowal by the Kaiser of the Order of the Black Eagle on Lord Roberts and his Majesty's speech thanking King Edward for making him Field-Marshal.

The "Reichsbote," the organ of the Orthodox Protestants and the Empress's favourite newspaper, remarks: "The Kaiser is very much mistaken in dwelling emphatically on Lord Roberts's merits. Neither the nation nor the army share his views. The Emperor, as chief of the German Army, stands high above Wellington, who was saved at Waterloo by Blucher, and is certainly above Lord Roberts, who is seriously misjudged by the South African situation."

March 7th

Army Reform

Germany changes, re-models, with a relentless energy, sacrificing everything to efficiency. Only last year, by one stroke of the pen, Kaiser Wilhelm re-cast the organisation of his navy because he was not satisfied with the results it produced.

March 25th.

Chestnuts Out of the Fire

Europe and the world would have rejoiced to see Russia and Great Britain fly at each other's throat over this Chinese dispute. England would annihilate the Russian Navy, but Russia would smash the British forces in Asia and annex India and Burma. The two rivals would fight until their strength was exhausted. Then they would cease, with shattered armies and navies, and would find that Germany had profited by the interval and become mistress of the world on the land and on the ocean.—"Rundschau" (Vienna).

June 18th.

Divergent Opinions

Mr. Winston Churchill, at that time a frequent contributor, writing in the "Daily Mail" an article entitled "The Only Way," contended that as England was a maritime and not a military nation, all possible funds should be allocated to the Navy, that the Army was getting an undue proportion, and that "we must view military expenditure with a jealous and critical eye."

"What is the irreducible minimum of our military strength? We are spending more than we ought upon the Army, a greater proportion of our income than we can do, having regard to our own safety.

"We want a Regular Army, first, to supply our great garrison and coaling stations abroad; secondly, as a training school at home; thirdly, for little native wars; fourthly, as the backbone of the civil power; and, lastly, to hold the land defences of certain harbours in England. We want it for nothing else.

"We do not want a regular Army for the defence of this island, or for foreign war with European Powers, and we ought not to raise troops for either purpose."

Commenting thereon, the "Daily Mail," while agreeing on the paramount importance of the Navy, said:

England must remember a fact with which Mr. Churchill does not deal—that the Navy is a purely defensive force, and cannot end a war. We must be able to strike, as well as to ward off blows, unless in the contests which the future may force upon us we are content to see hostilities languish on for an indefinite period. The less that is spent upon home defence, the more that is spent upon a mobile field force, the better. "Defence, not defiance," is our old motto; but if compelled to defend ourselves, we must also be able to defy.

July 8th.

Prince Eitel Friedrich, second son of the German Emperor, formally received his commission as an officer in the First Regiment of the Guards.

In a speech on the occasion, the Emperor said:

The Prince to-day enters upon the duties of life for which he has prepared himself. The noblest task is the defence of the Fatherland, the noblest weapon is the sword, and the noblest uniform is the Prussian soldier's.

August 6th.

Death of the Empress Frederick

A leading article of the "Daily Mail" adverted to the antipathy against her (because she was English) of Bismarck, "who, with all his greatness, never showed any chivalrous regard for women. He pursued her with intrigue and resentment, though her attitude had from first to last been faultless, and though she espoused the cause of her husband's country with enthusiasm. But the great Minister never forgave her for being English by birth and nationality."

The "Daily Mail" alluded to the bitterness felt against England so long ago as 1888, as evinced in the cruelty of Germans and the German Press to the Empress.

September 18th.

A Picture of the German Officer

(By Chas. E. Hands.)

You cannot miss seeing him. He takes up a great deal of space, both individually and collectively. He is exceedingly taking to the eye, very stalwart and upright, frank of face, but fierce of upbrushed moustache, blue eyed and fair complexioned, but with a most impressive air of conscious authority and greatness. Big and handsome, most carefully groomed, and most gorgeously apparelled, it is not surprising that English lady visitors to Homburg, even those who are very good tennis-players indeed, should be quite willing to condescend to teach him the game.

His authoritative dignity is so great that he does not seem to forgo anything of it even when he is drinking beer out of a long glass. The respect and deference he commands are wonderful to see. Civilians, even compatriots of distinction, on entering the dining-room bow to him with formal humility. He acknowledges the obeisances only with a rigid glare of haughty indifference, though he is politely conscious of the coming and going of ladies. The German civilian does not appear to be surprised at, nor to resent, being contemptuously ignored by him, but recognises him and looks up to him as a superior member of a superior race, and continues to make his obeisances, however loftily they are ignored. But while he is unable to see a civilian at whom he is looking point-blank, he never misses observing the entrance and acknowledging the salute of another of his own race. Gog and Magog at the Guildhall could not be more stealthily unconscious of the presence of a county councillor than he

of a mere civilian; the maitre d'hôtel at the Carlton could not be more ceremoniously polite on the entrance of a distinguished habitué than he on the appearance of an officer of superior or equal rank. He rises from his seat and stands stiff and erect while the new-comer advances, and exchanges formal bows with each in turn. And as he recovers the erect position from the bow he brings his heels together with a sharp parade click, and waits until his superior has taken a seat before he resumes his own.

September 20th.

The German Soldier

(Charles E. Hands)

If perfect marching is perfect soldiering, then, without doubt, the German Army is beyond imagination perfect. Each battalion went by as solid as a wall. Personally I am no expert in marching, and the spectacle of a thousand men moving like one, with a thousand right legs elevating to the same angle at the same moment, and then a thousand left legs doing exactly the same, does not thrill me as perhaps it ought. Even when some hundreds of gorgeously dressed girls go through their well-drilled evolutions at Drury Lane, I usually go out of the theatre for a time. But if drill, uniformity, simultaneity make perfect soldiers, here, without doubt, was a perfect army.

It was all very wonderful. But how much would all this kind of perfection avail in war time? Here was a perfectly level field—Lord's ground on a large scale, but still a field—a great body of troops manœuvring in small compass and close order. What would be the value of all that was perfect in the performance if instead of the smooth grass there were boulder-strewn sand? Perhaps every discipline has its value, and this perfect drill might translate into some other perfection if circumstances were changed.

September 21st.

Worthless British Criticisms

The military "Kreuz Zeitung" was evidently irritated at the British Press criticisms on the German army at recent manœuvres.

The journal remarked that the manœuvres were not directed against a supposed Boer army, that the artillery fire was only suggestive, and that in real warfare the cavalry attacks would never be carried out in the form in which they were at the manœuvres. The object of the manœuvres was to see whether troops in large masses were mobile, and whether their

leaders were skilful and sure in handling large bodies of men.

"As the British have no such kind of manœuvres, and have no conception of their use and object, the British criticisms of them are, from a military standpoint, absolutely worthless."

November 19th.

The Kaiser and His Navy

Kaiser Wilhelm is a many-sided man, but if there is one subject in which his interest is intense and of which his knowledge is profound, it is his Navy and its welfare. Under his fostering guidance that force has steadily grown of recent years, until it promises in the not distant future to be the formidable rival of our own. It is comparatively small in numbers, but it is admirable in organisation and training; indeed, a model to the world. And its growth is mainly due to the energy of its lord and master, who knows how to infuse into it his own spirit of zeal and enthusiasm. It is certain that the ships which Germany is now building are excellent; whether they are better than ours, as Germany claims, is a matter which can only be proved by war; and this, let us hope, will never come between two kindred peoples, though it is true that of late Germans have been intimating that England requires a naval Sadowa to bring her to wisdom. Meantime the Emperor and most of his people are fully convinced that "Germany's future lies upon the water," and are doing everything to assure that future.

November 20th.

In an article on Germans and the Boer War, the writer said:

The Kaiser is the pivot of the situation, and he knows it. Let me, therefore, utter a most earnest warning against the too generally accepted belief that because he has hitherto exhibited goodwill towards us this may continue indefinitely.

November 21st.

German Anglophobia

Sympathy with and admiration for the Boers are one thing; another is the stream of calumny poured upon our troops. Ever since the outbreak of the hostilities in 1899 the German Press has allowed itself to be fed with the most abominable falsehoods concerning the behaviour of our soldiers. It is difficult in this respect to acquit the German official world of all responsibility. For in a country where Governmental influence is so widely brought to

bear upon the organs of public opinion, where by no means the least important department in the Foreign Office is the Press Bureau, specially instituted for the education and guidance of the Press, where not only the newspapers commonly described as semi-official, but the majority of respectable newspapers, are amenable to more or less direct control in all questions connected with the foreign policy of the Empire, such a widespread and protracted campaign against a foreign country could hardly have assumed these overwhelming proportions had it not been regarded at first with official tolerance, if not with indulgence. . . .

These daily manifestations of German hatred, which at first caused surprise rather than indignation, are gradually sinking into the heart of the British people, and it would be an unfortunate day for both nations if the belief were to gain ground in England that, in spite of many common interests and many common traditions, the passionate enmity of the German people must be regarded as a more powerful and permanent

factor in moulding the relations of the two countries than the wise and friendly statesmanship of German rulers. (Quoted from "The Times.")

November 22nd.

If Germany Fought England

Considerable attention is attracted by a pamphlet published by Baron von Edelsheim, an officer in the chief general staff of the German Army, in which he declares that Germany could throw 100,000 men on the English coast in a very short time. The baron put forward this statement as an absolute certainty, and it is considered somewhat curious that he is permitted by his Government to publish it. His paper proceeds: "England's weakness is our strength. The land forces of the English army correspond neither in strength nor quality with her position as a great Power. England is convinced that every hostile invasion can be prevented by her fleet, but this conviction is not by any means well founded. (Berlin cablegram to "New York Sun.")

1902

January 13th.

An American Opinion

"Where is Germany to-day? Hated beyond measure by the Russians. Disliked more than ever by that country nowadays on account of the Tariff Bill. Highly unpopular in Austria, where the Polish leaders openly call meetings of protest against her treatment of their compatriots, and where the Premier, in reply to diplomatic appeal, says he can do nothing against the movement. Italy almost, according to the Chancellor's admission, wishes to be rid of Germany. England will never forget the attitude of the German people during the Boer War, any more than the Americans, who have memories, can forget that of the German people during the Spanish War. Who are Germany's friends to-day? Spain, Turkey, and Holland! Surely not a grand triumph of international political relationship!" (Quoted from "New York Herald.")

February 15th.

The Voyage of Prince Henry

In an article, "The Mailyphist," the "Daily Mail," dealing with Prince Henry of Prussia's visit to New York, referred to his memorable Kiel speech before starting for the Far East as a full-fledged Apostle of a Mailed Fist.

The "Daily Mail" terminated:

Such is the gospel of hero-worship which Prince Henry is now, in turn, about to preach to the Americans; while they, on their part, will retaliate by preaching to him, as the "Apostle of the Mailed Fist," the gospel—not according to Mark, but according to Monroe.

February 17th.

To the dulcet strains of many brass bands and the beating of many drums, Prince Henry, on Saturday, embarked at Bremerhaven upon his voyage to the United States. From his journey much is expected by Germans; has not the Kaiser exerted all his efforts to make it a pronounced success? A special Press agent has even been sent out by his Imperial order to chronicle in glowing terms, for the journals of Germany, the Prince's progress.

Further than this, to obtain for him a grateful reception, somewhat gratuitous attempts have even been made to persuade the people of the United States that it was England, and not Germany, who essayed to form an armed coalition against the Government of President McKinley on the eve of the war with Spain. Fortunately, facts are not thus easily to be

distorted when the memory of them is still fresh, and these attempts have been received with incredulity by even those in the United States who are at most times hostile to England. If Germany wishes to prostrate herself before the American people, and to confess that she acted foolishly in 1898, there is no reason why she should not do so. But that is not good cause for endeavouring in this characteristically Bismarckian fashion to estrange England from the United States.

May 31st.

BLOTTING OUT ENGLAND

The "Daily Mail" gave prominence to a striking article by Sir Rowland Blennerhassett, in the June "National Review," on the Pan-Germanic movement:

It is one of the gravest signs of the times. It is animated by vague passionate sentiments shaped by material interests such as have always marked great religious and political upheavals. The idea of uniting under one Government all the German-speaking people on the Continent of Europe has haunted the imaginations of leading men in Germany for a long time. In 1813 and 1814 it was expressed in many of the stirring ballads which were sung round the watch-fires of Blucher's army.

When Prince Bismarck was dismissed from office, Germany was in a state of extraordinary prosperity, and occupied an international position of exceptional power. Many Germans, however, of high position held that the time had arrived when a policy of a more forward character, and involving persistent efforts for the expansion of Germany, should be adopted. In the year 1892, a remarkable little work was published called "Ein Deutsches Weltreich" ("A German World Empire"). This publication attracted very considerable notice at the time, and its appearance marks the commencement of the Pan-Germanic movement in its present form.

The writer called upon his countrymen to work unceasingly for the union under one political system of all the Continental branches of the German race. He appealed to them to cultivate in all the German countries of Europe the sentiment of a common origin and the desire for political union. He foresaw this propaganda might provoke international trouble and even general war, but care should be taken that a European war should not break out before the minds of men in countries where the people were of German origin were prepared to receive the Pan-Germanic idea.

The Pan-Germanic League

A short time after the appearance of this little work the Pan-Germanic League, as it is at present, was founded. This was in September, 1894.

In the year 1895, the League had only 7,000 adherents. Since then it has progressed steadily, and it has now nearly 200 centres actively engaged in propagating its doctrines, and what these are may be seen by the Pan-Germanic map; published under the auspices of the League, and showing the future frontiers of the German Empire. *According to the views of Pan-Germans, the German Empire must comprise the whole of Austria with the exception of Galicia and the Bukowina, and must also include Trieste, the Austrian Tyrol, German Switzerland, Holland, and Belgium, and even a portion of North-Eastern France. It is graciously proposed not to push the frontier farther north and filch any more territory from Denmark.*

Even more active still, perhaps, is the Pan-Germanic League in displaying

Hostility to Great Britain

It is exceedingly difficult for the people of this country, from the circumstance that the German language is not widely known amongst us, to understand the intense animosity towards England which prevails in Germany, or to follow the plans for the overthrow of the British Empire.

According to the German view, the issue between England and Germany is a question of might, like that which decided the relative positions of France and Germany in Europe in 1870. Germany, therefore, is now preparing to wage with England a similar war to that she waged with France. The Pan-Germans are its enthusiastic prophets, but every party or political group in the Empire, even the Socialists, are ready and willing to support every proposal to increase the German Fleet, no matter how enormous the sacrifice may be. They do not conceal what they intend to do with that fleet when occasion serves. Great Britain is to be overthrown. This was proclaimed many years ago by Treitschke. In the year 1884 he wrote: "We have reckoned with France and Austria. The reckoning with England has still to come; it will be the longest and most difficult." He has succeeded in implanting into the hearts of his countrymen a hatred for England equal to his own. "Britannia delenda est" was the motto of Treitschke. He has now passed from this earthly scene, but others of consideration and power preach the same gospel. Men like Herr Albert Schaffle and Delbrück, who was the teacher of the present

Kaiser, have more than once told the world in unmistakable language how the next great struggle of the Germans will be "a combat for the annihilation of England."

The Germans begin, however, to realise that they cannot attain their end as easily as they hoped to do. Hence the increasing activity of German diplomacy to make mischief between England and some Great Power. A sound and consistent foreign policy is, therefore, essential to enable us to defeat Pan-Germanic plans for the "annihilation" of England.

Our Poor Navy

The current number of the "Contemporary Review" contained a translation of an important article by a German writer, Herr Meyer, on the British Navy, which was very widely read in Germany, and which reflected, in some degree, German feeling to this country. The article was bitterly depreciatory, as will be seen from the following extracts:

"Our people have, for a thousand years, dreamed that the earth was a German heritage, and to-day we dream of the world as a German house. Almost every page of history of to-day declares the fact that German shipbuilding has not only achieved the highest excellence, but is now taking the lead in the shipbuilding of the world.

"Nowadays the English Navy is always held up before us as a model, and people din into our ears, with the persistence of a fixed idea, their superstitious alarm at the "overwhelming fleet of England, mistress of the seas." True, indeed, it is that she is immensely superior in ships; but a cool, unbiassed, and critical observer, if he have the nice eye of an expert, sees deeper. At the first glance he will see all sorts of things from which may God preserve our aspiring Navy, which, though capable of growth, lacks developments."

July 24th.

Anglo-German Relations

A feverish desire for a navy has seized upon the German people like an epidemic. The German Navy League is a great national institution. Fifty paying members in a small German village is not uncommon. Over 600,000 adult members are borne on the books of the German Navy League. Excursion trains are run from Berlin to Kiel. Visits to the warships are advertised in the Berlin papers as inducements.

The German Navy is looked on by the nation and its ruler as the one hope of the future, and the German Navy League is a means to an end—colonies.

The longing for a slice of territory in a temperate climate can only be compared to the longing of a lover for his mistress or of an injured Spaniard for revenge. This is a fact of which the British Government and people would do well to take note.

It is an axiom in administration that when public affairs are transacted behind closed doors they tend to become the private affairs of the men who transact them. Do we wish to be friends with Germany? If so, surely it is good policy to avoid needless causes of offence. If, on the other hand, the German Navy is a menace to the British Empire, does not common sense dictate the propriety of destroying it before the boy becomes a man, or a giant, as will be the case by 1915?

November 5th.

THE GERMAN NAVY At Whom is it Aimed?

(By an Englishman in Germany)

Sir William Laird Clowes, in a recent article on this momentous issue, deprecates the suggestion put forward that a demand for explanations should be addressed to Germany, "declaring that unless certain assurances were given or the increase of the German Fleet were stopped war would follow."

The writer has lived for several years in Germany, mixing with all classes and carefully observant of them all. Judging, then, by the spirit which they display towards ourselves, he can deliberately aver that, positions being reversed, the Germans would long since have made the foregoing demand, and backed it with irresistible force.

While Herr Bebel, who, for the Social Democrats, opposed the naval Bill, was speaking as to its possible effect of causing "a great, inevitable naval war" between England and Germany, Herr Kropatscheck, of the "Kreuz Zeitung," interjected, "It is because we have to fear a war with England that we need a fleet." Graf Limburgh, the Conservative leader, expressed the opinion that the naval measures of the Government were directed against Great Britain, and were all the more welcome to him on this account.

Here he was voicing in the Reichstag what was freely asserted by his countrymen everywhere outside.

Later, the writer quoted from the "Neue Freie Presse," of Vienna:

"She (England), without doubt, is the great Colonial rival with whom Germany will, in the first place, have to settle matters A greater Germany rises before our vision in all her imposing grandeur. Germany feels strong, and wants to be stronger still.

"In Europe, Germany is secured against all

surprises by the Triple Alliance and by her relations to Russia, and she can proceed tomorrow to prepare the Colonial programme, for which she means adequately to arm herself."

November 6th.

The Germ of the Entente Cordiale

A leading article strongly urged better relations with France:

An "entente cordiale" between England and France, should such a thing be possible, would necessarily lead us to recast our naval dispositions in such a manner as to meet the altered situation which would then arise, and would in particular enable us to place a strong fleet in the North Sea. It would not, it is to be feared, enable us to reduce our Fleet, since there are other naval Powers in Europe whose naval activity has increased as that of France has diminished.

November 7th.

The Kaiser's Visit

There are reports, which increase in persistence, to the effect that some scheme of alliance between England and Germany is on foot. It is, however, impossible to attach great importance to these rumours. An alliance is out of the question unless there is real community of interests, sympathy, and affection between the allies. Now, we know from the mouth of Professor Debrück, who has filled the responsible position of tutor in the German Imperial household, that "England must have no delusions upon the point that she is hated in Germany." The conduct of the German Press, and even that of German Ministers of State, during the Boer War, showed that the learned professor did not speak at random. In no country of Europe were the British Sovereign and the British people so persistently attacked; and no other Foreign Minister acted as did Count Buelow, when he declared that it was "an insult" to the German Army to compare the British soldier with the German.

We take no pleasure in recalling these facts, but they afford means of judging what the true feeling of Germany to this country is, and for that reason they are of importance. Did the Kaiser, to extricate his country from its temporary embarrassments, conclude with us an alliance under these circumstances, the German people would refuse to ratify it, and it must be worthless. Moreover, we know how treaties of alliance have been used by Germany in the past. Having concluded an alliance against Russia with Austria, Bismarck went behind Austria's back with this document, and made a

fresh alliance with Russia against Austria. From the day when this startling fact was disclosed the Triple Alliance in Europe has rested upon the most precarious foundations, nor have matters been mended by the antics of the Pan-Germans, whose object seems to be to embroil Germany simultaneously with every Great Power.

November 8th.

With the arrival of the Kaiser in England curiosity as to the object of his journey increases. It is pure affectation to pretend, as does the German Press, taking its cue without doubt from the Berlin Foreign Office, that he has no other mission than to kill pheasants. The Emperor William is not the man to waste time on such futilities.

But though Germany in the person of her ruler will not break with Russia, she would not have the slightest objection to see England quarrel with that Power. Until recent years she has managed by the consummate adroitness of her diplomacy to play off the two nations against one another, while at the same time she has succeeded in keeping England and France apart. That policy, however, has failed. The "Honest Broker," to use Prince Bismarck's expression, finds his business gone; the "Tertius Gaudens" is left without foreign quarrels over which to rejoice. It is to renew the brokerage business, and to estrange England from the two other great Continental Powers by some shadow of an agreement, that German policy is working to-day. But we in England cannot forget the conduct of Germany during the war. *We had regarded her as a friend; many of us had been advocates of a German alliance; and if we have had to abandon all hope of such a possibility, it is because the German people have taught us that they hate and envy us, irrationally and blindly. It is the German nation which has prevented the possibility of an Anglo-German alliance.*

December 4th.

Germany and Venezuela

An article on the Venezuelan trouble thus terminated: "In no circumstances would England forgive a Ministry which drifted into strained relations, and perhaps something even worse, with the United States to oblige Germany." A further article (December 17th) answers the "Daily Mail's" own question "What does the Emperor want?" (relevant to his visit to England) by suggesting that "the answer is now given in the sequence of events of the Venezuelan entanglement." The "Daily Mail" took a strong line against the mere suggestion of any understanding with Germany directed against the United States, and quoted, on January 1st, the following remarks from the "Contemporary Review":

"Germany can never be our friend. Economically, because she has the same aims as we have, and is propelled forward by the same economic motor forces; politically, because of her position between France and Russia; psychologically, because the German people are by nature envious, hostile to England, and tend to become more so. *The Pan-Germanic idea, as yet in its infancy, is no idle chimera. Could Germany crush us, she would. We must meet her with her own weapons, which are these—brains, science, thoroughness. Above all, our fleet must be invincible.*

"She has mobilised and brought into action a powerful Press Bureau, under Dr. von Holleben, in the United States, the direct object of which is—and we challenge denial on this point—the creation of bad feeling between England and her kindred State. She even despatched Prince Henry on a mission to make mischief. But such was the confidence of America in British friendship and good faith that all these kindly manoeuvres failed. It was then that she laid the Venezuelan trap, into which Lord Lansdowne instantly fell. Whether or not our Foreign Secretary is aware of the fact, she did her very utmost to embroil England in a great war with the United States."

Officially Fostered Hatred

"For many years the powers-that-be in Berlin have inculcated contempt as well as hatred for England and all things English in the minds of the German nation. This has the double effect of preventing the importation of objectionable 'free institutions' from this country, and also of accustoming the Germans to the idea that we hold the line of least resistance, and that when Germany is prepared we shall go down before her as surely as the Spanish Armada went down before the British fleets."

("The Press," New York):

"The German Empire grows rapidly and steadily into a naval Power of such proportions that unless a check is provided by rival nations it will be prepared to execute the most ambitious plans of the War Lord, even if it cannot fulfil the widely adventurous dreams of the Pan-Germanic League, which desires the absorption of Holland, Switzerland, and Austria-Hungary.

"Every year German pride is more and more rebellious against restraint. Sooner or later the time must come when Great Britain and the United States will have to raise a hand and say to the intolerable Goth: "So far shall you go and no farther!" When that time comes let us not be unprepared."

1903

January 24th.

ALREADY PRACTISING "KULTUR"

Already, in 1903, the Germans were practising "kultur." The "Daily Mail," in an article on Jan. 24th. remarked:

"The Germans are certainly making progress in the art of naval war, and, at the same time, are doing their very best to exasperate the people of the United States. The latest performance of their squadron on the Venezuelan coast has been marked by an absolute disregard for British wishes, and by a sovereign contempt for considerations of humanity, which in such a matter as this wretched Venezuelan dispute ought to be allowed some influence. With little provocation, so far as can be discovered, two German ships have bombarded Port San Carlos at Maracaibo, and in the course of the bombardment killed some twenty-five innocent and helpless Indian fishermen.

"This incident will render the alliance, under which England has tamely to obey the behests of the Sovereign who calls himself—when out of sight of the British Navy—the 'Admiral of the Atlantic,' more distasteful than ever.

"It cannot be too clearly understood in America that the people of this country will have no part or parcel in supporting Germany against the people of the United States, whom we have come to consider as our own kindred and as our traditional friends."

February 5th.

Why Does Germany Need a Great Fleet?

It is a very important fact, as affecting the relative position of England and Germany, that England is wholly dependent on the sea for food and raw material. If the command of the sea passed from British hands for even a brief space, the results must be national annihilation to this country. Our ports would be blockaded: food and all the materials used in manufacture would rise to ruinously high prices: and the nation would be starved to death. But in the case of Germany this terrible danger is absent, and the loss of the command of the sea would scarcely affect the country. Food and raw material could be imported with almost as much ease as in peace, through Belgium and Holland. There is, too, this further consideration to be kept in view. England does not possess a large army, and so is little likely to embark upon schemes of aggression against her peaceable neighbours. She could not incommode them if she did. But with Germany the case is very different. Behind the fleet which the Kaiser has in view, and which is to be capable of defeating the British squadrons in home waters, there is the magnificent German Army, with its millions of trained men, able to strike wherever ships can steam. It follows, then, that while great naval power in the

hands of Britain cannot constitute a menace, in the hands of Germany it will be a grave peril to the world, the more so as the recent history of German policy is one of daring aggression, and as the want of space at home compels Germany to conquer the colonies of others or perish.

February 9th.

It is all important for the Cabinet to recognise that Germany cannot be counted as a friend, but as a secret and insidious enemy. The nation will do well to insist that certain precautions, which should have been taken long ago, should now be adopted without further delay. A naval base on the East Coast and a standing squadron in the North Sea have become essential to British interests. It should not be forgotten that Germany openly aspires to command and to control these, our home waters.

March 6th.

The War of the Future

Our naval bases, as they exist to-day, were planned to meet the requirements of a past century, when there were no formidable navies in the north of Europe. They faced towards France and towards the Atlantic, because France was in the past the great adversary of this country, and because the Atlantic was continually, throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the theatre of war. But in the last few years the importance of the French Navy has relatively declined . . . while Germany, in pursuance of the settled policy of the Kaiser, is reaching out her hand to grasp the trident. She is now engaged upon a naval programme of great dimensions, the express object of which, as its preamble states, and as Admiral Tirpitz told the Reichstag when it was introduced, is to enable her to meet in war the British Navy.

July 4th.

The Needs of the Navy

No one is anxious to pay heavy taxes or to see millions voted which could be saved, but the people of this country have long since decided that a strong Navy must be maintained at all costs. Another of the items in the Naval Works Bill was a sum for the new naval base at Rosyth. That base has become necessary partly as the result of the great development of the German Fleet, partly because there is no longer accommodation for our ships in our older naval ports. The nation must be prepared for the enlargement of its establishments concurrently with the growth of its fleet, and must remember that in Germany Kiel is being doubled in size, and that a great harbour is being created at Emden, the German port which is nearest to England.

October 1st.

A Forecast of Prussian Brutality

The "Daily Mail," discussing a decree against the brutality rampant in the German Army, and the frequency of maltreatment of soldiers by non-commissioned officers, said:

One is led to speculate as to how these heartless German non-commissioned officers would deal with an enemy in view of the manner in which they are accustomed to treat their own men.

October 6th.

The Kaiser's Rule

It is impossible to follow the career of the Emperor William without realising the constant uncertainty which dominates his mind when he looks into the future. His appeals to the army, passionate and sometimes almost bordering on hysteria, are commonplace. One of his first speeches after he became Emperor reminded his soldiers that, if danger should come, they must be ready to shoot down fathers and brothers in defence of their King. "You must be ready, day and night, to risk your lives in the trenches, to spill your blood for your

King," he said to his bodyguard but the other day; and he seems to have been thinking of his own safety at the moment he came into his great inheritance. The tragedy of the Hundred Days was hardly over when a squadron of the Hussars scattered itself to take possession of every entrance to the palace, and within an hour of his father's death William II. was saluted by a company of infantry from Potsdam, which took up its place in the palace area so that not even the new Emperor himself could pass in or out save through their ranks. It was a remarkable demonstration, in the first hour of his power, of the force by which he was to rule.

December 21st.

"The Contemptible British Army"

In a speech at a military banquet at Hanover, on December 19th, 1903, the Kaiser said:

"With hearty thanks I raise my glass (and I hope that all of you will follow my example) in contemplation of the past, to the health of the German Legion, in memory of its incomparable deeds, which, in conjunction with Blucher and the Prussians, rescued the English Army from destruction at Waterloo."

1904

March 2nd.

Mischievous Debate

The Little Englander harassed the Unionist Government scarcely less than he seems to have hypnotised the Radical Government. The "Daily Mail" thus dealt with him in the spring of 1904 :

A certain section in the House of Commons appears to have parted company with common-sense, since for the last two days the time of the House has been occupied with futile and foolish proposals for reducing the Naval Estimates. In a speech which showed sagacity and a deep sense of responsibility, Mr. Balfour reminded the House of certain obvious considerations. This country depends absolutely upon its fleet, and can take no risks. Its position is not to be compared with that of Russia, France, or Germany, who might lose their whole fleet and be little the worse. With us such a loss would mean utter ruin and the payment of an indemnity of hundreds of millions to a foreign conqueror. If the Little Englanders are unwilling to pay for an adequate navy, let them say so. But let them also at the same time warn their infatuated supporters that in that case England must be prepared to accept the fate of China, and to be told by foreign Powers, as China was told by Germany, that "common-sense must show you on which side lies superior force, and you will be wise to yield to our demands without resistance."

May 14th.

A Forecast of Russo-Japanese Reconciliation

Already there are signs that the bravery and devotion of the Japanese have won the respect of the Russians, who have always admired gallant foes. It is well that this should be the case, as it suggests that an ultimate reconciliation between the two Powers, over all the carnage of the battlefield, may not be beyond the range of reasonable hope. War, indeed, reconciles rather than permanently divides nations, where statesmen are careful to avoid leaving any such permanent source of exasperation as was caused by the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine. The sooner the reconciliation the better. There is only one Power in the world which stands to gain greatly by the permanent weakening of Russia, and this Power is Germany.

Her newspapers misrepresented the formidable qualities of the Japanese army and navy,

of which the British Press gave ample warning. They did so because they hoped that a conflict between Russia and Japan would result in a prolonged and exhausting struggle, ruining both States for a generation, during which period Germany might lay her hands upon the Yangtse Valley.

May 29th.

THE "DAILY MAIL'S" FIRST PLEA FOR COMPULSORY SERVICE

For compulsory service it may be said that it gives the same training to the character as compulsory education gives to the national intellect. Further, it unquestionably improves the physique of the man subjected to it. It must be remembered, too, that world conditions are changing. Can a half-armed people survive where the whole of the rest of the world is trained to arms? Sir R. Giffen has pointed to the growth of these immense foreign armies as introducing altogether new problems into British life, while all the omens point to the probability that Britain's position will be challenged in the near future. We may trust much to a watchful and conciliatory diplomacy to secure our safety. But, after all, as Napoleon said, diplomacy without armed force behind it is like music without instruments.

June 18th.

No Saving on Armaments

Throughout the world the Powers are vastly increasing their expenditure upon their navies, and all the signs of the times point to a future of strenuous competition for the great prize of sea-power. It is our duty to hold the lead which the British Navy has obtained, and to hold it unflinchingly.

As if to teach a much-needed lesson to those who pretend that the British Fleet is in excess of requirements, the events of the past few days have once more illustrated the danger of attempting much with too weak a naval force. Because the Japanese lacked the strength to blockade Vladivostock effectively, Admiral Skrydloff has been able to sink two, if not three, Japanese transports, inflicting fearful loss of life upon our allies. He has been able for some hours to threaten and derange the communications of the Japanese Army. What would be the feelings of the economists in this country if, through their misguided efforts, such a catastrophe had befallen British transports under like circumstances, and our admirals had reported that it was due to the insufficiency of the fleet?

June 29th.

King Edward and the Kaiser

With the King's departure from Kiel to-day, his Majesty's brief visit to the Kaiser comes to a close. The well-informed have never expected from it any political result, and his Majesty's tact made it clear from the first that his journey was not undertaken to conclude a new alliance.

It is, indeed, impossible sufficiently to admire the discretion with which the King has eluded awkward topics. Our gracious ruler is a skilful diplomatist not in the least likely to be caught by such pitfalls. So it is interesting to observe that when the Kaiser referred in glowing terms to the greatness of the German Navy—that force which, according to the public statements of many eminent people in Germany, is being strengthened for a certain object not altogether consonant with the maintenance of peace—King Edward, in his reply, expressed only his enthusiasm for yachts and yachting.

July 4th.

King Edward's Visit to Kiel

The King's journey to Kiel was made occasion of by the German Press to exploit the visit in the interests of Germany. It was alleged that intervention in the Russo-Japanese War was discussed between the King and Kaiser. The "Daily Mail" dealt with scorn on this suggestion, pointing out that the diplomacy of King Edward was not that of a Bismarck, to go behind the back of an ally and make agreements contrary to that ally's interests:

The purpose of these reports is to discredit England in the eyes of the world by representing her guilty of a perfectly pointless piece of disloyalty. The Japanese, of course, know that the attitude of the King and the British Government has been absolutely correct, but in Europe the impression is fostered that British policy is still directed from Berlin. There could not be a greater mistake. The excellent understanding with France was the first sign that England had cut herself loose from the influence of the Wilhelmstrasse, and to that understanding the British nation still holds firmly as the key of its foreign policy. In another German inspired article we are told that "Germans and Englishmen can compete in works of peace without hindering each other." This is excellent news, and we presume that as the first sign of this new spirit in Germany we shall see a reduction in the German naval expenditure.

July 4th.

The German Army does not love the British Army, and when the two forces meet every

Teuton will fight in a spirit of personal hatred towards the Britisher who faces him.

(From a "Daily Mail" interview with ex-Lieutenant Bilse, dismissed from the German Army because of the revelations in his book thereon.)

July 11th.

German Fleet's Spying Visits

Commenting on the visit of the German Fleet to Plymouth, the frequency of these visits was pointed out, with the ironical remark that certain German training ships might almost be said to make Plymouth and Portsmouth their headquarters, so frequent were their sojourns in British seas.

Only two years ago Prince Henry of Prussia remained some days in one of the most important of our naval bases on the Atlantic—Berehaven. Not many months have passed since the Kaiser himself condescended to visit Gibraltar, where he was shown the works and fortifications.

The appearance of the German ships at Plymouth might suggest to the casual observer who knows nothing about the relations between England and Germany that a close alliance bound the two Powers. This, however, is not the fact. We are driven, then, to conclude that the German squadron has come to watch the mobilisation of our Navy for the approaching manoeuvres which is now in progress at our naval ports.

July 12th.

A PLAIN WARNING

"Englishmen of all degrees and classes cannot but be puzzled by the fact that of late, as if by word of command, the attitude of the German Press to England has suddenly and mysteriously changed.

"It is now constantly suggested by reputable German organs of opinion that the British Government is making overtures to Germany, that a close understanding with England is probable, and that even a military agreement is not beyond the bounds of possibility.

"What is the meaning of this talk? The Englishmen may well ask himself. He can only answer his own questions by consulting the utterances of leading Germans, official and non-official, in the immediate past, and by comparing the German words with the German deeds.

"First and foremost as to acts. There is no slackening in German naval activity. In the words of Dr. Reich, whom I shall cite because he is a dispassionate and far-seeing foreign witness:

"There can be no doubt that Germany is arming herself with patience, calculating and laborious perseverance for the day when she shall at last feel ready to throw down the gauntlet in the face of England.

Germany is of those that look, meditate, and prepare before they leap, in order that they need have to leap only once.

"In pursuance of this plan, openly avowed in 1900, when it was declared, in the preamble of the German Navy Act of that year, that the object of the German Government was to create such a fleet :

"... that even for the strongest naval Power a war with Germany would involve such risks as to jeopardise that Power's naval supremacy."

"Germany has in the last six years laid down thirteen battleships against England's sixteen, and is even now preparing to extend her programme.

"It is, however, the opinion of German statesmen that Germany must not go too fast. The quarrel is not to come just yet. In an address delivered at Munich, in May, before a host of Bavarian royalties, General von Sauer let the cat out of the bag. In words of naïve indiscretion he declared :

"England and Germany must always remain rivals. Germany must avoid war with England, or, at any rate, must seek to postpone it."

"Every year's postponement increases the strength of the German marine. Should Germany be forced to decide on war, she must be armed. Her fleet must be developed to the utmost the country can bear. She must, at any rate, seek to possess a fleet strong enough to hold its own against the English home squadron."

When Germany is Ready

"In fact, 'till we are quite ready'—a very sound military principle, and one which England would do well to keep in mind.

"We have further to reckon with the fact that in the last twenty years hatred of England has become the dominant creed of the German nation. In a valuable and exhaustive study of German Anglo-phobia only just published Freiherr von Simmern has pointed out, 'In its essence Anglo-phobia is a systematic attack upon the existence of the British Power.' It is no passing phase, he says ; it is the mainspring of German feeling and policy.

"To see how deep this feeling of animosity to England goes we need only quote some sayings of prominent Germans in the last few years. Professor Delbrück, a former tutor in the Emperor's family, in the 'North American Review' of January, 1900, declared that Germany might well be friends with the world at large, but—

"a nation, as well as an individual, must seemingly either love or hate. If the multitude had no enemy it could take no part in foreign politics at all. So the nation which once celebrated with delight the memory of the Belle Alliance of Blucher and Wellington at Waterloo has now directed its hate against England. England must have no delusions upon this point."

Treitschke, who more than any German professor has moulded German policy, wrote as far back as 1884 :

"We have reckoned with France and Austria. The reckoning with England has yet to come ; it will be the longest and the hardest."

It was Treitschke who taught "Delenda est Britannia." Count Moulin-Eckart has bettered his master's instruction. "We are not England's friend," he says in his lectures. "May the genius of Bismarck preside over a second (naval) Koenig-gratz."

How, then, are we to reconcile the German overtures of the honeyed words of the German Press with the din which arises from the German dock-yards as they feverishly push forward new battle-ships and destroyers, and build up the great navy, and with these utterances ?—H.

July 13th.

The World War

A remarkable book, "The World War," was published in Germany with the significant sub-title "German Dreams" (August Niemann). Passage quoted :

It only needs one word from the Kaiser to stir the soul of the German people to its deepest depths, and to light a flame of overpowering enthusiasm which shall put an end to any disunion or strife of factions among them. Were Germany to put her whole strength into the struggle for victory, victory would be hers. And victory has its own justification."

The "Daily Mail's" comment on this book :

Its message and meaning unmistakably adumbrate the unchanging and ineradicable hostility of Germany to England. It is the spirit of rancour and hatred which informs the book that makes it distinctly noteworthy, and renders it something for all patriotic Englishmen to read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest.

Germany inveigles France and Russia to join her against England. The Russians invade India and smash the British power there, mainly owing to the desertion to Russia of all the Mohammedan troops. The Mutiny is then repeated. A German army invades Scotland, a French army England. When the British Fleet goes to Kiel it finds the German Fleet put to sea. Prince Henry leads the German Fleet to annihilating victory. Germans and French enter London and dictate terms. Russia gets India. France obtains Egypt. Germany takes Antwerp (Germany's violation of Belgium, it will be noted. was even then taken for granted), and England pays an enormous indemnity !

Poor enough stuff, but the German public were fed for years on it.

August 9th:

The Needs of the Navy

Never was a powerful fleet more needed than to-day, when we are being reminded at every turn that the prosperity of British shipping, upon which the British nation is coming more and more to rely as its other industries succumb, before tariff-aided competition, depends ultimately upon the protection which our Fleet can give. No Power with a weak navy can long retain a great commerce. The example of Venice and Holland is there to prove it; yet during the last six years England, who is professedly maintaining a navy equal to that of any two other Powers, has only just surpassed that of Germany alone in battleship construction. Where Germany has laid down thirteen battleships, we have laid down or purchased sixteen. It is a small margin of predominance, even allowing for our much more powerful ships, in view of the fact that the whole German Navy is concentrated in European waters, while the British Fleet is scattered over the three great oceans of the world.

Sept. 17th.

Watching Our Manœuvres—The Kaiser's Secret Agents in Essex

The military manœuvres in Essex which have just ended were watched most closely by the German authorities. It would seem that the Kaiser took the keenest interest in the matter. Despite the fact that there was an officially accredited German military attaché, a number of agents were also present, and among the number was Count Eulenburg, a Secretary of the German Embassy in London. One of our military correspondents writes that the fact that the Count was taking notes and making sketches excited a good deal of adverse criticism among the British officers who were familiar with the fact. *The reports of all these secret agents are apparently to be laid before the Kaiser, who was well aware of the significance of the operations in Essex to the German Army and Navy.*

Oct., 1st.

England's False Friend

The ordinary Englishman is anxious to be on good terms with all the world, and would like to see the best relations prevailing between England and Germany, as well as between England and France. But, unfortunately, experience has shown that it is impossible to remain on terms of close intimacy with both Powers. Efforts in this direction in the period from 1880 to 1900 merely issued in constant estrangement from France, without

securing the alliance or even the sincere friendship of Germany.

It is not denied by Germany that she is building a great navy to take from England the hegemony of the seas, while we know that her attitude in the past has been one of marked unfriendliness towards England. The famous telegram to Mr. Kruger, the indefensible use made by her of what her statesmen have called the Yangtze Agreement, her violent action in the case of the Bundesrath and the Kaiser, and the bitter diatribes of her Press during the South African war cannot readily be forgotten. Germany has not been a true friend, whereas since the understanding with France the conduct of the French Government to this country has been marked by unswerving straightforwardness and goodwill to England.

November 12th.

Mr. Balfour's Noble Aspirations

The letter which Mr. Balfour has addressed to Dr. Ernst, the translator of his famous Presidential Address to the British Association, pays a delicate tribute to the dispassionateness of the German scientific world—a world which in its aims knows no nationality and none of the animosities inspired by national feeling—and expresses the wish that this "disinterested community of aim" might be extended through all classes and all interests in the various peoples.

It is a generous and a noble aspiration. No Englishman of any culture can deny the great debt which humanity owes to German science and German investigation. In every field of intellectual activity Germans have smoothed the way for other races. As commentators on the classics, as investigators in the field of scientific research, as historians, as organisers, as teachers of the military art, as practical statesmen, as men of action, they hold a proud place in the annals of the last century. They have excelled in detailed, methodic examination of facts, if not in those far-reaching generalisations which are attained by minds such as Newton's and Darwin's. To the scientific man or historian a knowledge of German has become indispensable, if only because of the vast mass of evidence that has been assembled and digested by German professors and scholars. There is not and there never will be any disposition in England to deny the value of the teaching which Germany has given.

But when this has been said, certain difficulties must be surmounted before the political relations of England and Germany return to the old condition of intimate friendship and mutual affection. *The estrangement between the two peoples has not*

been of British compassing. It was Prince Bismarck who, twenty years ago, began the policy of deliberate antagonism to England which has since marked his successor's administration. The first clear manifestation of this feeling surprised England, when the Emperor Frederick lay upon his death-bed and a furious campaign of abuse was inaugurated by the semi-official German Press against the late Empress Frederick and Dr. Morell-Mackenzie, on the ground that they both were English. A few years later there came as a bolt from the blue the present Kaiser's telegram to President Kruger, which was deliberately sent after consultation with his Ministers, and which was accompanied by attempts, revealed four years afterwards, to form a coalition against the British Empire for the purpose of destroying it. The violent outburst of German animosity against this country during the Boer War is still fresh in the minds of all; and in no country was abuse of England and all things English pushed so far. And Englishmen who follow closely the trend of foreign affairs have been conscious that at every turn some occult influence has intervened to discredit England and to embroil her with foreign Powers.

Anglophobic German Professors

Nor can it be forgotten that German professors have led the chorus of abuse. Whatever their impartiality in matters scientific, they have shown no such feeling in matters political. Professor Mommsen, the honoured historian of Rome, made one of the most violent attacks upon England during the Boer War. Dr. Delbrück, a historian of great eminence, declared at that time that Germany must hate some Power; hatred was essential to her existence, and the Power selected for her detestation was England. At a remoter date the great publicist Treitschke may be said to have laid the foundations of German enmity by skilfully garbling history. In the words of a famous statesman, who, when urged to abolish capital punishment, replied, "Let messieurs the assassins begin," we urge that German leaders of thought should begin the work of allaying the animosity which they have aroused against England. When they have exerted themselves in this direction the British people will be able to change its views, but until then must remain, so far as Germany is concerned, "always on the watch" for some cleverly devised plan of diplomatic mischief.

1905

January 11th.

The German Fleet

Early again in a New Year the "Daily Mail" took up its persistent warnings of the purpose of the German Fleet.

Far-seeing men in England cannot altogether close their eyes to the rapid growth of the German Fleet. It is a fact that in the past six years the Germans have laid down twelve battleships to our sixteen. The design of these battleships proves to the expert mind that they are intended for use in a conflict with a neighbour near at hand, and this neighbour cannot be France, who in the same period has only begun six battleships. The truest sign, then, that Germany wished to live in peace and harmony with Great Britain would be the suspension of her great naval schemes. Yet we have no right to complain if those schemes are vigorously prosecuted; all that we can do is to make counter-preparations.

A significant fact which appears from the recent German semi-official communications in the British and German Press is that, during the North Sea crisis, the German Fleet was mobilised. Why it was mobilised has yet to be explained by the German authorities, if they really wish to continue on the best of terms with England. The North Sea affair did not concern Germany in the smallest degree. The secrecy and suddenness with which the mobilisation was carried out did not escape the attention of the British Admiralty, which was obliged to hurry four battleships north from the Channel Fleet, owing to its very natural ignorance of what such a proceeding on the part of Germany really meant.

(NOTE.—The North Sea crisis refers to the action of the Russian Fleet for the Far East firing on British trawlers on the Dogger Bank.)

May 16th.

The Kaiser's Speeches

(NOTE.—The Kaiser, in a speech, had asserted that the Russians had been defeated by the Japanese because they were bad Christians. At the same time he insulted the Japanese by saying that they had been sent like the Huns under Attila, and the French under Napoleon, to be the scourge of a sinful and degenerate nation.)

"Daily Mail's" comment:

The comparison was scarcely just to the Japanese, and the subjects of the Mikado would be perfectly justified in replying that the reputation of Germany in the Far East is not that of a nation which practises the Christian virtues. They can point to the famous speech of the Kaiser, made

to the German contingent which took part in the operations against the Boxers, where his Majesty said to his men:

"No quarter will be given, no prisoners taken; all who fall into your hands shall be at your mercy. Just as the Huns, a thousand years ago, under the leadership of Attila, gained a reputation for sternness, in virtue of which they still live, so may the name of Germany become known in such a way in China that hereafter no Chinaman may so much as dare to look askance at a German."

These were hardly the morals of the New Testament.

The Kaiser appears just now to be unfortunate in his speeches. His Strassburg utterances, as originally reported, alleged that the Russians were defeated at Mukden because their army was given up to immorality and drunkenness. A day later it was edited in a revised version, till it only mildly advised the German soldiers to live a godly and a virtuous life. A third and final edition appeared yesterday which contained some flattering remarks as to the sobriety and capacity of the Japanese officer, while adding that the Russians had bought too much champagne, and that the true soldier should dismiss all thought of champagne from his mind.

July 5th.

Monsieur Paul Deschanel (in a special "Daily Mail" article):

Germany aspires to be mistress of the seas, and England cannot suffer that loss without herself being lost. The naval programme of Germany, as has been repeatedly stated officially in the Reichstag, is openly directed against England.

June 17th

England Our Enemy

That the trend of German thought is increasingly hostile to Great Britain is shown by the many articles in German periodicals—daily, weekly, and monthly—on a possibility of a conflict between the two nations.

Professing to find an equally hostile feeling towards Germany in England, the writers urge that Germany's only security is in building a sufficiently strong fleet to meet and defeat that of Great Britain.

This attitude is strongly reflected in an article in the June number of the "Neue Deutsche Rundschau," by Herr H. von Gerlach. Discussing the policy of the German Chancellor, Prince Buelow, the

German writer comes to the conclusion that German foreign policy ought to be entirely directed against England.

Germany (he says) has at present no basis for a colonial policy, as her colonies have proved to be a failure. The German population, however, is increasing at the rate of 900,000 people yearly, and there must be an outlet for the surplus population. For some years the rate of emigration was as high as 200,000 persons yearly. Now it amounts to only 20,000 or 30,000.

The way out of that deadlock is pointed out by the Kaiser's journey to Constantinople, to Palestine, and lately to Tangier; the Mussulman world must become the sphere of German interests. Herr von Gerlach adds: "The Kaiser has made an indelible impression upon the Eastern mind."

THE FIRST MOROCCAN CRISIS

Germany, in June, demanded a conference to discuss Moroccan affairs, and practically threatened war against France unless she acceded. France, for the sake of peace, yielded after a dangerous period of tension, during which the Meuse and Antwerp fortifications were strengthened by Belgium, who, even then, realised that Germany would not hesitate to violate her neutrality.

June 23rd.

Using Prince von Donnersmark and Professor Schiemann as spokesmen, Germany has imposed further conditions upon France.

France (say these two distinguished gentlemen) has to choose finally between England and Germany. If France chooses England as her friend, they remind the French public that Germany is strong and armed. Germany will fall upon France, defeat her, impose upon her a vast ransom, and with this ransom repair the mischief done to German trade by the British Fleet. But if France will side with Germany, then a golden future is held out before her.

Such talk might be disregarded if it came from two nobodies, but as Prince von Donnersmark is known to maintain the closest possible relations with the German Foreign Office, and as Professor Schiemann is an intimate friend of the German Emperor, and spoke immediately after an interview with his august sovereign, it is no cause for surprise that these threats have produced a very uneasy feeling in France, and astonishment and indignation in England. For England is the friend of France, and attacks upon France are resented by the British nation.

This much is certain: a strong France is vital to England and Europe, and deliberate aggression directed against France would be a blow struck

against the British Empire, and would be taken as such in this country.

June 28th.

Our Desire for Peace

As for Germany and England, we may say that all Englishmen are anxious to maintain friendly relations with their great neighbour across the North Sea. No one dreams of making war upon Germany, and the famous article by Admiral Fitzgerald, in a German periodical, advocating an attack on her, in no way represented British opinion. Provided the British Navy be maintained at a proper figure of strength, a conflict may be averted, and Germany may come in time to deal with her on fair terms, and to understand that nothing is to be gained by endeavouring to form anti-British coalitions, or to foment hostility to England in Europe.

July 11th.

WE DO NOT WANT WAR

In the case of England and France, what is required is some agreement which shall preserve the peace of Europe. The weakening of Russia as a European Power as the result of the present war may be only temporary, but it is a fact with which other states must reckon, and its effect has been very disagreeably seen during the past few months. It is not too much to say that the Morocco question would never have been raised by Germany had Russia made peace after Liaoyang. And though the French Government has reached an understanding on the question with Germany which we in this country hope will prove durable, it is yet impossible to forget the truculence of Professor Schiemann and Prince von Donnersmark, who have openly declared that it is the policy of Germany to compel France to become a satellite. As the German threats are directed in equal part against France and against England, there is every reason why the two Powers menaced should put their heads together. Neither of them entertains any hostile purpose against Germany, for *whatever may be written or said in either country the idea of a deliberate war with Germany has never crossed the brain of any responsible Englishman.* The German Press, however, has striven to convey to Frenchmen the impression that England is anxious to use France as a weapon against Germany and to sacrifice France in the process. The suggestion is absurd, as what this country seeks is not a great and terrible war, but a prolonged and honourable peace.

Anglo-Japanese Alliance

We observe with great surprise that it is denounced in Berlin as aggressive in purpose, and directed against Germany, Russia, and

France. The French can judge for themselves, and we have already seen what their verdict is. But the outburst of indignation in Berlin must lead Englishmen to reflect upon the real attitude of Germany to this country. The second article of the agreement states clearly that the alliance only becomes operative "by reason of unprovoked attack or aggressive action" of other Powers upon or against England or Japan resulting in war.

October 7th.

The Threat of the Future

At a sitting of the German Colonial Congress, General von Liebert, ex-Governor of German East Africa, spoke as the delegate of the German Navy League on the political significance of sea-power. He ended by declaring that as soon as Germany stood in commanding strength the truth would be proved of the saying, "*the twentieth century belongs to the Germans.*"

October 9th.

Germany's Wrath at the Entente Cordiale

No British Minister could permit a friendly people to be overwhelmed for the mere offence of being friendly to Britain. No British statesman of whatever party could overlook the fact that if France had once been destroyed a subsequent attack upon England would have become increasingly attractive to the Kaiser. Even from the German standpoint it is difficult to see how Germany can justify her conduct. She is not afraid of the French Army, for her Donnersmarks and Shiemanns have constantly reiterated the fact that on land Germany could crush France, if only in virtue of her superior population. She cannot be afraid of a coalition against her, for whatever the utterances of firebrands in both countries, German statesmen are perfectly aware that the British nation is profoundly pacific and is in no temper to throw away millions in the conquest of the German colonies, which it has never coveted, while France is certainly not likely to provoke a great war.

The trouble between England and Germany has been largely due to the fact that German statesmen say one thing and mean another. They tell us that they are friendly to England and have no wish to quarrel with her. But they press their naval armaments with utmost energy, and plan, as we have seen, an attack upon a neighbouring State for the sole offence of being, not England's ally, but merely England's friend.

Anglo-Franco-Russo-Japanese Alliance

In October of this year a Paris journal (the "Echo de Paris") stated that negotiations were afoot between England and Russia. It expressed certainty that Japan would be made cognisant of such negotiations, saying: "Japan has just as strong motives as England to desire the existence of good relations between Britain and Russia, if only because she is bound to give military support under certain eventualities to the British Empire."

The Tokio correspondent of the Paris "Journal" at about the same time alleged that a quadruple alliance between England, France, Russia and Japan was being seriously discussed in Tokio.

The "Daily Mail," commenting on these rumours, expressed, in a leading article (October 11th), its warm aspirations that "the interminable quarrel between Russia and Great Britain should be no longer prolonged."

There is no hostile purpose against any country in British statesmanship, the one desire of which is to maintain the peace of the world, and to remove all causes of possible quarrel. An Anglo-Russian rapprochement, supposing one to be possible, will not be directed against Germany, any more than the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, which is purely defensive and conservative. *The past history of the British people shows clearly that they are imbued with respect for the rights of others. They do not wish to deny Germany her great place in Europe and the world, much less to endanger her security, but they do wish to remove all incentives to a policy of adventure in Europe or Asia.*

October 12th.

Sheer Ignorance

As to the general fact that England was prepared to give France naval and military support of the most effective kind there can be no doubt whatever. The denials of this fact which have appeared in certain journals of the British Press, and which have been telegraphed to Paris forthwith, to prove to the French nation that the friendship of England is valueless, can only proceed from lack of information, or that extraordinary aversion for any Power which happens to be the friend of England that is manifested from time to time by the Radical Press. In so acting, England was repeating her line of conduct in 1875, when Queen Victoria and Tsar Alexander prevented Germany from destroying France; and in 1895 when Lord Rosebery, by a timely hint, prevented a coalition from destroying Japan.

The question which those people who deny the authenticity of the promises of help to France must answer is this: How was it that Germany, who had been demanding the abandonment of the Anglo-French Convention, suddenly changed her tone? Why did she, after threatening war and preparing for war, effect a volte-face? France had not become suddenly stronger; the Manchurian War had not then ended and freed Russia. The explanation can only be found in outside influence—the sudden throwing of some fresh weight into the French scale. That fresh weight was the will of England, backed by the promise to France of force. We note with immense surprise that there are some Englishmen who seek to minimise the aid that England might have given, and one temerarious journal positively denies that England could put in the field more than 25,000 men. *The smallest study of military statistics would show that in case of so much urgency England could put into the field not a 100,000 men but 250,000.* It is little enough, no doubt, but, as we have seen, it has served to maintain the peace of Europe, it has served to protect France from an attack which was to be made on the sole ground that France was our friend.

Defiant Speeches by the Kaiser

Replying to a toast by the King of Saxony at the banquet at Dresden, the Kaiser made the following significant speech (October 21st):

"Your words have done me good after the hard work of the summer.

"If Germany keeps advancing, then we can with raised visor and frank German manliness look in the eye anyone who should choose to block our path and try to interfere with our legitimate interests."

At a banquet given at the White Hall in the palace (October 25th), the Emperor William proposed the following toast:

"You have seen, gentlemen, how we stand in the world.

"Then powder dry, sword keen, eyes on the goal, muscles taut, and away with pessimists.

"I empty my glass to our people in arms, the German Army and the General Staff. Hurrah!"

November 18th.

Germany's Growing Fleet

The Naval Bill for 1906 increased the number of ships to be built by six large cruisers, and provided eight additional destroyer flotillas. £250,000 annually was set aside for experiments with submarines. The size of all ships to be increased in accordance with experience gained in the Russo-

Japanese war. The naval estimates would be increased from £11,000,000 in 1905 to £16,400,000 in 1917.

The foregoing details of the new German programme were in exact accord with the forecast from the Düsseldorf correspondent, published in the "Daily Mail" of November 14th.

December 4th

Great Britain Sets an Example

Some years ago Mr. Goschen, as First Lord of the Admiralty, made an appeal to foreign Powers to reduce their armaments, and promised that Great Britain would make a proportional reduction if this were done. No notice was taken of the appeal. Now, the British Government has taken the bold step of setting an example instead of making an appeal. Our shipbuilding programme is reduced, and we are told that it is possible to do this because, 'however formidable foreign shipbuilding programmes may appear on paper, we can always overtake them in consequence of our resources and our power of rapid construction.' And this explanation is accompanied by the plain warning that we cannot proceed indefinitely with reduced programmes unless other Powers follow our example. This straightforward statement ought to knock the bottom out of the naval agitation in Germany. That country is making unexampled efforts to build a formidable navy, on the pretext that Germany is in danger of being attacked by Great Britain. *If the German Ambassador will draw the attention of his Government to the declared policy of the British Admiralty, and explain to Count von Buelow that it shows we have no intention of attacking his country, and that consequently German naval preparations need no longer be conducted on a scale which makes us wonder whom they are aimed at, we shall feel that his expressions of goodwill, which we cordially reciprocate, come from the heart of a friend.*

December 28th.

"I Do Not Want War"

The Emperor William, on the subject of the relations existing between France and Germany: "It is a mistake to say that there exists towards France a war party. Such a party has no existence. Even supposing that it did exist, the fact would be of no importance whatever, for I alone have the authority to arrive at a determination on such a subject. I do not want war, because I consider war is contrary to my duty to God and to my people."

1906

January 3rd.

THE SHADOW OF WAR

Englishmen cannot display a burning affection for Germany without being false to their friend across the Channel, and without fatally weakening the French position at the fast-approaching Morocco Conference. Many verbal assurances of friendship have been given in the past month by German statesmen and by the Kaiser both to England and France. But in this world it is deeds, not words, that count. Germany has made no reply to Lord Cawdor's invitation addressed directly to her, though her name was not mentioned, to abstain from ambitious naval schemes. On the contrary, the German Navy League has called for an even larger naval programme than that submitted to the Reichstag, and Prince Buelow has announced his determination to insist at all cost upon the voting of this enormous programme. In her treatment of France, Germany is not showing amicable intentions. Exceptional activity is being displayed by the German military authorities, and only a week back certain mobilisation notices, which are not usually issued till the spring, were forwarded to German subjects some weeks in advance of the normal date. The result is that, notwithstanding all her concessions . . . France is still living under the shadow of the fear of a great and terrible war. But now, as in June, 1905, France may rest assured that any wanton and unprovoked attack upon herself would bring her the alliance of the people of Great Britain.

Tension at Algeciras

There are pessimists on the Continent who go so far as to declare that war is in sight. We have stated before that such a view appears to us quite unjustified. The German people won their power in Europe by force, it is true, but they have never fought in the past without making certain that the great majority of European Powers were on their side. They never fought in the past without an adequate *casus belli*. To-day, if Germany were to provoke war, the public opinion of Europe would be unanimous against her. Her people would not feel that any great and vital German interests were at stake. Under such conditions no sane statesman would risk a great and terrible struggle with an armed nation. With all his faults, Prince Bismarck was never guilty of such a blunder, nor can we for one moment believe that his successors will be blind to his teaching. It may be true that Germany is superior in numbers and in wealth to France, but that very fact proves that she has nothing to fear from her neighbour. She has certainly nothing to fear from England. *The Entente Cordiale*

is defensive and conservative, and the whole official world at Berlin is perfectly aware that it is not directed against Germany. To live in friendship with her is our aim, and it can instantly be realised if she will live in amity with France.

March 3rd.

The Germans In Antwerp

A prophetic article in the "Daily Mail," by "A Military Officer," urged the danger to Great Britain of a possible German occupation of Antwerp, with its network of railways and canals, and its sixteen navigation companies, plying between Antwerp and the Rhine.

The writer instanced the facilities of launching from Antwerp an army corps for invasion of England. The aforesaid flotilla already numbered 300 steamers, tugs, and barges, to say nothing of a fine fleet of river steamers which might be assembled from the Rhine, Moselle, and Meuse, if the then projected Rhine and Scheldt canal were constructed.

March 10th.

Is Invasion Possible?

The British public are reminded by Lord Roberts that if the strength of the British Army remains insufficient, and if this country is willing to continue ill-prepared for a great war, the consequences may be of the gravest nature.

The fundamental question is that of invasion. Is invasion of these islands possible?

Much has happened to illustrate the ease with which a comparatively large force can be moved by sea and disembarked. In Sakhalin, for example, the Japanese disembarked 8,000 men in a single hour, whereas British calculations have usually assumed that the process of landing men will be a slow and lengthy one. Mr. Balfour and Mr. Haldane assume that the British Navy absolutely controls the sea. It does so at present, as against any single Power, but will it always do so? Is it not possible that unless its force is massed in close proximity to the quarter from which danger is apprehended, a smaller fleet might gain a local command of a particular sea for a brief period, sufficiently long, however, to admit the landing of a powerful army?

It is, of course, true in the abstract that the best security against invasion for an island state is to strengthen its fleet; but it is not an abstract proposition that we are debating. England has ceased to be an island; she has grave responsibilities on the Indian frontier, and elsewhere, which could not be met by any navy, however strong. Nor

can she rely upon allies for the fulfilment of those obligations.

A virile and great people must bear its own burdens, and not shift them on to the shoulders of others. Only by strengthening the Army, or the trained reserves behind the Army, can we meet these responsibilities abroad. By such a reform we should at the same time render a surprise invasion impossible. For if 500,000 well-trained and armed men had to be encountered by the invader in England, the invading force would have to be of the same or greater size, and the problem for the enemy would become one impossible for solution.

June 8th.

The Huns

(Extracts from articles "In the Fatherland," by Bart Kennedy.)

For the last generation they (the German people) have been cowed and coerced by a gang of Prussian Huns—madmen, whose chief ambition was to disturb the world's peace so that they could show off the effect of a big conscript army. It is well to tell the English people the plain truth about this matter. The policy of the ostrich is the policy of death. There is danger from Germany—not because of the people. The Germans in themselves do not want war, but the idea of discipline is so ingrained in them, that all that the military party would have to do would be to say the word, and Europe would be ablaze. They would obey the Huns in high places as the electric bell obeys the touch on the button. Perhaps you are a stay-at-home Englishman who does not believe this. If so, I am sorry; and all I can say to you is that if you travelled through Germany, you would be blind indeed did you not see that the Germans are absolutely in the grip of the military party. Military officers are everything, and the rest of Germany is nothing. I am not saying that there are not Germans who resent this state of things—there are. But the danger to the peace of Europe lies in the fact that practically the German has no say in the governing of his country, and, as I said, he obeys unquestioningly. He has been turned into a machine by Bismarck, and Europe will be in danger till he finds his soul again.

June 13th.

The Prussian Peril

Let it not be forgotten that Prussia is by no means the whole of Germany. It is, of course, the part that we hear from the most. From it come the telegrams. *From it comes the danger to the peace of Europe.*

Prussia is the tail that wags the dog.

And that is the beginning and the end of it. Germany is composed of a number of States peopled

by inhabitants of opposing characteristics and temperaments, and Prussia is but one of these States. And the time may perhaps come when the dog will have wisdom and courage enough not to allow himself to be pushed and shoved and whirled so strangely around by his tail.

Indeed, the Prussians are not typical Germans at all. They are not comfortable enough. That absolutely German word "gemuthlich," which is untranslatable into English, and which means a sort of easy, serene, pleasant comfortableness, in no way fits these quick, decided, forceful, arbitrary people. *If they are able, they mean to grip the earth, as they have gripped Germany.* I admit that one nation has as much right to grip everything in sight as another, but it is apt to give one uncomfortable thoughts when the nation that has the earth-gripping mania is a nation that knows nothing of the art of letting people alone. I mean, it is uncomfortable to think that these Prussians have the power to set Europe ablaze because of the fact that Germany proper is at their beck and call. And let there be no beating about the bush. *These Prussians mean to assail England at the first opportunity. You say the Socialist Party would stop it? Do not believe anything so foolish.* The Socialist Party has as much chance of influencing Prussian adventure as a rabbit would have of stopping an express. *It is therefore dangerous for us to pay any attention to those who are befogged and bamboozled into thinking that Germany and England can be united in the bonds of brotherly love through the medium of high teas and tea-fights generally.*

War is a horrible and dreadful thing for everybody, and the only way for England not to have war with Germany is for England to get ready. Civility is a beautiful idea, but when a man is getting ready to knife you, the best way to bring him to a brotherly frame of mind is to show him that you know what he is up to, and that you are fully prepared for him.

Never mind the English people who say there is no danger of Prussia precipitating Germany upon us. *There is danger. And every Englishman who lives in Germany knows that there is danger.*

The Socialists say that the German armed millions could not be used by the military party. But the merest tyro of a student of humanity would know that this is nonsense. In a country such as Germany, where individuality has been systematically and scientifically crushed, the masses have no voice at all.

Prussia is the tail that wags the dog.

Overwhelming Evidence

I may say here in explanation that I went to Germany with a strong prepossession in favour of the German people, and I still have that prepossession. *But it would be an ill service did not*

one point out the danger to England of German militarism. I had intended at first not to dwell upon this point, but the evidence that the German war-party means to fight England for her possessions is so overwhelming that one cannot but speak. And it is wiser for the English people to know of the danger that threatens them. It is always safest to look a fact in the face.

Yes, the evidence of this danger is overwhelming.

The English people must know. And the English people must realise that the vote-catching politicians of Westminster are the unsafest guides in this matter. In the first place, Westminster is not here on the spot. And politicians are too busy either catching votes or getting in the limelight to know much that is of real value to England. The real situation will have to be explained in the Press. And the Press, in the matter of Prussian design, has done yeoman service before. It must not be forgotten that the great journalist Blowitz was largely instrumental in preventing Bismarck from forcing a bloody and desolating war upon France.

Secret Trials of France

No one will ever know the terrible humiliations that the men who have governed France have had to endure in secret since the war of 1870. I am not particularly in sympathy with the people who govern, but it must have been a hard thing for a Frenchman to have held over him the threat of drenching his country in blood if he did not bend before the sway of Prussia. It must have been a dreadful thing.

I well know that there are weak-kneed and weak-headed Englishmen who will say that I am writing mischievously in writing thus. But that troubles me little. England must realise her danger the better to face it. As for the English friends of the enemy among us, we must let them and what they have to say pass. We produce such people among us for our sins.

Understand me. I am not blaming the German people. I say this again and again. I am only pointing out the fact that *there is the danger of a small knot of Prussians forcing on one of the most horrible and desolating wars to be known in the history of mankind.* And absolutely the only thing to influence this knot of Huns is force. They are amenable to no moral or intellectual influence. This is a terrible thing to say. But it is true.

NOTE.—The italics have been inserted in the present reproduction of these articles, as in others in this book.

August 8th.

A German Boast

A "Daily Mail" article on the new German Dreadnoughts (from special information from the Berlin correspondent) urged the danger to England of any reduction in building, and pointed out the rapidity of German construction. The German

Press devoted great attention to this article. "The National Zeitung" claimed that Germany, "now that she had acquired such an undoubted superiority over England in the manufacture of iron and steel, must steadily grow in power as a shipbuilding state. The nation with the greatest steel industry is destined in the course of time to secure the command of the sea."

August 23rd.

The Obvious Moral

If the German Government continues its preparations for a great naval war, the moral is obvious.

There is, of course, no reason why two nations such as England and Germany should not conduct their relations with courtesy, and we hope and trust that such courtesy will be abundantly displayed on either side of the North Sea. But, after all, politeness cannot change the vital facts, which are that Germany is arming while England is disarming, and that Germany's entire future depends upon obtaining the supremacy of the seas, which have hitherto rested in the grasp of England.

September 3rd.

The Kaiser and Mr. Haldane

The British public has followed Mr. Haldane's visit to Berlin with curiosity and interest, and it will not show itself insensible to the charm and graciousness which the Emperor William has so abundantly manifested towards one whom he has treated as an honoured guest . . . The time may come when it will be able to return these favours in kind, and thus practically to reciprocate the Kaiser's courtesies. But pleasant though these amenities are, and useful, as lessening the friction which has risen between the two great States, they cannot change the essential fact that Germany still continues to build a great fleet and to prepare without haste, but also without rest, for a great naval war.

NOTE.—Mr. Haldane was overloaded with favours in Berlin, and was received, from the Emperor downwards, with marked and unprecedented attentions.

September 4th.

Our Interview with Prince Buelow

Prince Buelow assures the British people that "he desires the friendship of this country." We can well believe that his words are true and sincere, but there is this suppressed condition behind them—that Britain must merit such friendship by impossible concessions to Germany.

With regard to the fast-growing German Navy, Prince Buelow has forgotten history when he tells England that "it is sheer nonsense to argue that Germany thinks of competing with England for the

mastery of the sea." The words of the preamble of the German Navy Act of 1900, drawn up when Prince Buelow was Foreign Minister for Germany, are there to prove the contrary. The preamble starts by recalling the fact that the Navy Act of 1898 "has not made provision for the possibility of a naval war against a great Power"; and continues, "under existing circumstances, in order to protect Germany's sea trade and Colonies, there is one means only—viz., Germany must have so strong a fleet that even for the mightiest naval Power a war with her would involve such risks as to jeopardise its own supremacy." These words have no meaning if they do not apply to England, and when we scrutinise the acts which have followed them we find that this year Germany is laying down three large armoured ships to the British three, and that next year she will be laying down three to the British two.

"Our Future Lies Upon The Water"

"Our future lies upon the water," said the Kaiser years ago. Count Buelow, as he then was, in December, 1899, after the British reverses in South Africa, asked whether humanity stood upon the eve of a "fresh partition of the world, as in the last century," and based upon the South African question a demand for a much larger fleet. "Unsere Zukunft liegt auf dem wasser," is in fact, the leit-motiv of modern German policy. Nor are Germans likely to be discouraged in their aims by their own history. The record of Imperial Germany is a record of seemingly insuperable obstacles successfully surmounted by patience, science, and determination. There was a time when it seemed hopeless for Prussia to rival the military power of France. We can well believe that Prince Buelow sees the dangers of a policy the

issue of which must be that England must bow to Germany's will at sea, or take certain disastrous consequences, when the German plans are complete and the British Cabinet has sufficiently weakened the British Navy.

For our part we believe that the surest means of promoting satisfactory relations with the two Powers, is for England resolutely to maintain her naval supremacy, and not, by reducing the strength of her fleet, to subject the military party in Germany to temptations which it might not be able to resist. At all costs this country should avoid a policy of puerile recriminations, cries for disarmament, and querulous complaints because Germany chooses to build a great navy. But the misfortune of England is that she is ruled by men who are the slaves of phrases, and who do not see clearly, through the haze of sentimental aspirations and not ungenerous imaginations, the essential and remorseless facts of international life as they exist to-day.

More Espionage—German "Tourists"

In September an impudent attempt was made by a large German "tourist" steamer to lay up in Portsmouth harbour, so that the innocent German "tourists" on board (who, even for German tourists, were singularly plentifully supplied with cameras, field-glasses, and sketch books) could take home to the Fatherland "mementos" of the harbour, the dockyard, and battleships. Bad weather was alleged as the reason for the vessel seeking shelter in Portsmouth Harbour—a report that did not tally with the barometer.

The captain of the tourist steamer was politely informed by the authorities of the harbour that he could find a more and equally secure haven in the Solent.

1907

January 23th.

A TURNING POINT IN HISTORY

Whatever view be taken of the import and significance of the German elections, there can be no denying the fact that they constitute a notable triumph for the Emperor and mark a turning point in European history. The Kaiser appealed to his people on a definite issue: "Will you make sacrifices for your Empire, for your Navy, for your Colonies? Will you face the dear food and high railway fares for what I, your ruler, believe to be the highest interest of Germany? Will you stand with me, your anointed sovereign, against a party of disorder and revolution?" The German nation has answered, "We will." It has voted confidence in the Emperor and condemnation of the Socialists, "foes of the nation and the Fatherland."

. . . Cavour foretold fifty years ago that in days to come the German Empire would combat and rival England on the seas, and the recent disclosures of Hohenlohe Memoirs confirm this prophecy of genius. "Our future lies upon the waters," the Kaiser incessantly proclaims, and now we know that his people are with him in his belief.

His prestige is immensely enhanced, his hands incalculably strengthened, by the vote of last week, and his Government will now be able to carry out with all possible energy its project of constructing and organising a Navy which shall be at sea what the German Army is on land. Meanwhile England, ruled by demagogues who do not realise that vital national issues are decided, "not by speeches and the votes of majorities, but by iron and by blood," and all unconscious of the coming danger, is saving money on her Fleet to spend it in doles to the voters.

February 4th.

No North Sea Fleet

It is, indeed, almost amazing to discover that there is to-day no organised British Fleet in the North Sea. Except a few destroyers at Sheerness and the "disiecta membra" of the Home Fleet at the same port, in the shape of half a dozen battleships with reduced crews, the Admiralty have left that sea without defence of any kind. The main force of the British Navy is to be massed during the present month off the coast of Spain. It might just as well be in the West Indies. If the Fleet is to be concentrated, it is absolutely vital for the nation that the concentration should be in the right place, and the right place is in the closest practicable proximity to the force of the most formidable Naval Power.

A further leader on February 9th urged concentration of the Navy in as few fleets as possible, pointing out that the British Navy was all "detachments," and that the German Navy acts upon the principle of concentration.

March 11th.

Do Not Exasperate Us

Under the heading, "Fear of England," the "Neue Politische Correspondenz," a Berlin news agency which is frequently the mouth-piece of "official" utterances of the Kaiser's Government, published a "warning" to England, of which the following was the conclusion:

"England is a Colossus with feet of clay. She will do well not to provide too heatedly the world-historic decision as to whom supremacy in Europe belongs. She has brusquely repelled the friendship offered by Germany with more enthusiasm than statesmanlike wisdom, and has spun around us a diplomatic net which already unpleasantly hampers the freedom of our movements.

"If she continues in this course, the inclination will some day possess us to tear this artificial net ruthlessly to pieces before we are hemmed in so tightly that we cannot move. Even the entente cordiale need have no terrors for us. If France wishes to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for England, we shall undertake to make the fire plentifully hot.

"Germany has, at present, 5,500,000 soldiers who are not available on paper, but actually. The French Army, through Monarchical-Clerical agitation on the one hand, and Republican-Socialistic machinations on the other, has become perceptibly disorganised. The field army which Germany will place in service on the first day of mobilisation will be sufficient to crush France, even if a part of it is detached for operations against England.

"We wish sincerely to live in peace with France and England, but that can only be if England henceforth refrains from a diplomatic policy which, sooner or later must lead to war—a war which, as we are firmly convinced, will be the beginning of the end for the British Empire."

April 18th.

Germany's "No"

The answer to Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's offer, made last July, to build one less Dreadnought this year if foreign Powers would reduce their programmes, has been the prompt

ordering of the German battleships of the 1907 programme. No hope can be placed in disarmament, and the only wise plan for the United Kingdom is to maintain steadily and unflinchingly the two-Power standard in ships built and building. Any other course must imperil the very existence of this country and of the British Empire.

April 24th.

ENGLAND THE ENEMY

The hope that Germany may be induced by polite arguments at the Hague Conference to diminish her armaments on land must be finally dismissed after General von Einem's speech in the Reichstag yesterday. Since a fortnight ago we announced that the orders had already been hurriedly given for the German Dreadnoughts of this year's programme, it is clear that disarmament is practically dead. It would be superlative folly for the other Powers to weaken their forces when the strongest and almost the most populous State in Europe ostentatiously announces its intention to "set a fast time" for the sake of "the spirit of the Army and the enthusiasm of the nation."

We have no reason to quarrel with General von Einem. German soldiers have never been enamoured of sentimentalities, but have learnt to look at the grim realities of international life and to speak in straightforward, sensible fashion. The German War Minister knows what his country's aims are, and does not hesitate to carry them out. It would, perhaps, be too much to hope that so vigorous an utterance may reach the British Cabinet, and awaken it to the danger and folly of the plans for reducing the Navy and weakening the defences of this country. *All the fine words in the world cannot disguise the fact that the naval competition between England and Germany is intense, and that Germany is now building a great fleet with the express object of meeting the British Navy at sea.* The offer of the British Government to lay down one less Dreadnought this year, provided other Powers would do the same, has met with absolutely no response; indeed, it has been represented in Germany as an artful trap laid for the foolish Germans by a particularly designing British politician.

German Government Machinations

Behind the continued armaments of Germany is the further fact that the German Government is studiously encouraging the legend that England is fixedly hostile to the German people. With such patience and persistence is this legend being circulated that there is clearly a political object inspiring such action. Does King Edward pay a series of friendly visits to European Monarchs with whom this country has close and intimate ties of friendship, he is at once accused of encompassing a great

coalition against Germany. In every quarter of the Kaiser's Empire such fables are published, and, when they are denied at all, the denial is so worded as to carry no conviction. These tactics have been pursued for years, and they may continue for years longer. During the Boer War, though the German Government was perfectly informed through its attachés of the irreproachable behaviour of the British troops, Prince Buelow denounced as an insult to Germany a harmless comparison between the conduct of the British and German armies. The effect was to lead Germans to imagine that Mr. Chamberlain had offered a deliberate affront to Germany. In exactly the same way the impression has been conveyed that Cape Colony has aided and abetted the Hottentot and half-caste insurgents in German South-West Africa. At every turn, and on every possible occasion, the German people are led to believe that England is the bitter enemy of Germany.

A Deliberate Policy

Thus the German Government is living in an atmosphere of suspicion and hatred, which it has deliberately created. There is every indication that the present German policy will be maintained till the great German Fleet of the future is ready. Then the German Government will be able to recall a long series of complaints against Britain and British policy, which it has recorded year after year, as justifying violent action against England. *On our part, we have said before, and we may say once again, that the British people have every desire to live in peace with their neighbours. They will never wage a war to obtain prestige, which was the phrase used by the great Moltke when stating the motives of Prussia in the struggle with Austria. They have no imaginable motive for attacking Germany.* The pretence that Germany is being "isolated" is simply puerile, when we remember that the German Army can put a million more men into the field than any other European Power, and that it has at its back the armies of Austria and Italy; while England, with an insignificant land force, has not a single military alliance on the Continent. But unless German statesmen change their ways, until they cease to misrepresent British policy with such energy and consistency, England will be wise to strengthen rather than weaken her defence. She does not view the German Navy with the slightest jealousy, but common prudence must compel her to lay down two ships to the German one, and thus to prolong peace by rendering an unexpected attack out of the question.

May 1st.

The Cause of German Alarm

The state of excitement into which Sir Henry has thrown Germany by disarmament proposals

in the "Nation" has disclosed certain facts. It has made the German people think aloud and reveal the deeper purpose of their national policy. Only last Monday we published a summary of an extraordinary article in the usually restrained Berlin "Post," which asserted that war between England and Germany was now inevitable. It even abandoned the well-worn German insinuation that England meditates war. "Nobody in Germany," it wrote, "doubts England's abhorrence of war, but abhorrence of war has nothing to do with Anglo-German relations. The conditions of Germany's development and her rivalry with England for world-power would of themselves bring about a fatal collision." These are words upon which the English party which is cutting down the British Navy might well reflect, for they are a plain warning.

May 1st.

Prince Buelow

Prince Buelow, in an address to the Reichstag, thus disposed of the question of disarmaments:

"Germany cannot be placed under any pressure, even under a moral one." He entirely scouted any possibility of the consideration of disarmament proposals, declaring that "the danger of the contact of antagonistic interests may have effect the very reverse of those aimed at."

May 13th.

War Fever in Germany

The first of a series of articles which Mr. Austen Harrison is contributing to our contemporary, "The Observer," on the relations of England and Germany deserves the attention of all thoughtful Englishmen for the gravity of the warning it conveys. Mr. Harrison has studied German feeling on the spot, and in no unfriendly spirit. His relationship to Mr. Frederic Harrison, whose views are at once ultra-Liberal and Pacifist, is a guarantee in itself against any Jingo animosity on his part.

Mr. Harrison reports that German Anglophobia is increasing in scope and intensity. "An electric war-current seems to be in the very air." There is a conviction that war with England is not only possible, but also probable, and its coming has ceased to be merely a matter of jest or wild surmise. The most serious fact, however, which Mr. Harrison discloses is the persevering consistency of the attempts of the German Government to fasten upon England the blame for this unfortunate state of affairs. The German army and navy, and the German nation, are being brought to believe that the British Government is meditating a sudden and treacherous attack upon Germany. The semi-official paragraphs attacking King Edward for the

imaginary offence of "isolating Germany," and the alarms and excursions of the past three years, are all part and parcel of the campaign. *Believing, as the German Government does, that a final struggle for world-power with England is inevitable, it is paving the way for that struggle by representing England as the enemy and the aggressor. It is thus in advance ensuring the full support of the German nation for any blow which it may suddenly deal.* While maintaining feeling in Germany at fever-heat by bellicose utterances, it is simultaneously endeavouring to lull British vigilance to rest by protestations of friendship, intended solely for foreign consumption. *And in the meantime it is pressing its naval armaments with unceasing vigilance and energy.*

German Nerves

A high official in the Government service declared to the "Daily Mail" Berlin correspondent:

"There is a crisis between England and Germany, and it would be useless to deny it. It is not a sudden outbreak. The feeling in German military, official, and private circles is that England, sooner or later, intends to make war on Germany, to crush her Fleet, destroy her trade, ruin her future, and reduce her to penury and Anglo-Saxon vassalage. It looks rosy enough, you may say, with your Peace Congress and concatenation of friendships and alliances, but we Germans know what pointed dagger is hid in the lining of your white peace mantle. The two Sovereigns are playing like wrestlers with one another while seeking for a hold. I can only say that had England a contiguous frontier to Germany there would have been a war when your King went to Gaeta."

In the Reichstag Herr Bebel declared that if an honest endeavour were being made to make Germany the first Power in the world, his party gave it unqualified support.

May 20th.

The "Daily Mail" quoted a further article by Mr. Austin Harrison:

"On the eve of the Peace Conference, Germany stands in the centre of Europe in mailed coat, defiant, exasperated, determined, at bay, as it were, with her right hand on the scabbard. Old Germany is dead; the new generation, saturated in world-political dreams and ambitions, has been educated to the understanding of a forward maritime policy. The women are as enthusiastic for the Navy as are the men. All Germany believes England is bent on her destruction.

"It is a significant fact that whereas formerly Germans accused their Emperor of over-zealous ambition, dangerous personal and national expansiveness, and reckless enthusiasm, now the voice of the people—since Algeciras—taunts him with prudence, political pusillanimity, and over-careful regard for other people's feelings. The elections showed that the Radical wing and all the Liberal sections are pronounced militant Imperialists. Since then the Socialists have declared publicly for a national army. The young are fired with the new spirit of Pan-German Imperialism, and mothers educate their sons in that sense."

August 31st.

The First English Airship

In England we are lagging behind, to our peril. We may still, no doubt, regard the sea "as a moat defensive to our house"; nor has the airship yet destroyed the protective value of our island. But a hostile fleet co-operating with an aerial navy is a prospect Nelson with a fleet of Dreadnoughts might not face with hope of victory. Even as an intelligence department, the airship might change the odds of a crucial fight and upset the balance of armaments.

It is therefore more than welcome news that our Army authorities are making effective preparations to reduce this handicap. The new and certain fact faces us that the apparatus of war is increased by an engine full of vast and incalculable possibilities of mischief, and for the moment singularly invulnerable.

September 18th.

Organisation—The Backbone

A "Daily Mail" writer on the German Army:

"It is not nearly as good as it ought to be, considering the men, material, and facilities for training it has at its disposal. The Germans may have studied the lessons of the South African and Far Eastern campaigns, but they certainly have not taken those lessons to heart. Their uniforms, though impressive on parade, are far too conspicuous for the battlefield, and the formations and tactics which they adopt at manœuvres are unsuited to the conditions of modern warfare.

"If Germany has to fight a European army before she adopts more modern methods of warfare, she will suffer great loss of men (and prestige), at the beginning of the campaign. Whether her vast resources of men and of Teutonic patriotism will prove equal to the ordeal the occasion alone, when

it arrives, can prove; but one thing is certain: she will have as a backbone in those first dark days of disillusion and reverses—days which we Britons remember only too vividly in our own case—something solid to fall back upon, something which we never had, something even which we have not got at the present moment—namely, an organisation so perfect and complete in every detail that one marvels all the more deeply at our present lack of war training."

German Army Tactics

A Forecast of 1914. Tommy Atkins

"Ten years ago, when the Kaiser led 20,000 cavalry in a charge, he asked General von Waldersee to give his opinion.

"Most willingly," said the general. 'There are not trees enough in your dominions to furnish wood for the coffins of the men slain to-day if bullets had been used.'

Ironic "Daily Mail" comment: "To-morrow the manœuvres conclude. Six cavalry brigades, most of which have already been exterminated once, will probably play a prominent part."

The "Daily Mail" correspondent, again describing the manœuvres, dwelt on the close formation, "friend and foe hopelessly mixed at short ranges," "Waterloo rather than Liao-Yang," "12,000 men all firing at an equal number of the enemy doing exactly the same at a range of 100-500 yards."

The "Daily Mail" prophesied German tactical failure in actual warfare.

"There is much which England might, with advantage, copy from Kaiserland; there is also much which Germany would do wisely to copy from us. One thing alone she cannot copy or produce, and that 'thing' is that which has won victory for England on innumerable battlefields throughout the world; it is a thing which has its faults, but it has also many great sterling qualities inherited from a race of hard fighters. That 'thing' is known to the English-speaking world by the simple name of 'Tommy Atkins.'"

The Future

For the handwriting on the wall is written large: who runs may read. In the words of Dr. Johnson: "Sir, let us clear our minds of cant," or, in other words, "humbug," and, as we know what the future has in store for us, let us be prepared to meet it.

The world to-day is an armed camp; rumours of war come from both east and west, nor are the sparks wanting that may at any time ignite the loose

powder that has been so carelessly strewn in bountiful profusion.

The Nelson celebration is, or should be, the outward manifestation of the nation's resolve that, come what may, our sea supremacy must and shall be maintained; otherwise it means nothing, or worse than nothing, for in the place of high resolve it degenerates either into complacently patting ourselves on the back for sacrifices made by our predecessors in which we took neither hand nor part, or:

"Such boasting as the Gentiles use,
Or lesser breeds without the law;
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget!"

The Rise of German Naval Estimates

1898	..	..	..	£5,900,000
1899	.	..	..	6,500,000
1900	.	..	..	7,400,000
1901	..	..	..	9,600,000
1902	..	..	..	10,000,000
1903	..	..	..	10,200,000
1904	..	..	..	10,500,000
1905	..	..	..	11,400,000
1906	..	..	..	12,400,000
1907	..	..	..	13,900,000
1908	..	..	..	17,000,000

November 25th.

The Ever-Growing German Navy

Dealing with the fact that the German Naval Estimates for 1903 involve an outlay of £17,000,000, an advance of over £3,000,000 on the estimates of the present year, and the further news that the German estimates were to rise to £20,000,000 in 1909, to £22,000,000 in 1910, and to £23,000,000 in 1911, in addition to which a sum of £11,000,000 to be spent on widening the Kiel Canal, the "Daily Mail" said:

These are plans as grandiose in conception as were Napoleon's naval schemes, and, like his, laid far ahead. The dominant idea is to build a fleet which should fulfil the hopes and desires of the Pan-Germans, and be mightier than the mightiest navy in the world. It cannot be said that this great expansion in Germany's naval force has been provoked by the action of any European Power. The Russian Navy has vanished as the result of the war in the Far East; the French Navy is no longer being maintained up to its old standard, and the French estimates this year showed a slight decrease. The British Navy estimates have exhibited the heaviest reduction of all.

December 23.d.

Plain Talk by Mr. Stead

"The time has come when, to clear the air, we need to speak out quite plainly on the subject of the Navy.

"The British Empire floats upon the sea. The command of the sea is the condition of its existence as an independent State. The maintenance of an irresistible superiority at sea is the absolute sine qua non of our national life. On this subject there is no difference of opinion among us. There are, it is true, two schools. One relies almost exclusively for safety upon the strength of the Navy. The other insists that it is necessary to safeguard the realm from invasion by the adoption of universal compulsory military service.

"To weaken the Navy is not merely to increase the danger of foreign invasion; it is enormously to strengthen the case in favour of conscription.

"The essential question is the maintenance of the supremacy of the British Navy, the irresistible superiority of the British Navy, without which we should exist only by sufferance of our neighbours, and would inevitably be driven to conscription.

"What we tried to do in 1899 and in 1907 was to secure an international guarantee for the naval and military status quo for a term of ten years. As I had occasion to explain last February to the heads of the German Foreign Office, such an agreement was equivalent, so long as it lasted, to an international guarantee of the naval supremacy of Great Britain. But as it was also equivalent to an international guarantee of the military supremacy of Germany over France, and of Austria over Italy, it was fair all round.

An Avowed Programme

"We need not worry over their military expenditure. But their naval programme is avowedly intended to alter the relative positions of the German and British Navies—to the detriment of Great Britain.

"We shall maintain the status quo, no matter what it costs. We cannot do otherwise, unless we acquiesce in our extinction as an independent State.

"We make no complaint against the German Government. The Germans are entirely within their rights if they decide to challenge the naval supremacy of Great Britain. We can, indeed, sympathise with them in their dissatisfaction with the status quo. So far from having strengthened their position in the world by building a fleet, they have weakened it, and until they can make their fleet as strong as ours, or stronger, the whole German Navy is virtually a hostage in the hands of the stronger naval Power.

"In like manner, so long as the German Navy is inferior to our own, so long the German head is within the jaws of the British lion. It is natural they

should wish to reverse the position, but we naturally wish to preserve the status quo."

December 27th.

British Reduction—German Increase

Our position is very simple. We say nothing about rivalry. We merely stand by the status quo. It is our duty to see to it that relative proportion of naval strength now existing is not altered to our disadvantage.

We sought to secure this at The Hague in 1899 and in 1907 by an international agreement. We failed, and we have now to maintain it in the future, as in the past, by each doing the best we can for

ourselves in a cut-throat competition, for which we are not responsible, and which we are willing to terminate to-morrow if Germany will but consent.

But, instead of arresting or reducing her armaments, Germany has responded to our reduction of naval expenditure, amounting to five millions between 1901 and 1907, by increasing her expenditure in the same period by three and a half millions, and she now proposes to increase it by three millions more next year. When the first Hague Conference was held, Germany spent annually six and a half millions on her Navy. In 1911 she will, by her new programme, be spending twenty-three millions.

There is no mistaking the significance of these figures.

1908

SIR JOHN BRUNNER'S EVIL WORK

In March, a section of 130 Radicals and Labour members, led by Sir John Brunner, Sir W. J. Collins, and Mr. Murray Macdonald, in the words of the "Daily Mail," "moved heaven and earth" to cut down Navy expenditure.

Sir John Brunner (son of an alien school-master and millionaire chairman of Brunner, Mond and Co., the great alkali firm), in seconding Mr. Murray Macdonald's resolution (March 2nd) in the House of Commons for a reduction of armaments, asked, "*Where is the danger that now confronts us?*" How, one wonders, does Sir John Brunner answer his own question in 1914?

The "Daily Mail's" comment (February 7th) was as follows:

The increase in the Navy Estimates is necessitated by the fact that the German Government has decided to lay down four Dreadnoughts each year instead of three, and nearly to double the outlay on the Fleet. This challenge to British supremacy, as Mr. Stead has very rightly described it, has not been provoked by any action on England's part. Between 1904 and 1907 the British Government offered to abandon one Dreadnought in the programme of that year, provided other nations would respond. This generous proposal met with no reply from the other Powers at the Hague Conference, and Germany has since answered it with her new Navy Bill. Now, for England, who has no army of 5,000,000 conscripts, the maintenance of her naval supremacy is a matter of life and death. Any weakening of the Fleet means the interruption of her food supplies, the starvation of millions of her people, the destruction of the shipping and the industries by which they win their daily bread, and the ultimate certainty of invasion. Because the risks run by this country are so inordinate, and because its very life and existence are bound up with the command of the sea, its Navy must be certain of maritime supremacy from the first hour of the war, and must be able to sweep from the seas the fleet of any antagonist.

March 3rd.

There is no case for those who advocate expenditure upon an inadequate and unready Fleet, because this is the worst form of waste. It is like the conduct of an engineer who would provide a fifty-foot bridge to cross a sixty-foot river.

"There is nothing to choose between sea supremacy and ruin," said Admiral Colomb many years ago. But this fact has not dawned upon the Little

Navy agitators. Sir John Brunner contended that England was at peace with all the world, though he never asked himself why Germany is building her colossal navy.

The Tweedmouth Sensation

German-British relations came into the limelight yet again in March, 1908, with what was called the "Tweedmouth Sensation," a letter written by the German Emperor to Lord Tweedmouth, First Lord of the Admiralty, obviously an attempt to interfere in British naval policy. Considerable excitement developed, both in England and Germany. But the "Daily Mail" took the incident coolly, suggesting in a leading article that the naïf pleasure of a recipient of Imperial confidences had led him into "an indiscretion of vanity in making known to his friends the contents of the letter."

March 7th.

There is not in this half-disclosed epistolary comedy the making of a scare, much less of an international crisis. Circumstances and divergent national destinies must keep England and Germany watching each other in the open, the one determining not to be outstripped in the naval race, the other refusing to weary in her efforts. The idea of deceiving either the one or the other by such a foolish stratagem as this letter is so far from practicable that no intelligent man would attempt it.

March 9th.

A Graver Side

But, amusing as this affair is in its personal aspects, it has yet a graver side, since it has once more drawn attention to the relations between Britain and Germany. The German Emperor is said to have asked in the letter why, in British discussion of naval policy, the German fleet was always made the standard of comparison with the British, and why the United States, Japanese, and French navies were passed over in silence. The answer is that Germany has plainly announced her ambition and desire to be supreme upon the sea. It is a great ambition of a great, a virile people. But for Britain to allow this ambition to be accomplished spells the loss of the British Empire, even of the independence of the United Kingdom. Supremacy is not a thing that can be divided or shared with a rival, and, as Admiral Colomb has said, there is "nothing for England between sea supremacy and ruin."

A dominant factor in world-politics to-day is the volcanic desire of Germany for maritime expansion. In Germany the prospect of rivalry with Britain is calmly accepted and faced; whatever is done on this side of the North Sea, Germans will endeavour to get ahead of us in shipbuilding. But to assume that there is any statesman of the front rank on either side in this country who does not understand and recognise the position is absurd. We do not think so meanly of our Ministers, whether Unionists or Liberal, as to suppose that they are capable of being seduced from their responsibilities by the personal condescension of any foreign sovereign. Our duty is, then, not to be perturbed by little incidents, but to emulate "that precision of view, that submission to facts, that disdain of abstractions, that professional conscientiousness, and that intensity of will," which, as Professor Dennis says in his masterly history of the foundation of the German Empire, have been the real secrets of German success.

June 10th.

The French View

The "Daily Mail" quoted extensively two remarkable articles in the French "Temps," which criticised the weakness of British naval and military preparations. The writer said:

"Though in the Atlantic and her dependent seas Great Britain maintains her position, she is directly threatened by the ever-increasing German naval power. Armed conflict is inevitable sooner or later. The two countries' interests are too much opposed for an entente to be possible. When this conflict will come, and how it will arise, none can tell, but the conflict is inevitable."

Here is a second article—dealing with the give-and take aspects of the Entente Cordiale:

"Great Britain must have an army more powerful than that she at present possesses. A working army capable of energetic Continental action is absolutely necessary to this eventual alliance which will associate France with the political risks of England, and associate England with the military risks of France."

"If, some day, an Anglo-Franco-Russian entente, the bases of which are henceforth to be determined, should, for the peace of the world, become permanent, if, in other words, a treaty should give it contract form—it is necessary that that treaty should impose on each requisite sacrifices, on France and Russia enlightened concern for their naval power, and on England profound reform of her land forces."

In June, 1908, the German Press indulged in another severe attack of "nerves" and Anglo-

phobia brought on by the meeting of the King and the Czar, and on other demonstrations of Anglo-Russian and Anglo-French good feeling.

July 4th.

The Command of the Air—and a Forecast

Not without reason has the German Emperor—no mean judge of the importance of contemporary events—declared that Count Zeppelin's balloon voyage into Switzerland marks the "beginning of a new national era." For this is the first occasion upon which a military dirigible airship has crossed an international frontier, sailed above the territory of a foreign State, hovered over its towns, exchanged messages with the inmates of hotels in those towns, rising and descending at will, and finally returned at high speed whence it came. Such a voyage is a startling event. It must call the attention of every Government and War Office to the fast-developing potentialities of airships and especially aeroplanes.

The Power without craft which can navigate the air will clearly be at a signal disadvantage in war, and we may be very near indeed to the days when the command of the air will be a matter to be seriously discussed and questioned.

From the British standpoint the conquest of the air cannot be pronounced a desirable result. Admiral Lord St. Vincent, when Pitt decided to experiment with the first and most primitive form of torpedo, declared, "Pitt is the greatest fool that ever existed to encourage a mode of warfare which those who command the sea do not want, and which, if successful, would deprive them of their command." For if, as Professor Hergesell, who shared Count Zeppelin's voyage, has prophesied, we "may live to see the dirigible the accepted means of locomotion that the motor-car is to-day," then we will to all intents and purposes have ceased to be an island. What will avail the command of the sea if an enemy can arrive by another element? The "silver streak" will have lost its protective value, and *there will be nothing to prevent the aerial chariots of a foe from descending upon British soil save only an overwhelming aerial navy in the hands of the British nation.*

July 11th.

Consummate Ease

There is this certain fact with which England has to reckon, that Zeppelin No. IV. has carried out the most remarkable voyage ever attempted by an aerostat. For half a day she hovered above a foreign territory, and was controlled with consummate ease. This feat has proved that she is in advance of the types possessed by all other nations. The French "dirigibles" have accomplished nothing so wonderful, and the British Nulli Secundus makes a very poor show beside her German competitor. This is not as it should be. England cannot afford

to be outdistanced by any rival. Whether from the military or the commercial point of view, the airship will be of incalculable service in the future, and the construction of such vessels will unquestionably become a great industry. It is, therefore, vital that experiments should be made to produce a British airship, and that ample funds for such experiments should be forthcoming. It was only after the expenditure of enormous sums of money and after many failures, that Count Zeppelin achieved his present success. But it is now morally certain that not many years will pass before airships are in existence capable of travelling not for twelve hours or for twenty-four hours—the feat which is to be attempted by Zeppelin No. IV. next week—but for two or three days in the air.

Germany's Air Madness

Herr Rudolf Martin, author of books on war in air, and "Is a World-War Imminent?" pointed out how England was losing her insular character by the development of airships and aeroplanes.

"In a world-war," he said to a "Daily Mail" correspondent, "Germany would have to spend two hundred million sterling in motor-airships and a similar amount in aeroplanes, to transport 350,000 men in half an hour during the night from Calais to Dover. *Even to-day the landing of a great German army in England is a mere matter of money. I am opposed to a war between England and Germany, but should it break out to-day it would last at least two years, for we would conclude no peace until a German army had occupied London.*

"In my judgment it would take years for us to build motor-airships enough simultaneously to throw 350,000 men into Dover via Calais. The ships which the Zeppelin works in Friedrichshafen will build during the next few months are likely to be considerably larger than IV., and to carry one hundred persons. There is no technical reason against the construction of Zeppelin airships of 1,100,000 or even 1,700,000 cubic feet capacity, twice or three times the capacity of IV. (500,000 cubic feet)."

July 13th.

Germany is ablaze with airship enthusiasm and interest. The country's concern has been materially heightened by the alleged "nervousness" of England over the rapid development of the German aerial fleet.

August 11th.

Meeting of King and Kaiser

In August King Edward and the German Emperor met at Cronberg. The welcome of the German Press was distinctly unfriendly. The general expres-

sion was that "the English are in great error if they expect the meeting to have the result of inducing Germany to accept any restrictions on the building of her Navy." The "Frankfurter Zeitung" said that "Altruism can only play a minor part in the competition of nations."

The "Daily Mail" called the attention of English readers to this attitude, saying that the tone of the German Press was remarkably reserved. "Even Liberal papers, such as the 'Tageblatt,' say that 'the best way to deal with England is to show no pacifist enthusiasm.' It would be useless to deny the existence of a feeling of rivalry that often finds perilous expression. In Germany, over which a wave of Chauvinism has swept in recent years, men profess to see in every effort of Great Britain to extend the bounds of peace a deliberate desire to isolate Germany. On the other hand, in the phenomenal growth of the German Navy, Britain sees a menace to her superiority at sea."

Aug. 14th.

MR. KEIR HARDIE'S BLINDNESS AND IGNORANCE.

As an example of the blindness of those who could not see the peril of Germany, and were utterly ignorant of the unreality of German Socialism, it is interesting, in the light of the war of 1914, to quote here the "Daily Mail's" extract of an article written in August, 1908, by Mr. Keir Hardie in the "Labour Leader":

After ridiculing the idea that Germany is making preparations for an invasion, Mr. Hardie asks, assuming that the danger of such an invasion is real, what is the duty of Socialists and Labour men? "When there was trouble threatened between France and Germany over the Morocco affair, what did Jaurès and Bebel do? These representative Socialists toiled unceasingly not only in the interests of peace, but to convince the governing classes in both countries that not only would they oppose war, but that if war broke out there would be industrial developments which would paralyse the whole military system. They saved their countries from getting the fatal feeling that war was 'inevitable.' But Blatchford and Hyndman seem to have set themselves the task of producing that very feeling of 'inevitableness' than which nothing could more strengthen the hands of the war-mongers on both shores of the German Ocean. We can kill the war spirit even before it is born. To Herr Bebel and our German comrades all, hands all round and pledge deep the toast, 'Hoch! hoch! hoch! for the international solidarity of labour and the destruction of the war spirit.'"

1908.

Mr. Churchill's Ignorance

But far greater men than Mr. Keir Hardie were blind to the German plot. Mr. Winston Churchill might have been an invaluable friend to the advocates of a strong Navy and a National Service Army if his own realisation had come earlier. This is how he viewed the German menace in 1908 (in a speech at Swansea on August 15th):

"There is no collision of primary interests—big, important interests—between Great Britain and Germany in any quarter of the globe. Why, they are among our very best customers, and if anything were to happen to them I don't know what we should do for a market.

"People said it might be worth while fighting for the sake of the trade. Gentlemen, it is never worth while fighting for the sake of trade. In a month of fighting you would destroy more wealth than the successful trade of five years would produce.

"We are told there are Colonies which could be seized. Why, nothing will alter the destiny of great communities like Canada, Australia, South Africa, and India. Their destiny will not be altered in the future, in my opinion, as the result of any struggle between European Powers.

"What remains as a prize to be fought for by two great countries? Nothing but tropical plantations and small coaling places scattered here and there about the world.

"These two great peoples have nothing to fight about, have no prize to fight for, and no place to fight in.

"What does all this snapping and snarling amount to, after all? How many people do you suppose there are in Germany who really want to make an attack upon this country? *I don't suppose there are ten thousand.* And how many do you think there are in this country? I don't believe there are even that number in this country, if you exclude inmates of Bedlam and writers in the 'National Review.'"

August 19th.

Mr. Blatchford's Reply

Mr. Blatchford wrote to the "Daily Mail" a reply to the quoted remarks of Mr. Keir Hardie:

"Mr. Hyndman and I, believing that Germany is preparing to attack England, have taken the very unpopular course of warning the Labour party. Not because we want war, but because we are anxious to prevent it.

"I do not believe that our warning will alter the plans of the German Government one way or the other. I do not believe they will excite the German people. But they may help the Labour party to realise their danger ere it is too late.

"I do not believe that there are 'war-mongers' in England. I have never seen nor heard of a single Englishman mad and bad enough to wish our nation to make war on Germany. There is no 'war party' in England; only a party of defence.

"My fear, and Mr. Hyndman's fear, is that war will be forced upon England, and that it will be forced upon us because Germany believes that we are not prepared for war.

"I write to you because, though I addressed my warning to the Labour party, I am anxious that the whole British people should regard the present situation as sufficiently dangerous to justify a demand on their part for explicit information as to the relations between England and Germany. If there is danger of a terrible war, let us know the danger, so that we may meet it or avert it.

"As a Socialist, because a German attack would be a disaster to Socialism; as an Englishman, because a German attack would be a disaster to England; as a humanitarian, because a war between these two great nations would be a disaster to humanity, I appeal to my fellow-countrymen to dispel the cloud of mystery and suspicion which hangs above us, and to take the humane course of making any invasion of this country impossible.

"If the German naval preparations are really a proof of Germany's pacific feeling towards England, let us prove ourselves worthy of that fraternal and neighbourly regard by making equally peaceful and kindly preparations for the millennium on our side.

"To allow our friends across the North Sea to establish a monopoly of peace-making battleships and trade-making submarines appears to me ungracious and unwise.

"I am, as I said, a humanitarian. But my love for my fellow-men does not divest me of any affection for my own countrymen.

"I am willing and eager to help in any way to establish an *entente* between England and Germany, but I do not regard it as a sacred duty to keep silence when I believe that secret and deadly preparations are being made to strike at the heart of England."

August 31st.

The Kaiser's Hypocrisy—Remarkable Speech

At a banquet given at Strasburg, the Kaiser, in proposing a toast, made the following speech:

"I rejoice to be able to express to you my deepest conviction that the peace of Europe is not in danger. It rests on too solid foundations to be easily upset by the incitements and

calumnies provoked by envious and ill-disposed individuals.

"A firm security exists, in the first place, in the conscience of the princes and statesmen of Europe, who know and feel that they are responsible to God for the lives and prosperity of the peoples entrusted to their leadership.

"On the other hand, it is the will and desire of the peoples to make themselves useful by tranquilly pursuing the development of the magnificent achievements of progressive civilisation, and to measure their strength in peaceful rivalry.

"Finally, peace is also assured and guaranteed by our power on sea and land; by the German people in arms. Proud of the manly discipline and love of honour of her armed forces, Germany is determined to keep them on their high level without menace to others, and to develop them as her own interests demand, favouring none, injuring none."

September 11th.

Imperial Espionage

Considerable feeling and excitement was caused in France by a significant and cynical proposed motor tour of the Kaiser, which was to include a visit across the French frontier "to see the view" from the Schlucht, a famous strategical pass of the Vosges. In consequence of the irritation in France the proposed visit was suddenly abandoned.

October 3rd.

MR. HARCOURT'S AMAZING BLINDNESS

MR. HARCOURT (speech in Lancashire):

"I will not offer to other nations the temptation which would be afforded by a defenceless England, but having said this, let me assure you that there is not a shade, *not a shadow of foundation* for these half-craven, half-Chauvinist alarms which have been turning the Yellow Press white in a single night. There has not been any period in the last ten or fifteen years—and *I speak with knowledge and a sense of deep responsibility*—in which our relations with Germany—commercial, Colonial, political, and dynastic—have been on a firmer and more friendly footing than they are to-day.

"Our rivalries are only in trade and education, and though I should claim for us the supremacy of the former, I would yield to Germany the palm for perfection in the latter; but of personal animosity there is none between the

rulers, the Governments, or the peoples. And if in either country there is a small class of publicists who, for selfish and unpatriotic ends, desire to set the nations at a variance—well, they are the footpads of politics and the enemies of the human race. Keep your heads cool, your Fleet ready, and your tongues civil, and you need not fear the yapping of those pariah curs who foul the kennel in which they live."

October 29th.

THE KAISER'S FAMOUS INTERVIEW

The Kaiser again thrust himself into the European limelight by an interview granted to the "Daily Telegraph" (and by the courtesy of that journal published also in the "Daily Mail").

The Kaiser expressed pain and disappointment at the continual rejections of his overtures of friendship to the British people, and, as proof of his staunch affection for England, declared that he broke a European coalition which was to have crushed this country during the Boer War.

These were some of the Kaiser's remarks:

"You English are mad, mad—mad as March hares. What has come over you that you are so completely given over to suspicions quite unworthy of a great nation? What more can I do than I have done? I declared with all the emphasis at my command, in my speech at Guildhall, that my heart is set upon peace, and that it is one of my dearest wishes to live on the best of terms with England. Have I ever been false to my word? *Falsehood and prevarication are alien to my nature.*" (!)

(These italics were not in the original report of the speech.)

"My actions ought to speak for themselves, but you listen, not to them, but to those who misinterpret and distort them. That is a personal insult which I feel and resent. To be for ever misjudged, to have my repeated offers of friendship weighed and scrutinised with jealous, mistrustful eyes, taxes my patience severely. I have said time after time that I am a friend of England, and your Press—or, at least, a considerable section of it—bids the people of England refuse my proffered hand, and insinuates that the other holds a dagger.

"I repeat that I am the friend of England, but you make things difficult for me. My task is not of the easiest. The prevailing sentiment of large sections of the middle and lower classes of my country is not friendly to England.

THE KAISER'S FAMOUS INTERVIEW (contd.)

I am therefore, so to speak, in a minority in my own land."

An Extraordinary Statement

Later on the Kaiser made his extraordinary statement as regards the coalition against England:

"It is commonly believed in England that throughout the South African War Germany was hostile to her. German opinion undoubtedly was hostile—bitterly hostile. The Press was hostile; private opinion was hostile. But what of official Germany? Let my critics ask themselves what brought to a sudden stop, and, indeed, to absolute collapse, the European tour of the Boer delegates who were striving to obtain European intervention? They were fêted in Holland; France gave them a rapturous welcome. They wished to come to Berlin, where the German people would have crowned them with flowers. But when they asked me to receive them, I refused. The agitation immediately died away, and the delegation returned empty-handed. Was that, I ask, the action of a secret enemy?"

"Again, when the struggle was at its height, the German Government was invited by the Governments of France and Russia to join with them in calling upon England to put an end to the war. The moment had come, they said, not only to save the Boer Republics, but also to humiliate England to the dust. What was my reply? I said that, so far from Germany joining in any concerted European action to put pressure upon England and bring about her downfall, Germany would always keep aloof from politics that could bring her into complications with a Sea Power like England.

"Posterity will one day read the exact terms of the telegram—now in the archives of Windsor Castle—in which I informed the Sovereign of England of the answer I had returned to the Powers which then sought to compass her fall. Englishmen who now insult me by doubting my word should know what were my actions in the hour of their adversity.

"Nor was that all. Just at the time of your Black Week, in the December of 1899, when disasters followed one another in rapid succession, I received a letter from Queen Victoria, my revered grandmother, written in sorrow and affliction, and bearing manifest traces of the anxieties which were preying upon her mind and health. I at once returned a sympathetic reply. Nay, I did more. I bade one of my officers procure for me as exact an account as he could obtain of the number of combatants in South Africa on both sides, and of the actual position of the opposing forces.

Plan of Campaign

"With the figures before me I worked out what I considered to be the best plan of campaign under the circumstances, and submitted it to my General Staff for their criticism. Then I despatched it to England, and that document, likewise, is among the State papers at Windsor Castle, awaiting the serenely impartial verdict of history.

"And, as a matter of curious coincidence, let me add that the plan which I formulated ran very much on the same lines as that which was actually adopted by Lord Roberts, and carried by him into successful operation. Was that, I repeat, the act of one who wished England ill? Let Englishmen be just and say.

"But, you will say, what of the German Navy? Surely that is a menace to England. Against whom but England are my squadrons being prepared? If England is not in the minds of those Germans who are bent on creating a powerful fleet, why is Germany asked to consent to such new and heavy burdens of taxation? My answer is clear. Germany is a young and growing empire. She has a worldwide commerce, which is rapidly expanding, and to which the legitimate ambition of patriotic Germans refuses to assign any bounds.

"Germany must have a powerful fleet to protect that commerce and her manifold interests in even the most distant seas. She expects those interests to go on growing, and she must be able to champion them manfully in any quarter of the globe. Germany looks ahead. Her horizons stretch far away. She must be prepared for any eventualities in the Far East. Who can foresee what may take place in the Pacific in the days to come, days not so distant as some believe, but days, at any rate, for which all European Powers with Far Eastern interests ought steadily to prepare?

"Look at the accomplished rise of Japan; think of the possible national awakening of China; and then judge of the vast problems of the Pacific. Only those Powers which have great navies will be listened to with respect, when the future of the Pacific comes to be solved; and if for that reason only Germany must have a powerful fleet. It may be that even England herself will be glad that Germany has a fleet when they speak together on the same side in the great debates of the future."

October 29th.

The "Daily Mail's" Ironical Comments

He (the Emperor) tells us that in his anxiety to secure for us the victory in South Africa he went so far as to prepare with his own hand a plan of campaign. Having confronted us with these evidences and protestations, the Emperor is justified in asking why his repeated offers of friendship are "weighed and scrutinised

with jealous and mistrustful eyes." We will tell his Majesty why. It is because the actions of his Ministers do not harmonise with his own words; it is because experience has taught us that sentiment in high places is not always a safe guarantee; it is because Germany has made us look closely at the logic of facts. Let us examine the proofs advanced by the Emperor himself. The return of Dr. Vassel to his consular post at Fez was one of those incidents that create the sort of mistrust of which his Majesty complains. His explanation that Dr. Vassel was prompted only by the desire to look after the private interests of German subjects may be correct—at any rate, it is the excuse offered by his Ministers—but even this simple act was attended with a mystery that courted suspicion of a determination to steal a march on the Powers interested in Morocco. Can the Emperor complain if in this country, as well as in France, a sinister motive was ascribed to the secret and precipitate return of his agent to the Court of a Pretender who was seeking—with the open support of Germany—to secure recognition of his act of usurpation?

The second example of the Emperor's desire to befriend Great Britain comes upon us, we confess, with a shock of surprise. That the hand which wrote the famous telegram of congratulation to President Kruger after the defeat and capture of the Jameson raiders should be the hand to draft a plan of campaign to defeat the Boers, and submit it to the supreme authority in this country, is a paradox most amazing. Were it alleged of any other person then the Emperor William we should be disposed to regard it as a myth. But the German Emperor must not be judged by the rules applied to ordinary mortals. He is—and we say it with all seriousness and respect—a man apart; one of those rare and powerful personalities in whose actions it is vain to look for consistency. To what are we to ascribe this extraordinary intervention? Was it prompted by sympathy with the sorrow and affliction of a "revered grandmother," or was it only another instance of the Emperor's determination to be regarded as the *deus ex machina* in all that concerns the affairs of the world? This marvellous plan of campaign, we are told, reposes among the State papers in Windsor Castle "awaiting the serenely impartial verdict of history." Until yesterday the British people were ignorant of this Imperial intervention; they believed that their ultimate triumph in South Africa was the work of Lord Roberts, Lord Kitchener, and Sir George White. Never for a moment did they suspect the German

Emperor of sharing that triumph. Can they be blamed if they interpreted the attitude of Germany, not by secret plans of campaign, but by the avowed sentiments of the German people, sentiments so base and injurious, so cruel in their injustice to our humanity, that they left on the mind of our people an ineffaceable impression?

A new suspicion has been created by the strenuous growth of the German Navy. With this, too, the Emperor deals in the manner of the wise ruler who preaches peace and prepares war. His eyes are turned to the Pacific Ocean, where he firmly believes will be fought the Armageddon that will decide the fate of Europe. Into this realm of prophecy we shall not follow him. It is enough that he has willed a great navy for the German Empire and has set for us a standard that our necessities, if not our will, must adopt.

October 30th.

Mr. Stead's Open Letter to the Kaiser
(In the "Daily Mail")

To his Imperial Majesty the German Emperor.

Sire,—In common with all my countrymen, I have read the report of your interview in the daily Press with profound attention and with the respect which it deserves.

The advocates of an *entente cordiale* with Germany, of whom I am but an insignificant unit, have always maintained that, although there were some military and professorial Chauvinists who cultivated hatred of England, the great mass of the German people shared the fraternal sentiments which undoubtedly animate the great mass of the English people. Burgomasters, members of Parliament, editors, pastors, and trade unionists have exchanged visits during the last two years, and all with one consent have declared that, save a miserable minority, the whole German nation shared these sentiments of friendship with England to which your Majesty has so repeatedly given expression.

Now, to our infinite dismay, so far from this being the case, we are informed by your Majesty that "the prevailing sentiment among large sections of the middle and lower classes" is not "friendly to England." So unfriendly, indeed, is this sentiment, and so large the majority of those who entertain it, that your Majesty finds it "not the easiest task" to oppose the majority of your people.

This, indeed, is an alarming admission!

I sincerely hope that your Majesty is mistaken. But if we dismiss that suggestion as disrespectful, what is the situation that confronts us?

You reveal to us the picture of a nation the majority of which is unfriendly to England, and only restrained from giving practical expression to that prevailing sentiment by the heroic exertions

of your Majesty, who, however, despite all the loyalty of his subjects, cannot summon to his assistance more than "a minority in his own land."

"An Unforeseen Accident"

Is it to be wondered at that, although we all cry devoutly, "O Kaiser, live for ever!" we cannot rely upon the certainty that in answer to our prayer your Majesty will be granted the boon of immortality? A motor accident, the stumble of a horse, or any unforeseen accident, may deprive us of our only friend. Where should we be then? Who can adequately insure us against the catastrophe which may cut short your Majesty's invaluable life?

Our only insurance against the unfriendliness of neighbouring nations is the supremacy of our Navy. Your Majesty's astonishing revelation that nothing but the frail span of your own life stands between us and the hostility of a majority of your subjects removes the last vestige of doubt in our minds as to the duty of laying down six Dreadnoughts, and laying them down at once. The more unfriendly the majority of the Germans may be to us, the more incumbent it is upon us to show our fraternal love by leading them not into temptation, but delivering them from evil, by making our Navy so strong that it will not invite their attack.

If your Majesty had designed purposely to destroy the arguments of the opponents of a two-to-one shipbuilding programme, you could not have succeeded more completely. I have already shown that if we accept the accuracy of your Majesty's statement the case for the six Dreadnoughts is irresistible. But there are some who, with no fear of *lèse-majesté* before their eyes, will deny that the prevailing sentiment of the majority of the German people is unfriendly to England. Suppose that they are right? What then? Dare we rely upon such friendly national sentiment as a security against the most unfriendly action upon the part of their Government? Of course, so long as your Majesty lives—provided that your patience is not taxed too severely—we should then be quite safe, and might slow down the rate of our shipbuilding.

Would the unanimous friendliness of the German people afford us any guarantee that your successor or yourself, if your patience gave way, would frame Germany policy in accordance with the sentiment of the German people? Your Chancellor and your Foreign Minister assured me last year that public opinion was potent even over the German Government, and that it was absolutely inconceivable that any war could be made by a German Government which did not command the unanimous support of the German people.

Any Guarantee?

Alas, alas! Who can believe such assurances in the face of your Majesty's revelation of your secret

participation in the war against the Boers, a race which the whole German nation believed to be unjustly attacked and cruelly wronged? You did not commit the German Empire to war against the Boers. But you did not hesitate to commit your General Staff to such a supreme act of war as the framing of a plan of campaign for the use of your English friends.

In the light of such a fact, what security can we have that some future Kaiser, or your Majesty, *if you should lose your patience*, may not commit an act of war, not only without consulting your people, but with the full knowledge that such an act would be distasteful and abhorrent to them?

We have, therefore, no option but to draw the obvious conclusion from your Majesty's frank revelations of how things stand in Germany. We shall lay down six Dreadnoughts at once—not as a menace or a sign of distrust, but merely as an indispensable act of insurance against dangers to which your Majesty has been so good as to call our attention.—I have the honour to be, your Majesty's obedient servant,
W. T. STEAD.

Further Irony of the "Daily Mail"

Fate is unkind to the German Emperor, for she continues to pervert his intentions and to work mischief where he sought to do good. This must be mournful reflection amid the resounding echoes of the controversy raised by the extraordinary interview in which he proclaimed his friendship for Great Britain and the limits of his patience. That France and Russia should resent the resurrection of ancient animosities is natural; that Great Britain should examine with caution and without spontaneous enthusiasm these renewed protestations was to be expected; but that his own people should receive the message of peace, as the German newspapers show, with "anxiety and regret," must convince the Emperor that both the moment and the confession were unfortunate.

Whether by accident or design, the Emperor chose a moment when the Powers of Europe were engaged in difficult and delicate negotiations. France, Russia, and Great Britain had just arrived at an understanding with reference to the Balkans when, behold, the German Emperor, whose Ministers have shown no alacrity in abetting these peaceful endeavours, comes forward to remind us of the attitude of France and Russia during the Boer War. Even if his Majesty's facts were not in dispute, and if it were admitted that France and Russia (and not Germany) proposed the coalition that was to humiliate Great Britain in the eyes of the world, the story could not have been revived at a more critical and unhappy moment. Can the Emperor be surprised if we read his message in the light of present circumstances?

An Unhappy Confession

Not less unhappy is that article of the confession which relates to the Boer War. Had the Emperor William considered carefully he must have foreseen the effect of his personal intervention in a struggle that did not concern himself or his country. The Boers certainly were not likely to be gratified at discovering among their enemies the Sovereign who not only penned the famous telegram to President Kruger, but strove to wring from us their independence. Nor is England more likely to be pleased at the suggestion that the German Emperor, and not Lord Roberts, was responsible for the plan of campaign. But more serious than these individual and national considerations is the evidence that the Emperor himself has given of the uncertainty of his favour.

It is this uncertainty that poisons the fountain of his kindness, and makes us hesitate to drink from the proffered cup of his Imperial favour. That there is bitterness in the cup he himself acknowledges, for he declares that the mass of his people have no friendship for us. This is a grave confession for a sovereign to make. There are limits not merely to the patience, but to the capacity of one man, even though he be an Emperor and our friend. In reminding us of this, the Emperor William has done us a service, for which we are grateful. It will guide our policy toward that end which sometimes we are tempted to forget—the maintenance of our strength at such a standard as shall show us to be prepared for all emergencies.

Indignant French Denial

The statement of the Kaiser that he had repelled advances on the part of Russia and France during the Boer War to intervene and "humiliate England to the dust" was indignantly denied by the whole French Press, which declared that the advances were made by Germany, and that France refused to comply with the German conditions.

November 2nd.

Mr. Haldane, Secretary of War, in reply to a question by Mr. W. Redmond, if a plan of campaign for the Boer War, upon which Lord Roberts practically acted, was received from the German Emperor, made the following reply:

"The War Office archives do not contain any such document as the honourable gentleman refers to, nor is there any record of its having come into the possession of anybody connected with the War Office. I am, therefore, unable to comply with the request of the honourable gentleman to lay the document upon the table of the House."

The Evolution of Germany

The "Daily Mail" devoted a prominent column to a review of "The Evolution of Modern Germany," by Mr. W. H. Dawson.

The warning is given to the British nation that German competition, far from having reached its highest point, "will inevitably increase in severity in the near future."

Germany is an imprisoned Empire (said the reviewer)—pent in by England and by Continental rivals—a boiler without a safety-valve. The force actuating the German Government in its efforts to expand the Navy is, then, no artificial or transient one. It is not because of some insane whim that the Kaiser has proclaimed that "the Trident must pass into our hands," but because Germany must either expand seawards or perish. For this reason all parties are united on the issue of a great navy. . . . Englishmen altogether misinterpret the big navy movement if they underrate its strength and permanency.

Behind it are the deliberate will and calm resolution of a united nation. Behind the Navy party are powerful industrial interests. Even the Socialists, as a party, are by no means hostile to the building up of a strong naval force.

Programme will succeed programme, and will be rigidly carried out.

The gravity of German rivalry is increased by the fact, on which the author lays special emphasis, that the Germany of Stein and Fichte has given way to a new Germany, believing first and foremost in material force.

"Two souls dwell in the German nation," writes Professor Paulsen. "The German nation has been called the nation of poets and thinkers. . . . To-day it may again be called the nation of masterful combatants."

The review continued by pointing out the fever heat of German warlike passions, and the "powerful caste interested in maintaining the multitude in a state of feeling which shall assure its domination at home."

The Socialist peril which, ten years ago, seemed to menace Germany has, in Mr. Dawson's opinion, lost much of its reality. The German Socialists are tied down to "petrified dogmas and programmes divorced from actuality."

The work reveals the real greatness of modern Germany—its spirit of patient preparation, its method and system, and its immense will-power. There is something of the temper of ancient Rome about the German Empire, as Mr. Dawson well remarks, in its "fondness of massiveness, its restless hankering after great effects," and, we may add, in its unflinching pertinacity of purpose.

November

A Further Crisis

Only a few days after the German Emperor's passionate declaration that he meant nothing but friendship to Great Britain, and presumedly therefore to Great Britain's closest friends, Germany sprung yet another crisis upon Europe.

Out of the original demand of Germany upon France (in the matter of the arrest of certain deserters at Casa Blanca), the German Government in October proposed to France to submit the matter to arbitration at The Hague. The French Government readily accepted the proposal, and it was supposed that the incident had been finally disposed of, when suddenly Germany made the following new demands:

An expression of regret from France.

The surrender of the deserters.

December 10th

The Air Invasion of England

Councillor Rudolf Martin addressed a small but interested meeting in the Mozart-saal on the German invasion of England, characterising his remarks as a reply to Lord Roberts.

The development of aerial flight had scared everybody in England, for it denoted the complete

modification of the relations of the British Isles with the Continent. Great Britain's power depended upon her position. As soon as she ceased to be an island her world dominion would cease. No longer would the will of London determine international destinies, but the will of Berlin.

The progress already made in aeronautics would suffice to drive the British Fleet from the North Sea. Germany's present airships could cross the Channel several times without stopping for gas or benzene. For a plan of invasion, however, the speaker placed his faith in the Wright aeroplane.

The Wright aeroplane cost £1,000 and carried two persons, therefore for fifty millions sterling they could build 50,000 aeroplanes capable of transporting 100,000 men from Calais to Dover.

For an Anglo-German war Germany must control the line from Ostend to Calais, Boulogne, and Harre.

From Calais an air fleet could command London and Sheerness. Zeppelin airships could blockade the mouth of the Thames by dropping mines, and could impose the will of the German people upon England. As Great Britain had the best position for the supremacy of the seas, so Germany occupied the best position for the dominion of the air.

1909

February 2nd.

THE SHADOW OF INVASION

The "Daily Mail" published the first of a series of articles by Colonel Lonsdale Hale, dealing with the danger of invasion, and also a manifesto from Lord Roberts and the vice-presidents of the National Service League, urging the necessity of national service.

Extracts from leading article :

The risks of Britain's position unarmed in the face of a Europe armed to the teeth cannot be too clearly realised by the British public.

Adverting to the shortage in the ranks of the Territorial Army, the article continued :

It is easy to blame the manhood of this country, but is not the real explanation of the reluctance of recruits to come forward to be found in the fact that each is asking himself why he should make sacrifices that others may shirk ? Why should A give his holidays to drills and spend his time in camp when B and C are free to watch football matches and enjoy themselves ? " Even under the exiguous training that now obtains," writes Lord Roberts, " both the men who engage and their employers are placed at a disadvantage . . . as compared with those who are able to devote the whole of their time to business or pleasure." If the income tax were levied by voluntary assessment, it is safe to assert that its yield would be exceedingly small. The conscientious person would make a just return, and, because he did so, would bear the burden of the unscrupulous and unpatriotic. He would be left with a sense of personal wrong against the defaulters. With national service it is much the same. The burden would be light if all shared it equally.

The duty of our statesmen is clear. It is impossible for them to lay the responsibility upon the nation when they themselves hesitate to give a plain and unambiguous lead. Probably there is not one of them, outside a small section of disarmament fanatics, who does not know that a strong Territorial Army is essential to England's existence. Probably there is not one of them but feels in his heart that the true solution is to be found in compulsory service. But they stand silent, each waiting for the other to speak, and each afraid that the opposite party may snatch some petty advantage from a bold pronouncement. The nation, after all, has the courage and patriotism to follow and obey, if they will but give the call and make the great appeal to it. National service is a democratic measure if it be so applied as to require of all

ranks alike the same sacrifice. In the final scene of "An Englishman's Home" the opportune arrival of a British Army relieves the almost intolerable agony of the situation. In actual life there would be no British Army to arrive. There would be nothing but mere mobs of unarmed young men and helpless young women to confront Prince Yoland's perfectly organised invaders. The play would close with the dishonour of a national catastrophe imposed upon the horror of desolated homes and civilians shot for daring to use arms in England's defence. With the statesmen it rests to speak out and prevent such a national tragedy from being enacted.

March 17th.

A Great Naval Crisis

A great crisis in the naval policy of the country arose out of the naval estimates and their debates in the House in March and April, 1909. Mr. McKenna (First Lord of the Admiralty) disclosed (March 16th) that Germany had developed her shipbuilding capacity so rapidly that she had falsified our calculations. We did not know, as we thought we did, the rate at which German construction was taking place ; we knew the Germans had a naval law which, when all the ships under it were completed, would give them a navy more powerful than any in existence.

The Admiralty, said Mr. McKenna, " must be in a position, *if the necessity arose*, to give orders for guns, gun-mountings, and other materials at such a time as would enable them to obtain delivery of four more armoured ships in the spring of 1912."

Mr. Balfour, in a grave speech, declared that the Government proposals were utterly inadequate. We had not built for two years, while the Germans had not only carried out their paper programme, but they had advanced it by four or five months.

" I have been forced most reluctantly to the conclusion that now, for the very first time in modern history, we are face to face with a naval situation so new, so dangerous, that it is difficult for us to realise all its imports."

The Prime Minister pointed out how Germany had refused absolutely to entertain any proposal for the reduction of naval expenditure.

Sea Supremacy or Ruin

The "Daily Mail" characterised Mr. McKenna's speech as " one of the most disquieting ever heard by the House of Commons."

"We can no longer, as in the past, wait to see what our rivals are doing, and then construct ships to beat theirs. The fleets are too nearly equal, the building power of the two countries too closely matched, to permit Fabian tactics. In Mr. Asquith's words, 'we are face to face, not with a party issue, but with a matter which affects the safety of the country.' For England 'there is nothing between sea supremacy and ruin.' Our sea supremacy is in peril."

In a further series of trenchant articles, the "Daily Mail" returned to the charge throughout March, April, and May. It was successful in arousing the country. The protracted naval debates in the House of Commons assumed historical importance. The Opposition demanded the construction forthwith of eight Dreadnoughts, instead of the four that the Government proposed, together with four "contingent" Dreadnoughts to be laid down in the following April. "We Want Eight" became the insistent battle-cry of the patriotic party, and it was quoted against them by the "Little Navy" party and their Press with every imaginable rancour and bitterness—as though, indeed, the vast German navy was a myth, and concern for the very existence of Great Britain were a dishonour. In the end the great campaign led by the "Daily Mail" was successful, and the four extra Dreadnoughts were gained.

Here are a few extracts from the mass of articles and warnings that the "Daily Mail" published:

March 19th.

A Warning of Mr. Frederic Harrison

(Reprinted in the "Daily Mail" by permission of "The Times")

"The sole ground for serious anxiety as to our national defences arises from what we see as we watch the feverish expansion of the German navy, combined with the domineering attitude of the German Government in Europe, plus the ambitious schemes asserted now for a whole generation by the German military and naval chiefs, fomenting the natural aspirations of the great German race. When we reflect on the meteoric aggrandisement of Prussia in the last sixty years, on her great military caste, of which Western Europe has no parallel, on the pride and (we may add) the self-consciousness of the German people, coupled with an inborn spirit of patriotism and of discipline, we see before us a nation of magnificent endowments and resources, inspired with a faith in its destiny as a dominant World-Power.

The Consequences of Invasion

"If it is asked, Why does invasion threaten more terrible consequences to us than it does to our neighbours? the answer is that the British Empire is an anomalous structure, without any real

parallel in modern history, except in the history of Portugal, Venice, and Holland, and in ancient history Athens and Carthage. Our Empire presents special conditions both for attack and for destruction. And its destruction by an enemy seated on the Thames would have consequences so awful to contemplate that it cannot be left to be safeguarded by one sole line of defence, however good, and for the present hour however adequate.

"For more than forty years I have raised my voice against every form of aggression, of Imperial expansion, and Continental militarism. Few men have more earnestly protested against postponing social reforms and the well-being of the people, for Imperial conquests and Asiatic and African adventures. I do not go back on a word that I have ever uttered thereon. But how hollow is all talk about industrial reorganisation until we have secured our country against a catastrophe that would involve untold destitution and misery on the people in the mass—which would paralyse industry and raise food to famine prices, while closing our factories and our yards. How idle are fine words about retrenchment, peace, and brotherhood while we lie open to the risk of unutterable ruin, to a deadly fight for natural existence, and to war in its most destructive and most cruel form."

March 23rd.

"New Zealand's Great Example"

The offer of New Zealand to provide a Dreadnought for the British Navy is one of those splendid acts of affection and patriotism which kindle the imagination and stir the blood. Once more in a moment of stress and crisis New Zealand is setting a great example, as ten years before she did on the eve of the South African war. Then it was the lives of her dearest sons that she freely offered the Motherland. To-day it is ships and money. The spirit is the same, and for this proof of it the deepest thanks of this nation will go out to its kindred of the Southern Seas. And it is not only New Zealand that is moving. The question of presenting Dreadnoughts to the British Navy is being discussed in the Press of Canada and Australia. Thus fresh proof is given to mankind of that solidarity of the Empire which so astonished the world in 1899. We shall gladly accept all that the Oversea Dominions are prepared to give, and shall feel comfort at the thought that their action proves the unity of the British race.

March 26th.

"Without Debate"

Amid scenes of enthusiasm the Reichstag this afternoon passed, without a syllable of debate, the Navy Estimates for 1909. It is the first time in

the history of the German Navy that the Estimates have secured the approval of Parliament without discussion.

What a contrast to the disorderly discussions, the light laughter, the trivial amendments, and the party strife of the House of Commons. The German Reichstag met to consider Navy Estimates, the heaviest ever laid before it, involving an increase of £3,600,000 on German expenditure last year. It met to debate a shipbuilding programme providing no less than £10,750,000 for new construction and armaments, a larger sum than any country in the world, including Britain, is spending. It met to face heavy demands on the patriotism and sense of duty of the country. But it did not demand explanations; it did not waste time in talk; it voted the amount cheerfully, "without debate."

The parallel throughout is poignantly close to the attitude of Germany and France on the eve and outbreak of the Franco-German War. In 1867-8 the French Chamber debated the strength of the French Army. While Prussia was silently working, France expended her energy in frivolous talk. Her Radicals prevented the French Emperor from averting attack by adequate armaments. "The desire for comfort, the progress of selfishness, the weakening of discipline rendered painful to all the idea of any sacrifice. To avoid effort, men ended by denying the danger." When the actual trial came, in Paris there was a boastfulness, insane optimism, and wild hysteria. "We are ready to the last gaiter-button," proclaimed Marshal Leboeuf. While Paris was exulting, in Berlin there was silence and confidence—the confidence of a great people which has made every possible preparation, and, as the fruit of its sacrifices and of its long-continued efforts, can contemplate any danger without tumult or dismay.

The German people, whose present maritime ambitions, whether in the direction of oversea trade or of naval strength, would have provoked derision twenty years ago, to-day, despite the cost of their vast army, despite their heavy outlay on experiments in aerial and submarine warfare, can vote "without debate" four Dreadnoughts and colossal sums for armaments. Britain, with practically no army, dependent for food on the bounty of the sea, is unable to provide the barest necessities of national defence. Yet when we say Britain we do our country a profound injustice. It is not the British people who are refusing these sheer needs of their Navy, but rather the Parliament of Britain, which represents but faintly or not at all the voice of her thinkers and workers.

March 29th.

Thwarting Europe

The two German Powers, with their 110,000,000 of citizens, their 5,000,000 of armed and organised

men, and their twenty Dreadnoughts or Lord Nelsons building or completing, have shown their ability to impose their will upon Europe, and have for the moment thwarted the Triple Entente by the sheer weight of their armed force.

(Note, the Balkan terms of settlement.)

March 30th.

During the Great Navy Debate, Lord Robert Cecil said: "What does Germany want her Fleet for?"

Can anyone suggest any possible reason for the construction of this gigantic fleet, except that they wish to be in a position to fight this country?

April 16th.

Deeds in this world are far more important than words, and it is the duty of the patriotic British statesman to judge Germany not by her professions, but by her acts, which are menacing enough.

The real truth has been told by a disinterested but friendly foreign critic, the French review, "L'Opinion": "Without the sacrifice of hundreds of millions or a victorious war, British naval supremacy will have ceased to exist in ten years."

May 15th.

The methods of German diplomacy are still the methods of Bismarck. Its principle is that the great questions at issue in the world to-day, one of which is the position of England, are to be settled "not by speeches and the votes of majorities, but with iron and with blood." The Power which has not force at its back to defend its rights will, in time, be brushed or roughly pushed aside.

Lord Rosebery's Grave Words

On June 5th, at the inauguration of the Imperial Press Conference, Lord Rosebery concluded an eloquent oration with an impassioned appeal for greater measures of Imperial Defence.

In memorable and haunting words, Lord Rosebery said: "I do not know that in some ways I have ever seen a condition of things in Europe so remarkable, so peaceful, and in some respects so ominous as the conditions which exist at this moment. There is a hush in Europe, a hush in which you may almost hear a leaf fall to the ground. There is an absolute absence of any question which ordinarily leads to war. All forebode peace, and yet at the same time, combined with this total absence of all questions of conflict, there never was in the history of the world so threatening and overpowering preparation for war. That is a sign which, I confess, I regard as most ominous."

"For forty years it has been a platitude to say that Europe is an armed camp, and for forty years it has been true that all the nations have been facing each

other armed to the teeth, and that has been in some respects the guarantee of peace. Now, without any tangible reason, we see the nations preparing new armaments. They cannot arm any more men on land, so they seek new armaments at sea, piling up these enormous preparations as if for some Armageddon—and yet at a time of profoundest peace. We live in a time of what I think was called 'tacens bellum' (a silent war), in which not a drop of blood is spilt in anger, but in which, however, the last drop is extracted from the body by the lancets of the European statesmen.

"I feel confident in the resolution and power of this country to meet any reasonable conjunction of forces, but when I see the bursting out of navies everywhere and one country alone asking for twenty-five millions of extra taxation for warlike preparations, and the unprecedented sacrifice asked from us on the same ground, I feel uneasy at the outcome of it all and wonder where it will stop, or if it is going to lead back Europe into a state of barbarism.

"We can and we will build Dreadnoughts—or whatever the newest type may be—as long as we have a shilling to spend on them or a man to put into them. All that we can and will do, but I am not sure that even that will be enough, and I think it may be your duty to take back to your young Dominions across the seas this message and this impression: 'That some personal duty and responsibility for National Service rests on every man and citizen. Tell your people—if they can believe it—the deplorable condition into which Europe has descended in militarism, and the pressure which is put upon this little island to defend its liberties—and yours.'"

A Sombre Picture

Commenting on this speech the "Daily Mail" said:

The picture that Lord Rosebery painted in such sombre colours, the menace of European armaments to "this little island," was one that no Englishman, whatever his politics or wherever his home, could contemplate without uneasiness. It has given us to think, and to think seriously.

For the first time in history Britons beyond the seas realise and understand that the menace of the future is no dream of disordered brains—no figment of rival politicians—but a stern and pressing reality.

An Imperial Navy must have its complement in an Imperial Army—a force divided of necessity by the seas that are the only division between the Motherland and her children, but united in spirit and in discipline and training. These two are the essentials of national security. The effect of such speeches as Lord Rosebery's, Sir Edward Grey's, Mr. Balfour's, Mr. Haldane's, and Mr. McKenna's must necessarily be cumulative, whether in the British Empire or outside it. They are calculated to

awake even the heaviest slumberer from his torpor. Their reverberation will be felt throughout the world, and all the more certainly because they come at a moment when it is hinted in Germany that a further great increase in her already "boundless" naval preparations is impending. They must produce action. Let us make no mistake. These speeches will be utilised in Germany as a reason for further accelerations and extensions of the German naval programme and armaments.

The hour is, then, not without anxiety for England and her daughter States. They are strong in their consciousness of right, in their feeling of unflinching devotion to common ideals, in their kinship of race and thought. But, as Mr. Balfour said yesterday, "no courage, no self-devotion, not even the consciousness that we have now what our forefathers had not—we have now behind us the patriotism, the courage, and the spirit of the great self-governing members of the Empire—will be adequate unless we ourselves are prepared." We must prepare with resolute determination to sacrifice every secondary issue to the claims of national defence."

November 27th.

Arming in Silence

The launch of the German Dreadnought *Thuringen* follows immediately on the production of the heaviest naval estimates in German history. The two events afford fresh proof, if any were required, of the energy and persistence with which the German people are creating a gigantic Navy.

The most significant feature of their preparations is the complete silence in which they are being conducted. No protests against the vast expenditure on new Dreadnoughts and submarines are heard in the German Press. No resistance is offered in the Reichstag. In the words of our Berlin correspondent, "the country is prepared and resigned to bear the burden"; Germany is arming in silence.

1909.

Mr. Blatchford's Great Warning—Germany and England

In December, 1909, the "Daily Mail" published the famous series of articles in which Mr. Robert Blatchford, best-known leader of the English Socialists and editor of the "Clarion," warned the people of England of the tremendous menace of Germany.

"I write these articles," said Mr. Blatchford (in the first of the series), "because I believe that Germany is deliberately preparing to destroy the British Empire, and because I know that we are not ready to defend ourselves against a sudden and formidable attack.

"I write from a sense of duty, and from a conviction that the destruction of the British Empire would be a misfortune for Europe and a blow to civilisation throughout the world."

Mr. Blatchford gave a masterly analysis of the German motives for attacking Great Britain, produced a mass of evidences of German hostility, showed the futility of offering Germany either conciliation or compromise, and called for "The Man" among English politicians who should step forward to show his country the only way to salvation. He showed us the task and the cost of the only adequate national defence, and, in a memorable chapter, pointed out that "soldiering or slavery" were our alternative.

Mr. Blatchford's articles created great sensation when published in the "Daily Mail." The verification of their prophecies of the plot of Germany has now made them historic documents. They have been reprinted separately from this book, and are vastly sold as a penny pamphlet.

The Anger of the German Press at Mr. Blatchford's Exposure of German Designs

The "Kreuz Zeitung," principal Conservative organ: "Mr. Blatchford's articles only deserve notice as a symptom of the ill-will of certain English circles toward Germany, and as a warning not to place too much confidence in the change of English opinion toward Germany which we were recently gratified to observe. Mr. Blatchford is a nobody. His stylistic outpourings would amount to nothing if they did not appear in the 'Daily Mail.' They become important political documents the moment a great political party identifies itself with them.

"There is a strong suspicion that the articles were ordered by the Unionist Party from a Socialist so as to counteract the effect of the Liberalist fusion. Germanophobia and preparations for war against Germany thereby become an essential part of the programme with which the Unionists hope to attain power, and which must be carried out if they win."

The semi-official "Cologne Gazette": "The 'Daily Mail' has placed its columns at the disposal of Mr. Blatchford in order to cause an uproar the eve of the election. If the Germans ask what the talk about the plans of the German war party means, the answer is that it belongs to the election campaign. Mr. Blatchford's main purpose is to advocate universal military service. In the presence of the deeply disaffected spirit prevailing among the officers of the English Army over Mr. Haldane's Territorial scheme it is altogether possible that the articles will exercise a main influence."

The "Taegliche Rundschau" (Conservative):

"Mr. Blatchford, the ex-brushmaker, continues to make himself ridiculous in a dangerous way. Together with the announcement of his articles, the 'Daily Mail,' in order to get more advertisement for itself and for its social-military fatherland-saviour, publishes a lengthy interview with him and a description of his worthy person."

The "Berliner Mittag Zeitung": "Mr. Blatchford is proceeding with his silly 'revelations' over the terrible danger confronting England with the aid of the stalest Pan-German fairy tales."

"Maniacal Phantasies"

The "Berliner Tageblatt": "The first of Mr. Blatchford's articles is exactly as maniacal as the phantasies of a Simon Pure or a political dilettante. The article is convincing evidence that ignorance is the mother of cheek. What Mr. Blatchford says about the plans of present-day Germans is so incredibly nonsensical that one must doubt his thinking capacity, and feel indignation with the 'Daily Mail' for deliberately opening its columns to such idiotic mischief-making."

The "Neue Hamburger Zeitung": "Mr. Blatchford's article is nonsense. It is reckless German baiting, which reveals the great self-over-estimation of the writer."

Mr. Blatchford's articles became the chief subject of talk in Berlin social and military circles. Not only the metropolitan Press of Berlin, but the great provincial dailies throughout the Empire, reproduced and discussed the articles. "In a long experience of observing the German newspapers," said the "Daily Mail" Berlin correspondent, "I do not recall a foreign journalistic event which has so focussed the attention of the German Press and public, with the single exception of the Kaiser interview in the 'Daily Telegraph.'"

This correspondent proceeded with the significant comment that the "Vorwaerts," the official organ of German Socialism, disavowed Mr. Blatchford as fully as other German papers. "German Social Democrats," he remarked, "when all is said and done, are genuine patriots. The only explanation of their official organ's abuse of Mr. Blatchford is that his exposure of the German war party's ambitions is unpalatable."

The Vorwaerts: "Mr. Blatchford, the editor of the 'Clarion,' is publishing in the 'Daily Mail' a sort of story of his trip through Germany, in which all kinds of fantastic tales of Germany's world-conquest plans are related. The articles must arouse the impression that the author has suffered acute disturbance of the brain by plodding through reams of Pan-German twaddle. It can only be that the 'Daily Mail' opens its columns to such nonsense because Mr. Blatchford's advocacy of stronger naval and military armaments naturally helps the Conservatives' election demagoguery."

"A Chauvinist Chatterbox"

The "Volks Zeitung" of Cologne, chief organ of the powerful Catholic Party:

"A certain Blatchford, whom German newspapers recently took more seriously than he deserved, asks in the 'Daily Mail,' 'What about Germany?' What kind of autocratic regime does the man think exists in Germany? Blatchford is a Chauvinist chatterbox."

The "Taegliche Rundschau" (the most implacable Pan-German organ in Berlin) spoke of Mr. Blatchford's articles as "The Blatchford swindle."

"We shall not try the patience of our readers," said the "Rundschau," in a sentence of characteristic German pithiness, "with further extracts from Blatchford's effusions, unless he makes some new record in the realm of nonsense and deranged judgment, and thereby furnishes documentary evidence, not only of the state of mind of the former brushmaker, but also, and that would be more important, of the mental condition of the English reading public to which one dares to offer such stuff."

On the conclusion of Mr. Blatchford's memorable series of articles, the "Daily Mail" printed a leading article which, in view of its significant forecasts, is here reprinted in full:

December 23rd.

THE WARNING

We publish to-day the last of a series of articles by Mr. Robert Blatchford, dealing with the most vital question of our time—the relations of England and Germany. Mr. Blatchford is the master of a terse and trenchant style which could scarcely be bettered for the purpose of popular exposition, and he is amply equipped with special knowledge. On behalf of the "Daily Mail," he accompanied the German Army in its manœuvres of last autumn, and he is familiar with our Army and our Fleet. His letters and telegrams during the German manœuvres will be fresh in the minds of all. There was in them nothing but admiration for Germany and the Germans. He praised warmly German discipline and German organisation. What he saw and heard in Germany made a deep impression on his mind. Some weeks after his return to England, after reflecting on the facts, he found that he had a warning to convey to his countrymen which his conscience and sense of duty would not permit him to suppress. Believing this country to be in danger—and in grave danger—he wrote these articles with a sincerity and conviction that must go home to all. He wrote them, alarmed at the contrast between the indifference, disorganisation, and lack of

preparation in this country, and the energy, organisation, and disciplined effort that characterise Germany. He offered them spontaneously to the "Daily Mail," knowing that through our columns they would make a wide and deep appeal. In our judgment he has rendered a great public service by his action, which has been taken with a fine courage and a total disregard of self.

Full Responsibility

After the most careful consideration we decided to publish these articles, accepting for them the fullest responsibility. We undertook that responsibility as a public duty. *Our desire is to avert war. A great conflict can be prevented if people in this country will realise the true position before it is too late. Peace can be preserved if the nation is prepared to take the necessary measures and to make the necessary sacrifices in time. It can be preserved in no other way,* and it was to drive this fact into the public mind that Mr. Blatchford wrote these articles. Nothing that has appeared in the "Daily Mail" in recent years has attracted more attention, has aroused more discussion, or has been followed by our readers with closer interest. And at almost every Radical meeting his articles have been denounced in unmeasured terms, though they simply stated facts. It has been said that they have been published to influence the elections. Now, it is quite true that they ought to influence the elections, and to be in the mind of every elector when he gives his vote next month. But the fact that they are likely to influence the popular decision at the polls can only point to a neglect by Ministers of national defence. Ministers would have nothing to fear if they had not reduced the British Navy and replied to Germany's immense naval preparations with half-measures or something worse. They would have nothing to fear if they had taken steps to provide that military force which, as Mr. Blatchford has shown, is required to preserve France from attack. "The problem of British defence," he has truly said, "is the defence of France." The strongest navy conceivable cannot defend her or aid her if she is assailed. And if she is defeated, "the downfall of France is the downfall of the British Empire." What steps are we taking to give her the aid that at any moment she may need? None. Half a million, perhaps even 300,000 British troops, would turn the scale. We have not got them; we cannot have them without universal service.

Germany's Sacrifices

Never have these vital truths been pressed with such vigour and directness. There is not

a man in this country but knows in his heart that they are true. And because the English people are neglecting, not only the menace at sea, but also this menace on land, they are incurring grave peril. We need use no hard words of Germany. Her rulers and her people have set themselves down with infinite labour and enormous sacrifices to fulfil their destiny. If we shrink from counter-preparations, war is a matter, at the most, of a few years; and we can only prevent war by displaying corresponding energy and patriotism, and making similar sacrifices. We know the goal of German aims.

"The trident must be in our fist," the Kaiser has said. The German Navy Act of 1900 avows the fixed policy of constructing a German fleet "of such strength that, even for the greatest naval power, a war with Germany would involve risks so grave as to imperil its own supremacy." That policy is being remorselessly pursued, without haste, without rest. "Germany's future lies upon the waters." There, again, in the Kaiser's words is the secret of antagonism—an antagonism as inevitable as the processes of Nature—which only commanding strength on our part can hold in check. Weakness will merely invite and precipitate a catastrophe. In Mr. Blatchford's words—words which surely should ring like a trumpet-call in the heart of even the most heedless and indifferent—"Empire is in danger; and

we are unready." He has warned his countrymen. With them it now rests calmly and bravely to face the peril as it should be faced—by instant action, by deeds, not by talk.

The German "No"

Almost immediately after the publication of Mr. Blatchford's warnings, Germany's determination not to enter into a naval understanding with Great Britain was once more formally reaffirmed through a semi-official communication to the "Cologne Gazette." It was called forth by a statement circulated by a Berlin news agency, and given in certain London newspapers (not in the "Daily Mail"), that "an Anglo-German naval understanding was already in existence," and that "the development of the German Fleet according to the existing naval law is not to be carried out."

The "Cologne Gazette's" reply was as follows: "It is not clear on what the news agency bases its contention that an Anglo-German naval understanding has been arrived at. There is certainly a desire to bring about better relations with England, but up to the present hour it has not led to an understanding on the so-called naval question.

"It is entirely incorrect that Germany intends to depart from her naval programme as laid down by law."

1910

January 1st.

THE NEW YEAR

Never was there an hour when it was more necessary to be up and doing for England's sake. The competition between the nations grows ever fiercer. Our industrial and naval supremacy are being challenged as never before in our history. New perils have arisen. Only last year we drew attention on this very day to the grave problem presented by the rapid rise of German sea-power in the north of Europe. We reminded Englishmen that they must exert themselves to the utmost if the heritage of Nelson was not to slip from their grasp. Yet, have the good resolutions of last January been kept? Nothing has passed except twelve precious months, in which this country has made no determined effort to recover its position.

The Danger of Optimism

In Lord Curzon's words, we have an Empire to keep safe. We have a race to keep pure. We have a character to maintain. If we are to achieve these aims we must show unexampled energy and unmatched capacity for strenuous action and self-sacrifice. *Fine words will avail us nothing. There must be deeds. And the deeds must be done without delay. We cannot believe that the British race which bravely confronted and overcame perils as great in the past has lost its old vigour and tenacity. Its real danger lies in its very optimism and confidence. But there is not a moment to lose. We must work if the Empire is to be preserved—work as we have never worked before—and prepare for colossal sacrifices. No time of "sheltered fatness and ease" lies before us in this New Year.*

Throughout January and February this warning was followed up by a further series of naval articles.

January 5th.

To-day—and To-morrow

Ministers have, as Mr. Blatchford has pointed out, to meet not only the German Fleet of to-day, but also the vastly increased and strengthened German Fleet of to-morrow. Sir Edward Grey has admitted that the entire British Fleet will have to be reconstructed. Are the Government reconstructing it? The answer is that they are not. They are barely marking time as against Germany. They are spending this year on new ships less than Germany. Protestations and promises we have had in abundance from them in the past. But to-day the nation wants not words, but action. Its naval power is slowly but surely slipping from its grasp. Vast

expenditure is needed if the "unassailable superiority of the British Navy" is to be maintained. But Ministers continue obstinately upon their course of sacrificing sea-power to Socialism. They must be pressed on these matters more vigorously than ever. They must give unmistakable pledges, and if they do not, then only one conclusion is possible. In the words of the "National Review," the country will have to decide "whether we are to vote down British security, to vote up German triumph in trade and arms."

January 7th.

At Our Very Doors

A vast navy is growing up at our very doors, across the North Sea. Programme has succeeded programme in Germany, each increasing the number of the Kaiser's Dreadnoughts and destroyers. Threats have even been made by Germans, as Mr. Balfour reminded the nation at Hanley, that the adoption of Tariff Reform by this country will not be permitted. Simultaneously, warnings of imminent danger are reaching us from neutral States. It is impossible to exaggerate the gravity and significance of Mr. Balfour's words:

"Consult the statesmen and diplomatists of the lesser Powers, and I am perfectly confident that you will find among them an absolute unanimity of opinion that a struggle sooner or later between this country and Germany is inevitable."

The same warnings reached France on the eve of 1870—from Queen Sophia of Holland, from the King of Italy, and from the Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt. They were disregarded and ridiculed. The world knows the result.

Concluding an indictment of the Liberal Ministry for procrastinatory and dilatory naval policy, the article concluded:

A weak Navy means war. And it means more—it means unsuccessful war.

January 10th.

Our friends on the Continent are full of anxiety and fear. The French "Temps" warns us to arm if we would not have war forced upon Europe. German intentions are indicated by Herr Harden's threats: "If you will not become the accomplices of Germany in the partition of the Continent," he says to the British people, "Germany will mobilise her forces against you; and it is at your expense,

at the price of a long and cruel war, that she will aggrandise herself. You can choose."

January 12th.

Your Fate In Your Hands

The people of England must take thought for the morrow—must make sacrifices for the morrow, and they must do so now. "No nation," Mr. Austen Chamberlain has said, "which is not willing to make sacrifices for its national strength and its national life is worthy of living, or will continue to hold a front rank among the peoples of the world." Are the people of England ready to answer in the right way? We believe that they are. They have responded before in a noble manner to the call of duty. Duty calls them to-day. The weakness lies not with the masses, but with leaders who have been unfaithful to their trust. Decay never begins in the humbler ranks of a race. It shows itself first at the top—in blindness to the real issues, in illusions, in wild theories held in defiance of fact, in weakness of will, and in that fatal irresolution which in the hour of action palsies the statesman's hands and brings destruction on his State.

It is time the British people aroused themselves. The hours are ebbing fast away. British voters have to show that they are worthy of the freedom which they have inherited, and jealous of the great name and heroic traditions of their country. Yet there is, as we have said, every reason for confidence and hope. We have a just cause in which we profoundly believe. It is the cause of every British man, woman, and child. It is to save their work and wages that we are fighting, with infinite compassion for those who are being so cruelly deluded into forsaking the national cause. It is to save them from themselves and from the consequences of any act of blindness that we must redouble all our efforts. We have the faith which can overcome all things. We know that we are in the right.

Everything that can appeal to a man is at stake—the preservation of the Empire, the unity of the country in which we live, the liberty of its people, its immemorial institutions, its independence and existence as a State. Where the odds are against us, work, hard and incessant, may yet change the fortune of the day. No means of action should be neglected. The man who is a laggard now is untrue to his country. And through our hearts should

run the passionate resolve with which, in a crisis not less tremendous than is upon us now, one of the grandest of English poets declared that never the stream of British freedom and greatness

"In bogs and sands
Should perish, and to evil and to good
Be lost for ever."

England's Fleet is in her people's hands. And in her Fleet her Fate.

January 13th.

The General Election—An Impassioned Appeal

Extracts from letter sent to "The Times" by Sir Henry Brackenbury, and reprinted in the "Daily Mail":

"I am convinced that there is an irresistible force driving Germany on, and which will continue to drive her on, till England has to accept one of two alternatives—humiliation or war.

"We are not likely to strike at Germany, and nothing is more certain than that Germany will choose her own time for using her battle fleet and her army. How she will begin, where she will begin, we know not. Only one thing we may be sure of—there will be no warning. The days of 'declaration of war' before hostilities are dead and buried. And when, in one way or other, a pistol is pointed at our head, we must either give in or fight.

"Soldier though I am, I am, first of all, for an all-powerful Navy. But I cannot bring myself to believe that we are justified in trusting only to our Navy. . . . If our Navy be defeated or so crippled that it cannot keep the sea clear, we may have to deal with invasion by the finest army in Europe. I do not doubt the spirit that actuates the officers and men of the Territorial Army, but I say, with Lord Roberts and Colonel Lonsdale Hale, that it is, through no fault of its own, utterly unfit for the part that would be imposed upon it, and I hold that it would be little short of murder to put those untrained men and uneducated, inexperienced officers into the field against the skilled army of Germany.

"I know there are many Gallios who care for none of these things. I know that the attitude of many—even leading statesmen—is that which Sydney Smith put into the mouth of Peter Plymley nearly a century ago: 'You cannot imagine, you say, that England will ever be invaded and conquered, and for no earthly reason that I can see than because it is so very odd that she should ever be invaded and con-

quered.' *But, sir, I was present in France throughout the war of 1870-71; I saw what it means for a country to be invaded even by so humane and well disciplined an army as that of Germany, and when I think of those ruined homes, those widows and orphans, those hundreds of thousands of wretched prisoners, that mass of human suffering, I cannot but raise my feeble voice and implore my countrymen to take steps in time to avoid such misery, such bitter humiliation as I then saw—misery and humiliation which far outweigh even two hundred million sterling which had to be paid by France, and which, in our case, would infinitely outweigh the thousand millions indemnity which would have to be paid by defeated England, in addition to the loss of Fleet and Colonies."*

The "World Power"

On February 16th the "Daily Mail" reported an appeal for a powerful navy, delivered in Munich, by Grand-Admiral von Koester, President of the Navy League. The special significance of the speech was that it was designed to revive the flagging South German enthusiasm for the Fleet.

The Admiral, after alleging that the full carrying out of the naval programme was required to protect Germany against nations which viewed her economic success with jealous eyes, proceeded to review the world trade of Germany, which had more than doubled in twenty years, and contended that it could only flourish by honourable continuance of the burden of armaments by land and sea.

"It is said," he urged, "that Germany cannot bear the burden of double armaments by land and sea. The steady increase of our population compels us to set ourselves new goals, and to grow from a Continental into a World Power."

The readiness of Germany to expand her fleet, regardless of expense, was once more illustrated when, a few days afterwards, the Budget Committee of the Reichstag passed without debate the Admiralty estimates for the current year.

England's Leeway

On March 9th the "Daily Mail" returned to the subject of air power (relevant to Mr. Haldane's announcement that a new corps was to be formed in the British Army devoted solely to aeronautics) and, while reviewing the present development of British aircraft, concluded:

It should never be forgotten that England has much leeway to make up before she can hope to hold her own in the air. Whereas Germany has nine large airships of extended radius actually in service, and another six or eight in progress, England has not one ready

capable of long flights. We, who led the world in the introduction of the railway and the steamship, are following others. This is not a satisfactory position.

March 17th.

The Future of Naval War and Its Moral

In this ceaseless advance of the mechanical, man remains the same. His nerves do not become harder. The strain upon them grows. Already it is exhausting in peace, and, save for exceptional natures, overwhelming in time of war. "Gun-shyness" is a malady not unknown when nothing more dangerous is proceeding than target practice. What the conditions of action are like we can see from the narratives of Russian officers in the defeated fleet at Tsushima. Amid the thunder of the firing, the concussion of the bursting shells, the intense heat and smoke, men were almost paralysed by something more terrible than fear. Yet the ordeal through which they passed was much lighter than that of the future battle. There was no engine of destruction afloat in the Japanese fleet to compare with the Dreadnought. The French experiments on the hull of the *Lena* have shown how fearful are the effects of the latest projectiles fired from the modern heavy guns. Armoured casements struck by the big 12-in. shell remained red-hot for an hour after the shot. All within them must have perished had there been human beings stationed inside. The concussion of the explosions shattered the communications within the ship, even when these were remote from the part hit. Telephones and electric-power cables broke down. It is even said that animals confined below went mad from fear.

It is true that if one side in the naval battle of to-morrow rapidly obtains the upper hand it will only suffer in a very minor degree. As Admiral Bacon remarked yesterday, the moral of the winner will improve if he hits and his enemy misses. Again the narratives of Russian officers illustrate this point. They tell us how their spirits sank when they looked from the smoking wrecks in which they stood, battered and shattered by the continual impact of the Japanese shells, at the long line of Japanese warships manoeuvring in perfect order, intact, with never a fire on board, showing no trace of harm, but vomiting death and destruction. *And it is in order that our seamen may be certain to obtain and keep the upper hand should war unhappily come that we plead for an overwhelming British Fleet. It is only charitable to suppose that the opponents of a strong British Fleet are ignorant of the real horror of modern war. For did they understand that a weak British Fleet, if it wins at all, can only win at the cost of fearful sacrifices of British life, they would surely abate the clamour. With a strong British Fleet not only is victory rendered reasonably certain*

If war should come, but also the coming of war prevented. No one will attack when the odds against him are two to one, for, as Clausewitz, the great master of war, wrote eighty years ago, that spells certain defeat.

April 6th.

German Naval League—Record of Its Vast Annual Activities

The annual report of the German Navy League for the past year is given prominence in the "North German Gazette."

The League at the end of 1909 numbered the proud and unprecedented total of 1,031,339 members, a gain of 24,000 during the year, while the cash in hand amounted to £16,750. "Die Flotte," the official organ of the League, has a rapid circulation of 345,000, which is considerably larger than that enjoyed by any daily newspaper in Germany. During the year the League conducted a great excursion of 300 school teachers, recruited from the interior of the country, to the sea coast, sending them home enthusiastic believers in Germany's future upon the waters.

March 17th.

The Power of the Flying Machine

The "Daily Mail" published an interview with Admiral of the Fleet Sir Edward Seymour. Commenting on the views of the admiral, it remarked:

The flying machine, indeed, offers almost unique facilities for the observation of an enemy. It can be utilised in a wind when the dirigible would be almost helpless. It offers an insignificant target. It moves with such speed that no gun or rifle at present designed could be trusted to hit it. Only a lucky shot could put it out of action. The special motor artillery which is being tested in Germany for work against dirigibles would be quite unable to follow it. It is relatively inexpensive. All these features mark it out as a military engine indispensable to the well-equipped army and navy. Yet, at the same time, Sir Edward does not underrate the dirigible airship. He believes that a fleet of such airships as Germany now possesses "might in an afternoon work an enemy infinite harm." *It could not attack ships at sea, but it could shower explosives on dock-yards.* This is a danger from which only a strong British squadron of airships can guard us. But the odds are at present heavily against Britain. To twenty-four dirigibles, built or building, in Germany we can oppose only six, two of which are still in foreign hands and only one of which is ready for service.

We need, then, to "wake up." Nor can we afford to neglect the Navy in our efforts to gain a satisfactory position in the air. To those

who ask why England needs a two-keels-to-one standard, Sir Edward's remarks on the risk of surprise supply an effective answer. He points out that an unexpected attack "is now a constant nightmare," and that war may come with little or no notice. *Both the great struggles of modern times opened almost without warning. In 1870 France reduced her army, and the British Foreign Secretary pronounced the diplomatic sky clear on the very eve of the conflict with Germany. And in 1904 the Japanese blow fell at Port Arthur before the Russian Admiralty could concentrate its fleet. The true way to prevent war is always to be ready for it in overwhelming strength.*

May 27th.

A Frank German Opinion

The "Deutsche Zeitung" (pan-German): "We regard the constant emphasising of our love of peace to the French as the most improper of practical politics. Such outbursts of Imperial knightliness, moreover, embarrass our official policy. He is the most perfidious enemy of the German nation and Empire who now tries to persuade the Emperor that he must, after the death of King Edward, take over the rôle of the European peacemaker."

July 4th.

BRITAIN AND THE GERMAN NAVY

Extracts from an important article by Admiral A. T. Mahan, U.S.N.:

"The huge development of the German Navy within the past decade, and the assurance that the present rate of expenditure—over £20,000,000 annually—will be maintained for several years to come, is a matter of general international importance. Elsewhere, and in another connection, I have had occasion to point out, in the American Press, that the question immediately raised is not what Germany means to do with this force, which already is second only to that of Great Britain, and for which is contemplated a further large expansion. The real subject for the reflection of every person, statesman or private, patriotically interested in his country's future is the simple existence present, and still more prospective, of a new international factor, to be reckoned with in all calculations where oppositions of national interests may arise.

"From this point of view it is not particularly interesting to inquire whether Germany has any far-reaching purposes of invading Great Britain or of dismembering her Empire.

"The people of Great Britain should not depend upon apprehension of Germany's intentions to attack in order to appraise their naval necessities and awaken their determination. Resolutions based

upon such artificial stimulus are much like the excitement of drink, liable to excess in demonstration, as well as to misdirection and ultimate collapse in energy, as momentary panic is succeeded by reaction. Unemotional, business-like recognition of facts, in their due proportions, benefits national policies, to be followed by well-weighed measures corresponding to the exigency of the discernible future.

Face to Face

" . . . This is the fundamental condition which the British democracy of to-day has to recognise as regards their national security, upon which their economic future—their food, clothing, and housing—depends: that they stand face to face with a nation one-fourth more numerous than themselves, and one more highly organised for the sustainment by force of a Government more efficient in the ordering of national life, in that it can be, and is, more consecutive in purpose, than one balanced unsteadily upon the shoulders of a shifting popular majority.

. . . What reason is there in the nature of things that the British democracy should not maintain an army proportionally as great as that of Germany? None, except that the British democracy will not. The national wealth is vastly greater; but notwithstanding this, which indicates not only a certain greater power but a much greater stake, the national will so to prepare does not exist. Many distinguished Englishmen advocate measures tending to this result—to the nation in arms; but I doubt if anyone outside of Great Britain expects to see it.

. . . It is entirely true that for the moment the naval concentration at home, coupled with the tremendous positional advantage of Great Britain over German trade routes, constitutes a great measure of security; and further, that the British waters, occupied as they now are, do effectually interpose between Germany and the British overseas Dominions. *The menacing feature in the future is the apparent indisposition and slackness of the new voters of the last half-century, over against the resolute spirit and tremendous faculty for organising strength in Germany.*"

July 6th.

Once More The Question

Once more we put to our countrymen the great question of Torrington: "Will they be afraid now while the danger may be remedied, or be afraid here after when it is past remedy and effort comes too late?" On their answer to that question hang the fate and future of the United Kingdom and the Empire.

July 7th.

The Call for a Naval Loan

Behind the British Navy is an Army which hardly counts in the modern European scale. Behind the

German Navy and its allies are armed and organised nations who reckon their land forces by the million. It follows that if the German Navy were defeated and totally destroyed to-morrow Germany would still be secure against invasion. But if her fleet defeated the British, then the United Kingdom would lie open to attack at its very heart. The fall of the Empire must inexorably follow, amid scenes of misery and starvation never equalled in human history. Where the stakes are so uneven foresight urges us to make our naval position secure and to shrink from no sacrifice.

The man who opposes in time of peace suitable preparations for war is as unpatriotic and detrimental to the nation as he who shirks his duty or deserts his post in battle. And we might go beyond this. The Englishman who, in the face of such warnings from Admiral Mahan and Sir Edward Grey, does not use all his personal efforts to strengthen the fleet and to persuade the Government to take the measures required, has failed both in patriotism and in duty. If a practical result at which to aim is required, it lies in a loan to re-establish beyond question Britain's naval supremacy, to supplement the Navy Estimates, to provide the North Sea bases which our fleets must have, and to give the nation that security which past parsimony has imperilled. If the British people cannot concentrate its attention on this demand, let it not marvel at the folly of the Byzantines, who fought among themselves as to the sex of angels what time the Turks were storming their walls.

July 13th.

Friends of Every Country but Their Own

In the light of Admiral Mahan's solemn warning, which should have filled even the most careless with anxiety for the future of England and her sea power, it might be supposed that all sections of opinion would combine in demanding from the Government measures inadequate to meet the naval danger. Tragically different is the actual situation. To-day the Little Navy Party, with an ignorance and self-sufficiency that would inspire only ridicule were not the possible consequences of their folly so menacing to our country, meet to consider and arrange a raid upon the shipbuilding vote which comes before the House of Commons to-morrow. Mr. W. P. Byles would cut it down by five millions.

We do not know what special knowledge of naval affairs this gentleman possesses that he ventures to set up his opinion in opposition to those of Admiral Mahan and the Admiralty experts. But to bring home to the nation the enormity of the mischief proposed, we have only to point out that even if two millions were subtracted from the shipbuilding vote not one single new British warship could be laid down this year. The British Fleet in

the near future would be placed by such action in a position of such weakness that either a disastrous war or an ignominious surrender could be forced upon our country by its rivals. Is it the wish of the Little Navy party that Britain should become, in Sir Edward Grey's grave words, "the conscript appendage of some stronger Power"? Yet if this is not their wish, their action can only be described as inconsequent or insane. They must know that the strength of the Navy in the future depends upon what is spent on building ships to-day. If foreign Powers continue to lay down new Dreadnoughts and destroyers, while Britain builds none, inexorably the hour must come when the British Fleet will be outmatched.

These sentimentalists are the worst foes of their country. Their appearance is the "sign of dry-rot in a nation which, because it once was militant, has become rich and great." They are directly responsible for the very existence of the evil which they profess to deplore. *The House of Commons and the nation should never forget that they induced the British Government to relax its efforts in 1907 and 1908.* What was the consequence? That Germany instantly increased her programme and her naval expenditure. The pacifist specific has thus been tried, and has miserably failed. After this bitter lesson, to try it once more, when the balance of naval power is so precariously adjusted as at the present moment, would be national suicide.

July 15th.

THE SUICIDE CLUB

The debate on the shipbuilding vote in the House of Commons was marked by the usual exhibition from the Little Navy party. They lamented with sobs and tears the wickedness of Britain in taking steps to protect herself against armed attack. If they would convert the world to their ideas, the proper course would be for them to start by converting Germany. After all, even they must know that thrice within the last five years Germany has threatened war in Europe. The first occasion was in 1905, when the famous Delcassé incident occurred. The second occasion was in 1908, at Casa Blanca. The third was only last year, when the German Government sent its ultimatum to Russia. "War was averted" in each case, but only because the Power threatened gave way; and Admiral Mahan has already pointed out that such surrenders are the equivalent of defeat in battle. . . .

"Of all advisers, the sentimentalists are the most dangerous," said the late Lord Carnarvon, "because they ignore human nature and the laws of the universe. They imagine that wars may be eliminated by talk before international courts, that precautions may be safely neglected in the face of the lessons of history, and that weakness is itself a virtue."

The German programme continues to advance without rest. Across the North Sea a great fleet is being erected with feverish energy, and at the same time docks, fortifications, and harbours in strategic positions are being provided on the most colossal scale. Whereas British expenditure on the Navy is actually less in the present year than in 1904, German expenditure has much more than doubled. The Little Navy party beg the Government to rely on a German assurance, which Sir Edward Grey expressly stated not to be binding, that only thirteen German Dreadnoughts would be completed in early 1912. That is their second card. Yet thinking men who have studied history know that diplomatic assurances are frequently misleading. Did not the Prussian Chargé d'Affairs tell the French Ambassador at Berlin, in 1870, that the Prussian Government know nothing of the Hohenzollern candidature, and, further, give his "word of honour"? Yet the Prussian Government did know, and had arranged the whole affair to provoke France to war. The safety of the British Empire can never be staked on such assurances. Our one guarantee of peace and of national independence is the strong arm of our Fleet.

The sooner the pacifists recognise that nothing is gained and infinite mischief is caused by these annual attempts to weaken the British Navy, the better it will be for the cause of peace. The whimpering entreaties to Germany to cease building Dreadnoughts are unworthy of men, and cover England with ridicule in the eyes of the world. Germany has a perfect right to construct as many Dreadnoughts as she likes, but the British people should show their resolute determination to lay down two for each one that she begins. It is to no era of settled peace that Europe is marching. "The rivalries and enmities of European States have become more intense than ever before," says a perfectly dispassionate American observer. "They will not be dissolved by kind words and noble sentiments." *While we yet have time let us prepare to meet the peril, remembering that any weakening of the British Navy brings nearer the spectre of war and the horrors of defeat. Let us go forward like men to fulfil our destiny.*

Note.—In response to innumerable requests the "Daily Mail" reprinted Admiral Mahan's warning in pamphlet form.

This was the Division List of the Little Navy party:

Abraham, William (Dublin Harbour)
Baker, Joseph A. (Finsbury, E.)
Barnes, G. N.
Boland, John Pius
Bowerman, C. W.
Brady, P. J.
Brunner, J. F. L.
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas

Byles, William Pollard
 Cameron, Robert
 Channing, Sir Francis Allston
 Clough, William
 Clynes, J. R.
 Condon, Thomas Joseph
 Cullinan, J.
 Dillon, John
 Doris, W.
 Ellis, Rt. Hon. John Edward
 Fenwick, Charles
 Flavin, Michael Joseph
 Glanville, H. J.
 Glover, Thomas
 Gwynn, Stephen Lucius (Galway)
 Hackett, J.
 Hancock, J. G.
 Hardie, J. Keir (Merthyr Tydvil)
 Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
 Harvey, T. E. (Leeds, W.)
 Harvey, W. E. (Derbyshire, N.E.)
 Hazelton, Richard
 Hodge, John
 Hogan, Michael
 Holt, Richard Durning
 Hudson, Walter
 Jowett, F. W.
 Joyce, Michael
 Keating, M.
 Kelly, Edward
 Law, Hugh A. (Donegal, W.)
 Lough, Rt. Hon. Thomas
 Luttrell, Hugh Fownes
 Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
 MacVeagh, Jeremiah
 McCallum, John M.
 Meagher, Michael
 Meehan, Francis E. (Leitrim, N.)
 Molloy, M.
 Mooney, J. J.
 Nolan, Joseph
 O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
 O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
 O'Dowd, John
 O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N.)
 O'Malley, William
 Parker, James (Halifax)
 Pointer, Joseph
 Ponsonby, Arthur A. W. H.
 Power, Patrick Joseph
 Reddy, Michael
 Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
 Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
 Rowntree, Arnold
 Scanlan, Thomas
 Scott, A. H. (Ashton-under-Lyne)
 Seddon, J.
 Shackleton, David James
 Snowden, P.

Twist, Henry
 Walsh, Stephen
 Watt, Henry A.

July 26th.

A Plain German Threat

Germany's determination to outmatch Britain in the gun-power in her battleships was proclaimed in a defiant article in the "Berliner Neueste Nachrichten." Special significance attached to the statements of this article, because the "Nachrichten" is controlled by Krupp's, and other interests identified with the exploitation of the German Navy.

"The British Liberal Press is again agitating for a naval understanding—and not without reason—for England knows that in 1914 the entire German High Sea Fleet will consist of Dreadnoughts and Dreadnought cruisers. We base this statement on the figures contained in the semi-official German Marine 'Rundschau.'

"England also knows that only five of these Dreadnoughts (the Nassau class and the Von der Tann) mount 11 in. guns. Neither the increase of the calibre of the heavy guns to 12 in. in our improved Nassaus nor the superior disposition of their guns, as compared with those of the British Hercules class, has been greeted with joy in England.

"England knows, but says nothing about the fact, that Krupp's have for two years been studying exhaustively the construction of guns of still heavier calibre than the 12 in. weapon. That is why people in England are blowing the disarmament horn so vigorously, of course, only for the edification of Germany—because it would be too distressing for England if the number of German ships, armed with guns which should possess a long life, should constantly increase, while England is still struggling with the problem of increasing the life of her heavy guns, without making any special progress.

"Therefore it is that we have this urgent warning to disarm; therefore it is that we have the British threat to introduce a type of battleship of which the world has never heard before. All this talk leaves us cold. There cannot be any further surprises in battleship types.

"The English 13.5 in. gun does not frighten us. We shall in all probability meet that weapon with a 14 in. gun, and that, too, twice as long-lived as the British weapon."

July 29th.

Further Cause for a Naval Loan

"... It was with their large-calibre guns that the Japanese demolished our ships," Admiral Rojdestvensky reported after his terrible ordeal of fire and blood at Tsushima. In the large calibre armament of its new ships the German Admiralty has

quietly gained a superiority while the British Government have been talking of "maintaining our unassailable supremacy at sea." Surely the first act of an earnest and serious Ministry would be to remove this weakness at whatever cost. Thinking men cannot forget that the French War Minister, Marshal Niel, ignored warnings on the eve of the war in 1870 as to the superiority of the German over the French artillery. He refused to believe or acknowledge facts. He refused to take adequate steps to meet the danger. The consequence of his folly and blindness was the defeat of France.

It is agreed by all who have seriously studied the naval position that the only means of safety of our country is forthwith to float a Naval Loan, and with it to finance a two-keel-to-one programme, fixed for a term of years. On that head all that Mr. McKenna had to say was this: "As the maintenance of the supremacy of our Fleet must be regarded as a permanent feature in our national policy, I do not think that any such temporary expedients as loans constitute the best means of giving effect to it." But there are two alternatives, and only two, if we want to be secure at sea. The first is to raise the money required for the naval programme by taxation. The Government are not doing this, because they have accumulated vast liabilities by their "economies" in past years—liabilities not only in Dreadnoughts, but in all directions, which are exposed in a telling article in the new issue of the "National Review." The second is a naval loan.

NORTH SEA SECRETS

Mr. William Maxwell, Special Correspondent of the "Daily Mail," contributed in August and September a remarkable series of articles based on personal investigation of the naval and military preparations of Germany on her North Sea shores, and the secrets she was hiding behind the mask of the Frisian Islands.

How disconcerting were these revelations to Germany was evinced by the storm of virulence into which the German Press broke against both Mr. Maxwell and the "Daily Mail." The militarist and Anglophobe "Rundschau," unable to overthrow Mr. Maxwell's conclusions by any correction of facts, stigmatised them (with typical Teuton cumbrousness) as "excessively grotesque monstrosities."

But the protestations of the "Rundschau," and other indignant inspired journals, were discounted by the candour of the "Mecklenburg Warte":

"Under William II. a magnificent system of coast defence has sprung up. With amazement and dread the English see its culmination yearly drawing nearer.

"By means of the chain of fortifications which reaches from Borkum to Heligoland, and which will certainly some day be extended to Sylt (an island

some forty miles N.N.E. of Heligoland), the German Fleet is assured of so wide a manœuvre area that at pleasure it can disappear under cover and reappear a hundred and fifty kilometres (ninety-four miles) away. The enemy is therefore compelled to concentrate her forces, instead of scattering them, as she would prefer, to blockade all our river mouths. Our torpedo-boats have, however, a safe route to their sallyport Borkum, whence they can appear in six hours on the English coast.

"The whole system, which is entirely due to William II.'s initiative, doubles the strength of our fleet. To make a breach in these fortifications, or even to establish a possibility of making an attempt to do so—this is the idea at which the English clutch ever more despairingly.

"It is not now sufficient to receive casual reports. Highly paid agents and their officers now devote their lives and risk an end in a German prison in order to make expert surveys of the newly erected fortifications.

"Twenty years ago the English War Office paid grudgingly in guineas for German information. For the knowledge of what has been done under William II. they would willingly pay millions of pounds."

August 29th.

THE SECRET OF BORKUM

The arrest of two Englishmen, Messrs. Brandon and Trench, on suspicion of espionage in the Island of Borkum must be regarded as an open confession of German activity in naval and military works of strategic importance on the North Sea.

It will be remembered that some months ago Baron Heeckeren, who was formerly in the Dutch diplomatic service, declared in Parliament at The Hague that the German Emperor had written a letter insisting on Holland strengthening her defence against possible attack by Great Britain, and hinting that in the event of failure he would be compelled to take measures of his own.

The Dutch Government denied emphatically that such a letter had been received by Queen Wilhelmina. Baron Heeckeren, however, persists in his statement, and points out that he never said that the letter was addressed to Queen Wilhelmina.

Whether the German Emperor wrote a letter or not is, after all, immaterial. The important thing is this—was there a hint from Berlin, and has that hint been followed by action in Holland or Belgium, or in Germany? It was in order to obtain enlightenment on these points that I lately made an excursion along the frontiers of the Netherlands, and paid a visit to Emden and to Borkum. My visit to Borkum was made a month before the arrest of Messrs. Brandon and Trench, but I think that I shall be able to show some of the causes of this

recrudescence of "spy-mania" which has involved two English tourists in serious difficulties.

The Loaded Pistol

The independence of Holland and Belgium is our first and our greatest interest on the Continent of Europe. In the hands of a hostile Power the Netherlands would be, as has often been said, a loaded pistol pointed at the heart of the British Empire. Between Brest and the Baltic there are no great natural harbours, save those of Holland and Belgium, that could be used with effect against us. If Germany ever succeeds in controlling this maritime zone her capacity for naval military, and economic war would be increased a hundredfold. Her ships would have secure bases within easy striking distance from our coasts; her armies would have railways for rapid concentration, and for outflanking our friends coming from France, and her rulers would be able not merely to paralyse, but also to destroy, all commerce between the Continent and the British Isles.

For these reasons we are bound to look with suspicion on anything that tends to disturb the balance of power in this part of Europe, and to preserve at all hazards the independence and integrity of the Netherlands. That this balance of power is being disturbed is undoubted. It is clear that in Borkum, at Emden, and at Malmedy—to take only three important points—operations are in progress to strengthen materially the position of Germany with regard to Holland and Belgium. With these developments I purpose dealing more fully at another time. For the present, it may suffice to indicate briefly the steps taken by Germany.

The importance of Emden in the waters that divide Holland from Germany and flow into the North Sea is unquestionably great, though its capacity as a naval base has been sometimes exaggerated. Eighteen months ago, when I paid my first visit to Emden, I found nothing to justify some of the legends that have been written about it.

The inner harbour is little more than a broad canal fed from the River Ems, and separated from the outer harbour by sluice-gates. The outer harbour itself is narrow and difficult of access, and its limited accommodation and machinery are taxed to the utmost by the merchant ships and colliers that crowd the wharf. At the most, Emden would at present be practicable only for torpedo and small craft in war.

Importance of Emden

But the importance of Emden as a naval base is already undergoing a change. A few months ago work was begun on a new and a greater dock at the east of the outer harbour. Already sufficient progress has been made to show that this new harbour will add greatly to the capacity of Emden

for commerce and for war. Not only in size, but also in facilities for access, this latest addition to the resources of the Dollart is vastly superior to the existing accommodation, and will amply repay the expenditure.

The importance of the Dollart—the name given to these waters—needs no demonstration. A glance at the map shows it. Not only does the Dollart expose Delfzyl and an important flank of Holland to attack from Germany, but it also gives the readiest access to the North Sea and the British coast. Not for commercial reasons alone does Germany lay claim to exclusive possession of the channel, and spend so much time and money in preserving and improving it.

Activity is not confined to Emden and the mouth of the Ems. Oposite the entrance to the Dollart lies the island of Borkum, one of the line of sentries that seem to guard the Frisian coast. Until the arrest of Messrs. Brandon and Trench the name of Borkum was unknown in Britain, though it suggests to the North German all the attractions that the Isle of Wight has for the citizen of London, or the Isle of Man for the North-countryman.

In recent years Borkum has become a popular summer resort, and vast sums are being spent on protecting it from the encroachments of the sea.

The waters are shallow, but a great mole, partly natural and partly artificial, stretches out from the south-east to give anchorage for ships. The enterprise, so manifest to every visitor, is not restricted to holiday attractions. *The day is approaching when Borkum will be known not as a holiday resort in the North Sea, but as a flying base for naval operations.* Though there are at present no forts of the kind to attract a "camera fiend," there are works in progress with vigilant and suspicious sentinels over them, and little barracks for artillerymen cautiously tucked away among the sand-dunes, over which is written on every side the word "Verboten" (Forbidden).

The Control of Belgium

Belgium, unlike Holland, is a neutral State guaranteed by some of the Powers, including Great Britain and Prussia. The importance of Belgium in war has been demonstrated on many historic occasions. It occupies a most vital position for offence and defence, and the Power that controls it in war has incalculable advantage.

Germany already has several lines of concentration on the Belgian frontier, and has direct access by railway to the important centres of population and trade. She is adding one more link to the chain. From Aix-la-Chapelle there runs south, and almost parallel with the Belgian frontier, a double line of rails which passes near to the vast manœuvring camp of the Coblenz Army Corps at Elsenborn.

This is not a commercial railway, despite its

many and extensive sidings. It is obviously a military railway along the Belgian frontier. At Weismes a single branch line goes west to Malmédy, which is close to the border. To reach Belgian territory from Malmédy you must walk or take the diligence, which travels twice a day and is crowded with six passengers. For many years Germany urged upon Belgium the need for a railway to join Malmédy with Stavelot—the Belgian frontier town—and the railway system to Liège and Brussels.

With a suspicious glance at the great military camp over the border at Elsenborn, the Belgians were at first shy and then obstinate. But the opposition has been removed. A tunnel now pierces the frontier beyond Malmédy, the permanent way is made, and in a few months this important line will be opened for traffic, and a new and important railway route into Belgium will be under German control.

Are these some of the measures that the German Emperor has been compelled to take "in order to secure the Netherlands against attack"?

August 30th.

GERMAN ADVANCE IN THE NORTH SEA

I showed how Germany is strengthening her strategic position in the North Sea and with regard to the Netherlands. The new harbour at the mouth of the Ems, and the arming of Borkum, one of the islands that cover the approach to the Dollart, are of special importance to Great Britain, seeing that they will eventually bring nearer to our coast the mighty Armada of the Emperor. To the Dutch they are of less concern, for, in the event of war with Germany, their land frontiers are always open for the east.

When the Kaiser insisted on Holland improving her defences he overlooked the land frontier. There is but one possible condition under which we could even contemplate a British invasion of the Netherlands, and that is the maintenance of their integrity and independence. Germany, on the contrary, has strong inducements to occupy territory that would give her enormous strategic and commercial advantages. Balancing the temptations and opportunities, it is much more likely that the coast defences recommended by the Emperor would be used by Germany rather than by the Dutch, and would be directed against efforts on the part of Great Britain to restore the independence of Holland and Belgium. That is the opinion of the Dutch. They fear Germany rather than Britain, and avoid every excuse for German interference. For this reason they make no protest against the conversion of the Ems into a German naval base.

The possession of the mouth of the Ems is disputed. In the neutrality regulations of 1870, Germany claims that the waters are within her territory; whereas in the German official history of the war, mention is made of "the semi-neutral

channel at the mouth of the Ems." Holland, however, insists that the channel to the left of the line of its greatest depth is Dutch. None the less, the Ems must be regarded strategically as a German stream. At any rate, it is certain that German warships could be put to sea without violating Dutch neutrality, whether we accept mid-channel as the territorial line or not.

A New Factor

Hitherto it has been accepted as an axiom that if Germany was at war the mouth of the Ems could be blockaded without violating Dutch neutrality, since access to Emden might be closed by operations outside the territorial limits. But the arming of Borkum, and the conversion of the island into a flying base for torpedo craft, introduces a new factor. The three channels that afford access to the Ems unite on the west side of Borkum. Ships drawing 26 feet of water can enter the Ems, and they cannot keep further off shore than 2,187 yards. We have here the reason for German activity in the island of Borkum. It is to become a second Heligoland to guard the entrance to the Dollart, and to prevent a blockade.

The work of strengthening Borkum is proceeding simultaneously with that of extending the accommodation of Emden. The existing harbour in the mouth of the river Ems is not suited to vessels of war, though comparatively large merchant ships crowd its limited wharves. Ceaseless efforts, however, are made to broaden and deepen the channel, and the new and spacious harbour in course of construction will provide safe and easy access. The entrance to the new harbour will not be, like the entrance to the present outer harbour, at right angles to the main channel from the sea, but almost in line with the channel. It is impossible to enter into all the details of this new and important construction. *The one thing that concerns us is that within a very short time Emden will become a naval base capable of sheltering great ships of war and having ample space for the erection of arsenals and workshops.* The work proceeds rapidly, as anyone may see who sails up the Dollart and wanders as far as the sentry permits him.

Unmistakable Evidence

Borkum is to be the seaward of this naval base. Here, as I have already stated, works are in progress. Along the west end of the island great ramparts of brick are being erected with a double promenade. It is at this point that the waters are deepest, for the shallows extend toward the south and the east, though there is a channel running from the south that gives access to the interior. Here also may be seen by the curious visitor to this summer resort in the North Sea unmistakable evidence of preparation for the construction of land defences and batteries.

Holland is forced to look on with assumed indifference while her territorial claims in these waters are being neutralised or destroyed. The proposal has been made that torpedo-boats should be stationed at Delfzyl, which lies almost opposite Emden. But the utmost they could do would be police work, and the suggestion has not been adopted. If Holland was at war with any Power other than Germany the occupation of Delfzyl would be of no practical importance, seeing that the fear of violating the neutrality of Germany would effectually prevent operations against this port. Therefore, Delfzyl lies defenceless in the rapidly spreading shadow of Emden.

To attack this German base by land would seem equally hopeless. To land troops in Gröningen, the only practicable point, would be possible only with the co-operation of the Dutch, and would bring the invader into immediate conflict with the military forces that Germany would undoubtedly throw into this part of Holland in the event of war. Holland has her own scheme of defence, as I shall show later, but it is a serious question whether her people would have the same audacity of self-sacrifice that distinguished them in the wars against Spain. Would they act with the promptitude that is necessary, or would they, as on more than one critical occasion, hesitate and be lost? That is the question most vital to the defence of the Netherlands if the moment should come when Germany finds that she has need for a more extended maritime zone.

August 31st.

GERMANY AND THE NETHERLANDS

Malmedy is a Prussian town in the Walloon district fifty-one miles south of Aix-la-Chapelle and six miles from the Belgian frontier town of Stavelot. The railway from Aix-la-Chapelle runs south to Trois Vierges, where it joins the main line from Luxemburg to Liège. To reach Malmedy you change at Weismes, whence a single line traverses the wooded basin of the Warche. Between Aix-la-Chapelle and Trois Vierges the track is double, and at every village station are numerous sidings. There is neither trade nor population in this region to explain the existence of such a railway for commercial purposes. But there is a reason, and a very important reason. Some miles to the north-east of the junction at Weismes lies Elsenborn, the great camp of exercise of the Coblenz Army Corps, where, as my fellow-passenger in the coach said, there are more soldiers than in the whole of Belgium. When I passed that way the vast plain was crowded with troops undergoing the summer training.

You have only to search Elsenborn to find the reason for so well-equipped a railway along the Belgian frontier and for the necessity of building a railway from Malmedy to Stavelot. For years the

Germans have sought permission to build this important six miles of railway, but the Belgians, having the camp at Elsenborn in their eye, saw no reason for forging another chain between themselves and their neighbours. When I reached Malmedy, less than a month ago, I expected to find that the negotiations were still in progress. But news travels slowly from these frontier regions. The negotiations ended long ago, and in twelve months or so the railway between Malmedy and Stavelot will be opened for the half-dozen passengers and bottles of beer. The embankment is nearly completed; bridges have been built, a tunnel pierces the hills, and another German military shackle has been fastened upon Belgium.

The Missing Link

Five miles of railway across a frontier may seem a small thing, but they must be regarded in the light of the camp at Elsenborn, of the part that Belgian territory has so often played in European conflicts, and of the knowledge that German plans of campaign recognise the supreme importance of turning the flank of an enemy from the west by advancing an army through Belgium. The railway between Malmedy and Stavelot supplies one of the missing links in the chain. For that reason alone has it existence and European importance.

RE-ARMING OF DUTCH PORTS

I have described the advance which Germany is making into the North Sea and the step she has taken on the land frontier of Belgium to outflank an army coming from France. Emden, the new German naval base, is 290 miles from Sheerness, and Malmedy, whence the new German railway crosses the Belgian frontier to Stavelot, opens another door for the march into the Netherlands.

Let us consider now the position of Holland.

When the German Emperor insisted on Holland strengthening her defences he had in mind the case of war between Holland and Great Britain. If Holland stood alone in this improbable event her danger undoubtedly would come from the sea. But it is certain that the Dutch would have the support of Germany from the land side, and, a successful landing being impossible, the war would be limited to a blockade of the Dutch ports. We are not interested in Holland as a potential enemy. We are interested in her only as a neutral or as an ally.

It is not imperative for the operations of our Navy that we should have harbours on the coast of Holland. Flushing would bring us only 109 miles nearer to the German North Sea coast, and this small advantage would not compensate us for any breach of Dutch neutrality. As an ally only would Holland be useful to Great Britain and France. Her coast has many landing places and harbours where the largest ships can disembark troops and

material for invading Germany and seizing the German naval ports. To France especially would such an alliance be of strategic value, for the distance between her naval base at Brest and the nearest German base at Emden is 643 miles, whereas the distance between Flushing and Emden is 240 miles.

Holland's Peril

To Germany, on the other hand, the advantages to be gained by breach of Dutch neutrality are immensely great. The efficiency of a navy in war is dependent on the number and capacity of its bases, and on its lines of communication. Possession of the Dutch coast would greatly extend the German base of naval operations, for its harbours and roadsteads, of which no fewer than nine are navigable at low water at depths varying from 16 ft. to 26 ft., form a continuation of the German coast towards the south-west.

These strategic advantages would undoubtedly be a great temptation to Germany in the event of war with Great Britain. And the temptation is increased by the fact that the land frontiers of Holland are open to Germany. It is true that direct approach from Germany on the east is barred by two lines of defences. The advanced line, known as the Grebbe line, extends from the Zuyder Zee through Amersfoort south to the River Waal. The second and main line of defence begins at Ymuiden on the Zuyder Zee, and, passing through Utrecht, proceeds to Borkum and crosses the Waal river.

Although Holland can put into the field 200,000 trained soldiers, these land defences are dependent on inundations, and it is questionable whether the Dutch would make the necessary sacrifice with the promptitude demanded by the mere threat of invasion by Germany. The utmost that could be expected from Holland would be to delay and harass an army advancing from the east.

Germany, therefore, is the real menace to Holland. It is a double menace—a menace from the sea and from the land. The Dutch are well aware of this. They know that the extremity of their danger from Great Britain would be a blockade of their ports, whereas Germany could attack by sea and by land. This knowledge may not inspire confidence and accord between the Dutch and the Germans. But, at least, it stimulates in the Dutch Government anxiety to avoid friction with their neighbours, and a desire to convince Germany that Holland is capable of maintaining her neutrality against attack from Great Britain.

"The Guardian of the Netherlands"

The German Emperor is apparently not satisfied that the Dutch have made adequate preparations for defending their coast, and, in fulfilment of his threat, has adopted measures of his own. Yet the Government of Holland has not been altogether

remiss. The warning has not been ignored. Something at least has been done to meet the wishes of the Kaiser, the thoughtful and disinterested guardian of the Netherlands.

There are four points of special importance on the coast of Holland—the Helder, which gives access to the Zuyder Zee; Ymuiden, at the entrance to the North Sea canal, leading to Amsterdam; the Hook of Holland; and the mouth of the River Schelde. Though the Helder has ceased to have commercial pre-eminence since the opening of the North Sea canal, it is still the important naval harbour of Holland. Here is a large naval establishment with barracks and schools, dockyards and workshops. The Nieuwe Diep affords shelter to the largest vessels which can lie alongside the quays, and Texel Road gives shelter to the largest battleships. Although the Zuyder Zee is navigable only for torpedo craft, the Helder has great strategic importance in the North Sea, and would, in the opinion of the Dutch naval authorities, be liable to capture by a coup de main.

To guard against this danger, the Admiralty have stationed at the Helder a strong flotilla of torpedo-boats, supported by small armoured cruisers. The line of forts stretching towards Schulp Gat, and covering the channel between the mainland and the island of Texel have been rearmed with powerful guns, and four heavy guns in cupolas have been placed at the entrance to the harbour. The garrison has been increased, and the most cursory survey of the position shows that steps have been taken not merely to guard against surprise, but also against carefully prepared attack.

Ymuiden is important, not merely as a harbour for large ships, but also as the direct passage to Amsterdam. Here is a small squadron of torpedo-boats, and, I am told, one submarine. The armament of the fort near the north entrance has been strengthened; the lighting of the channel has been improved; and measures have been adopted to make the use of the harbour impossible to an invader as well as to secure control over the locks with a view to inundation.

The Hook of Holland gives approach to Rotterdam to ships drawing 24 feet of water, though, in the opinion of Dutch naval authorities, warships are not likely to incur the risks of such a passage. There is talk of a new fort, however, to supplement the fortress of Brielle at the entrance to the Maas and the fortress of Hellevoetsluis, which protects the entrance to the Goeree Gat, where the channel is only 16 feet deep. The armaments of both of these fortresses, I am told, have been lately improved.

A Temptation to Neutrality

The West Schelde is of the greatest importance. At its entrance is situated Flushing, with its fine harbour and excellent dockyard. Flushing Road is

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accessible to the largest battleships, and the position is unquestionably attractive as a naval base in the North Sea. The Dutch Government recognises the necessity of removing this temptation from a hostile Power, and has adopted measures that will, in the judgment of its naval experts, eventually prevent any attempt to violate the neutrality of Holland in this quarter.

With these evidences of an earnest desire to meet the requirements of the German Emperor, it might be supposed that his Imperial Majesty would have been content. That he is not satisfied is proved by German activity at Emden, in the island of Borkum, and at Malmedy on the Belgian frontier.

September 2nd.

The "Daily Mail" wrote concerning this further article of Mr. Maxwell's :

The works which are proceeding rapidly in Borkum and at Emden are of immense importance to this country. They vitally concern our naval strategy and our position in the North Sea. This fact is acknowledged in Germany. It is stated without reserve that when the works at Emden and Borkum are completed a flotilla of German torpedo-boats will be able to emerge from cover through the sally-port at Borkum and strike the British coast in six hours. Nor does the boast end there. This fortified line along the coast of Friesland is ultimately to be extended on the north as far as the island of Sylt. With Heligoland, the Gibraltar of the North Sea, for the central ward and citadel, the German Fleet will have a manœuvring area of nearly one hundred miles, covered and protected and provided with many exits into the North Sea. This is a vast and a practical enterprise worthy of the creator of the Imperial German Navy. We cannot look without the most serious concern upon a scheme which German newspapers declare will double the fighting capacity of their fleet. It is no longer a naval theory or an Imperial ambition. It is a hard and a dangerous fact which no amount of theorising can explain away.

Germany has, of course, a perfect right to develop her naval resources in whatever manner and to whatever extent she chooses. But her devouring activity in the North Sea and her relentless rivalry for naval supremacy cannot leave us indifferent to the danger that steadily advances toward our shores. There can be only one answer to the challenge. We must build and build and build again until this new and immeasurable advantage which Germany is wresting from the sea is more than balanced by the unquestionable supremacy of our Fleet.

September 2nd.

HELIGOLAND—"THE NEW GIBRALTAR"

I have shown that the new dock at Emden will give Germany another naval base in the North Sea, that the arming of Borkum will add another link to the chain that stretches along the North German coast, and that the naval power of Germany will thereby be brought one hundred miles nearer to the British coast.

The fact that these works are in progress cannot be, and has not been, denied. They stand open to the eye of any curious visitor to the mouth of the Ems and the island of Borkum. German journalists now acknowledge that the fortress chain, of which Borkum and Juist and Norderney are the western links, will ultimately extend across Heligoland Bay to the island of Sylt, and will provide a screen behind which the German Fleet can manœuvre without exposing itself to attack. These works, when completed, will, according to Germans, double the fighting capacity of their navy, and will make Borkum the sally-port of their torpedo flotilla, which can dart out of cover and strike the British coast in six hours.

Heligoland, which was ceded to Germany by Great Britain in 1890, is the crowning link in this chain. In twenty years the face of this island in the North Sea has been changed beyond recognition. Millions have been spent in protecting Heligoland from the destructive assaults of the sea. Massive ramparts of granite, constructed at a cost of one million pounds, confront the waves on the south-west. Three other great sea-walls have been built, and in time the whole island will be encased in granite. In places where the porous red rock has corroded like a hollow tooth, the corrosion has been arrested and replaced with cement. The waves have been robbed of their prey, and the twenty-first century will find Heligoland not the submerged rock, as was once imagined, but strong and defiant, the Gibraltar of the North Sea.

The most powerful of fortresses, guns, and howitzers arm this German Gibraltar. It has vast stores of munitions of war, and is provisioned against a long siege. Its garrison is complete, and, should an enemy succeed in silencing its batteries, the difficulty of scaling the rock would be made impossible by the military defences of the island. Deep water gives good anchorage to the greatest battle-ships, and there is to be new harbour for torpedo-boats and small craft, for which the sum of £1,500,000 has been voted.

Impregnable

Heligoland has been made impregnable. Not even Prince Bismarck, who looked upon the gift of Great Britain as a burden and a menace, would wish to see it again in neutral hands. It stands an armed sentinel at the gates of the Elbe and the Weser, and stretches out its "mailed fists" to the armed sentinels across the bay far into the North Sea.

I have now completed my brief survey of the German advance in the North Sea. Not for an instant will anyone dispute the right of Germany to use to the uttermost part the resources with which Nature and the generosity of Great Britain have endowed the nation for its defence. It would be rank folly to neglect these resources. For us, however, as well as for the Netherlands, the developments have their lesson and their warning. We can, if we will, ensure our own safety, despite the mighty strides that Germany is taking in our direction. Holland, as I have shown, can make no counter-move. Even if she had the will and the means, she could not arm her eastern frontier without provoking the suspicion and resentment of her powerful and watchful neighbour. The steps that the Dutch have been compelled to take at the dictation of the Emperor William have been toward the west and not toward the east, where the real danger lies.

The attention that Holland has been giving to her coast defences in the last two years was enforced by the threat of the Kaiser. He is persuaded that the menace to the Netherlands is Great Britain. His conviction is not shared by the Government and the people of Holland. They are not blind to the advantages, naval, military, and commercial, that Germany would gain by possession of the Netherlands. Nor are they so lacking in foresight as not to see that in arming only their coast they are forging a weapon which the Emperor William may be tempted some day to seize, not for the protection of Holland, but in order to prevent friends from coming to her rescue. This may be the cause of that absence of alacrity which has brought upon Holland the Imperial rebuke and warning, and the example he has set them in the North Sea.

Belgium has more freedom of choice than Holland. In a diplomatic sense Belgium is a protected country. Her neutrality is guaranteed under the Treaty of London, 1831, by Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia. Again, the Belgian coast has fewer temptations to a Power in search of maritime expansion. Yet Belgium has often played the part of helot in European wars. Indeed, it might almost be called the battlefield of Western Europe.

And its importance in that respect has certainly not diminished. There are few plans of campaign in the pigeon-holes of War Offices that do not take account of the possibilities of an advance through Belgian territory.

The Peril of Belgium

It is no secret that in the event of war with France the Imperial Headquarter Staff in Berlin is prepared to disregard the neutrality of which Prussia is one of the guarantors, and to invade Belgium, with the object of turning the left flank of the French Army advancing toward the eastern frontier. The tremendous importance of such strategy is obvious even to the layman.

For this reason are the German military railways along the Belgian frontier of interest and concern to the western Powers. Already there are many railway connections between Germany and Belgium. Between two of them—the German military line running south from Aix-la-Chapelle, close to the concentration camp of the Coblenz Army Corps and the railway from Luxemburg to Liège—there has hitherto been one missing link. That link has been made in Germany, and Malmedy and Stavelot are being rapidly united.

Belgium will not be an unconscious victim of her eastern neighbour. Liège, which is technically described as a bridge-head, has been strengthened, and more regulations have been issued for the garrison. Antwerp, on which the military defences are concentrated, is being rearmed. For many years Belgium has talked of reconstructing the triple line of fortifications that surrounds the city of Antwerp. Modern guns have made these forts obsolete and almost useless. At last a movement has been condemned, and another and more powerful is already taking its place. Important changes have also been introduced in the constitution and organisation of the Army. *Belgium has heard the warning.*

September 5th.

Some Conclusions

In describing the advance of Germany in the North Sea, and on the frontier of the Netherlands, my purpose was to establish three facts:

- (1) *That works have been begun at Emden which will make the mouth of the Ems a real naval base, and not merely a base for torpedo-boats.*
- (2) *That works are in progress in Borkum that will make the island a sally-port for torpedo-boats, and a protection against blockade.*
- (3) *That the new railway between Malmedy and Stavelot will unite the German military*

frontier close to the concentration camp at Elsenborn with one of the main railway lines leading to Liège and Brussels.

That these works at Emden, Borkum, and Malmedy have been begun cannot be denied. As to their purpose there may be differences of opinion. Those who believe that Germany has no ambition beyond the peaceful development of her own resources will continue to maintain that these works have been undertaken solely in the interests of trade and of self-defence. For these complacent theorists facts have one interpretation in Germany and another in Great Britain. When our own countrymen demand any increase in the Navy or any naval port on the North Sea, it is not for their protection, but as a challenge to Germany. "We are the instigators and aggressors," said a Radical member of the Cabinet to me the other day. When Germany strains her resources to outrival us on the seas and to strengthen her position in the North Sea, her action is perfectly proper and praiseworthy.

What would Germans think of us if we pretended that the harbour at Rosyth is being built for commercial purposes? Every schoolboy in these islands knows that Rosyth is to be a naval base and is to strengthen our position in the North Sea. And every schoolboy in Germany knows that the new works at Emden have precisely the same purpose. Emden already has accommodation to meet the requirements of the second-class towns with which it is in communication by railway and canal, and has, moreover, a waterway leading to the great naval station at Wilhelmshaven.

One of my critics compares the work in Borkum with the marine parade at Margate. Was it for being suspected of spying out a holiday promenade that two Englishmen have been arrested? Borkum is an island covering the mouth of the Ems, and commanding, at close range, the two deep channels leading from the North Sea to Emden. It is true that a small part of the west of the island is covered with hotels, and is crowded with visitors in summer. Is it for their protection that an artillery barracks has been carefully hidden among the dunes; that sentries are posted day and night behind barbed-wire enclosures, and that visitors are strictly prohibited from wandering at will over the little island?

Whatever may be Germany's motive—whether it be commerce or war—there is no disputing this fact (and it is the only fact that concerns us as a nation): that when these works are completed Germany will have a new naval base nearly one hundred miles nearer to our shores than she at this moment possesses.

As for the six miles of railway between Malmedy and Stavelot, its importance cannot be reckoned by mileage any more than the strength and use of a chain can be measured by a single link. Short and insignificant though the new railway may appear on a map or in a railway guide, it completes yet another of those military chains which Germany is binding about the Netherlands.

August 31st.

Mr. Maxwell's Articles

In a leading article, reviewing Mr. Maxwell's articles, the "Daily Mail" (August 31st) said:

Germany, of course, has a perfect right to make whatever developments she pleases at Emden and in Borkum. We do not question either the right or the policy. The only thing that concerns Great Britain is the fact that within a year or two Germany will have another naval base with access to the North Sea and a few hours' steam from our shores. That is a fact with which we must reckon.

And again (September 5th):

Our purpose in publishing these articles is, as we have already stated more than once, not to dispute the right of Germany to do whatever she thinks wise within her own borders on the sea or on the land. We do not question whether Germany should or should not build a new dock at Emden, or fortify the island of Borkum, or build another railway across the Belgian frontier. Our purpose has been to bring these facts to the knowledge of the British people, and to impress upon them once more the lesson that is preached every year by the First Lord of the Admiralty when he discloses his programme of naval construction, and by the Secretary for War when he discourses on the need for an Army for home defence. The need for this lesson never ceases. It is the lesson taught by every speech of the German Emperor and by every ship of war that is laid down in a German dockyard.

"Harmless Intentions"

Germany, as her friends in this country constantly assure us, may be actuated by motives that concern only her own protection and her own peaceful development. But the most harmless intentions on the part of Germany cannot relieve us of the responsibility which her action imposes upon us. We cannot sit still and applaud while she puts forward every effort to disturb the balance of power in Europe and to deprive us of our naval supremacy, upon which our very existence depends. Her apologists in this country may see in the new docks at Emden nothing more than a commercial necessity. The works in Borkum may appear to

complacent critics who have not seen them merely a marine parade for summer visitors. The railway that connects a military railway and a great military camp with one of the main railways in Belgium may seem to them only a tiny branch railway. None are so blind as those who will not see.

We have no hostile designs against Germany, whatever suspicion she may entertain towards ourselves. That she has suspicions is certain. No clearer proof could be offered than her activity in the North Sea, her relentless rivalry in naval construction, and the hint which every Chancery in Europe knows was given to Holland to strengthen her defences against possible attack by Great Britain. No one in the British Empire ever dreamed of attacking Holland. Our greatest and most vital interest in Europe is the independence and integrity of the Netherlands, and even indirectly to suggest any other policy is to create a strong presumption that the danger to Holland lies elsewhere. The warning to Holland was accompanied by a hint that Germany might be compelled to adopt measures of her own. Those measures we believe to have been undertaken at Emden, in Borkum, and at Malmedy, and we have done our duty in making them known to the British people.

September 28th.

The Shrinking Margin

On September 28th Lord Charles Beresford wrote in the "Daily Mail" an open letter to Mr. Asquith on "The Shrinking Margin of Sea Power and Britain's Dangerous Position." The gravamen of the letter was that:

"If steps are not taken three years hence, the naval defence of the Empire will be fraught with a danger whose gravity I believe to be difficult to exaggerate."

It was answered by a letter from Mr. Asquith (October 4th), which was welcomed by the "Daily Mail" because, although it made no definite promise, it contained at least a statement that:

"The Government are fully alive to the paramount importance of maintaining our naval supremacy, and will not hesitate to recommend to Parliament any steps which may seem to them necessary for the purpose."

The "Daily Mail" deplored that Mr. Asquith was hampered by a coterie of Little Englanders in his Cabinet and his party.

October-December.

In further articles (October 22nd, 29th, and 31st, and December 15th) the "Daily Mail" returned to the naval issue.

It urged a naval loan to place the strength of the Navy above doubt and suspicion.

It argued that continual discussion and comparisons with Germany were inevitable so long as we adhered to the obsolete principle of settling our naval programme for only one year ahead, and that such discussions caused international friction.

It pleaded that our hard-worked Sea Lords should be freed from the necessity of wasting many weeks each year in a battle royal with politicians for ships and guns.

It suggested that with a fixed programme the Navy would be taken out of the sphere of party controversy and hand-to-mouth expedients.

October 21st.

A German Disclaimer

The Conservative "Post": "It is a mean distortion of the real position to assert that Germany is incessantly striving for the mastery of the sea. We do not dream of such a thing. It has been reiterated a thousand times from the German side that our naval programme is devoid of aggressive designs. If England is so inclined, and has the requisite 'small change' to lay down a hundred new Dreadnoughts of the newest type, no German politician would get excited at a purely domestic English affair. It must be stated over and over again that a suspicion that Germany desires to rob England of her naval supremacy is laughable."

November.

MR. BLATCHFORD WARNS US AGAIN

In November, 1910, Mr. Blatchford, in a series of three impassioned and eloquent letters to the "Daily Mail," again drew the urgent attention of his countrymen to the great German menace.

THE GREATEST ISSUE OF ALL

To the Editor of the "Daily Mail"

Sir,—It is nearly a year since you gave me space in your columns for a series of articles on the German menace. Now that another General Election is upon us I make bold to ask you to allow me to appeal once more to the common sense of the British people.

The Lords' veto, which is to be the main point at issue in this election, is a trivial matter in comparison with the safety of the Empire. It may be regarded as a party issue or a class issue, but it cannot be called a national, and much less can it be called an Imperial, issue.

But the defences of the Empire and the loyalty and the readiness of the British people are Imperial matters, and Imperial matters of the most vital importance.

When I dealt with the German menace last year I was called a scaremonger, and my appeal was by

MR. BLATHFORD'S HISTORIO LETTERS (Continued)

many denounced as an election dodge. May I, therefore, repeat my warning?

The danger to-day is greater than it was a year ago; our readiness to avert or meet it is relatively smaller. In spite of the efforts made by distinguished officers and statesmen to arouse the public to a sense of the national peril, the majority of our people are still ignorant, or apathetic, or mistaken. Millions of our citizens still delude themselves as to the position; they hold fast to the old fallacies—that Germany would not be wicked enough to attack, even if she had the power; that the superiority of our Navy justifies us in sleeping peacefully in our beds; that war with Germany could not make the lot of our toiling millions worse than it is now.

The Whole Truth

Last year I appealed to our leading statesmen to tell the people the whole truth. The appeal was in vain. Mr. Balfour, it is true, has spoken plainly about the Navy; and Lord Charles Beresford has dealt vigorously with the subject of naval efficiency, and with European politics as far as affects the Navy.

But the issue is more than a naval issue. It is more than a national issue. It is more than a European issue. It is more than a naval and military issue. The menace to the Empire is not confined to the North Sea. We have to maintain the balance of power in Europe. We have to defend the Empire as well as our own East Coast. We have to take our position as a first-class world-power, or to fall into the second or third rank, and lose our Empire and our trade.

I confess to a feeling of intense disappointment that within the past year no leading statesman of any party has made a single statesmanlike pronouncement upon this vitally important subject. It is one of the most fatal weaknesses of our position that we have no comprehensive and coherent scheme of defence; no definite and clear strategic plan. The Army and the Navy, foreign policy, and Imperial defence are not co-ordinated.

These important services seem to work independently of each other.

Our statesmen do not seem to have mastered the theories of war and policy taught by the great German authority Clausewitz: that "war is a part of policy," that "every imaginable preparation" should be made, and that Foreign Ministers and War Ministers should possess a knowledge of the art of war. In Germany these lessons have been learnt and are steadily acted upon.

Our danger is greater to-day than it was a year ago, because Germany is relatively stronger. Our danger is greater to-day because our armaments are insufficient,

and because our people are ill informed and dis-united.

The One Issue

Our statesmen are dividing the people upon a minor issue when they ought to be uniting them upon the one issue which is greater than all others to Great Britain's Empire at this time.

The nation is split into parties and sects and classes when it ought to be drawn together and enabled to concentrate its whole strength upon the task of meeting the greatest danger by which it has been threatened since the reign of Louis XIV. of France.

Our armaments are insufficient, and our people are ill informed and disunited. Let us consider first the state of our armaments.

In spite of the clear teachings of such men as Lord Charles Beresford and Admiral Mahan, the discussion of the naval problem is generally confined to the ideal of naval war in the North Sea, and even within these narrow limits seldom goes beyond a comparison of the relative numbers of German and British Dreadnoughts.

But the Navy has to do more than defend our North Sea littoral; it has to defend our Empire and to protect our trade and food supply.

Liberal journalists and statesmen seem to imagine that when the Government has provided for a margin of four or five Dreadnoughts over the German ships in the North Sea it has discharged the whole duty of man. This is a terrible mistake.

According to their own figures the Government can only hold that margin of superiority in the North Sea by concentrating there all the Dreadnoughts we possess. But in the first place that margin is not large enough for security; and in the second place it is only gained by exposing the Empire to danger in other places.

An Austrian and German alliance is quite likely enough to bring home to any judicial mind the danger of denuding the Mediterranean of battleships of the Dreadnought class. This danger has been pointed out by Lord Charles Beresford and Admiral Mahan. Austria is building Dreadnoughts. By the end of 1913 she will have several. *Who can foresee the action of Turkey?* Should we lose the command of the Mediterranean, what will happen to our Suez Canal trade? How are we to hold Egypt?

The Government Estimates so far have ignored the Mediterranean.

But has the Government taken steps to ensure to us the command of the North Sea? No.

The command of the North Sea (which is our only security against invasion) is in danger. For that command implies more than a small margin of superiority in Dreadnoughts; it implies also the possession of naval bases, of Dreadnought docks, and of a solid superiority in torpedo craft and destroyers.

MR. BLATCHFORD'S HISTORIC LETTERS (Continued)

It is astounding to find so little attention given (on our side) to the important subject of naval bases and Dreadnought docks.

From Dover to the Shetlands we do not possess a single naval base; from Dover to the Shetlands there is not one strongly fortified town, port, or harbour; on the whole length of our East Coast we have not more than two places where a damaged Dreadnought could repair.

A Nest of Fortresses

On the other side, the North Sea coast of Germany is a nest of fortresses. The Germans, acting upon the advice of Clausewitz, have made every imaginable preparation. They have their naval bases, their destroyer bases, and the Dreadnought docks arranged on a compact and ordered plan from Kiel to Borkum.

This tremendous advantage is never taken into account by Government apologists when comparing the numbers of German and British Dreadnoughts.

General Homer Lea, in his book "The Valour of Ignorance," in which he warns America against the danger of war with Japan, lays great stress upon the value of naval bases. He says: "It might be considered as axiomatic that the worth or even the possibility of the existence of naval power is proportionate to the number and strategic importance of its naval bases."

We have no naval base in the North Sea.

General Homer Lea says: "The number of naval bases must be increased in a proportionate ratio to the increase of the Navy."

We shall not have one naval base in the North Sea until Rosyth is completed in 1916.

As to the relative strength of Britain and Germany in destroyers I shall quote from "The Parliamentary Debates" (Official Report), Fourth Volume of Session 1909. - On May 4, 1909:

"Mr. Middlemore asked how many completed torpedo-boat destroyers on the effective lists of the British and German Navies respectively were launched during and after the year 1899.

"Mr. McKenna: There are 59 British, excluding 31 vessels originally termed coastal torpedo-boat destroyers, but not classed as torpedo-boats, and 72 German."

In these important matters, then, of naval bases, Dreadnought docks, and destroyers, we are dangerously inferior to Germany.

We must remember, also, the fortification of Heligoland and Borkum, and the screen afforded for German naval action by the North Frisian islands. One German paper stated that the fortification of Borkum was worth six Dreadnoughts to Germany.

But we shall have more Dreadnoughts than Germany in 1913; at least, we think so. Let us assume that we know how many Dreadnoughts Germany will have in 1913, and let us assume that we shall have twenty-five to her twenty-one. Is that margin sufficient for security? Are we wise to risk the existence of the Empire on such a margin? Lord Charles Beresford says "No." Let us consider.

Ship for Ship?

In the first place, are we sure that ship for ship the German Dreadnoughts will not be superior to ours? The Germans claim that their guns are better than ours, that their armour is better than ours, and that their broadsides are heavier than ours.

The British ship Orion is more powerful than the Dreadnought, but her broadside is only 13,000 lb.; while the German Ersatz Odin is believed to fire a broadside of 15,000 lb. or 16,000 lb. Are we justified in counting the Dreadnought and the Ersatz Odin as equal units?

Let us count all German and British Dreadnoughts as equal units, and give our Government the credit of twenty-five ships to twenty-one. That is not nearly enough. For the following reasons:

First, because we tacitly concede to Germany the great strategic advantage of the initiative. That is to say, Germany may attack when she is ready, but we must not attack until war is declared.

Secondly, Germany may begin with a surprise attack by mines or torpedoes, as the Japanese did at Chemulpo and Port Arthur.

Thirdly, because the defencelessness of our East Coast and the smallness of our Army limit the freedom of action of our Navy.

Fourthly, because in naval warfare the advantage is strongly on the side of the attack. Three times in our British naval manoeuvres has a defending force been defeated by an attacking force of inferior numbers. Last year the attacking force was 50 per cent. weaker than the defending force, yet they evaded them and worked great havoc. Rosyth was captured, the Forth Bridge was destroyed, and the defenders lost one battleship, three cruisers, two scouts, and thirteen destroyers.

Fifthly, in naval warfare accidents must be allowed for. As Mr. H. W. Wilson reminds us in the November "National Review," Admiral Togo lost two battleships in one day by floating mines. The blockade of the German coast would be a work of the very greatest danger. The coast is strongly fortified. Mines would be used on an enormous scale. And a fleet of twenty-one German Dreadnoughts lying concealed behind Borkum could appear and disappear rapidly at any point along a covering of sixty or seventy miles.

MR. BLATCHFORD'S HISTORIC LETTERS (Continued)

We are in the habit of taking it for granted that our personnel is superior to that of the German Navy. Let us hope we are right. But the Germans do not agree with us on that important point. And then it is, unfortunately, true that the German high-sea fleet gets more tactical training and is more regularly at sea than our fleets.

IF?

Now let us sum up. If the German Navy has not better tactical training and better sea-training than ours; if the German ships are not superior to ours as units, ship for ship; if the Germans have not better armour and better guns (all of which they claim); if Austria does not oblige us to send several of our Dreadnoughts to the Mediterranean; if we never get into hot water with any other naval Power, and so can keep all our Dreadnoughts in the North Sea; if our Fleet is always ready and always concentrated; if we do not lose some of our Dreadnoughts by mines, by wreck, by torpedo surprise, or by the inevitable dangers of blockade, then we shall have a power of twenty-five to twenty-one with which to defeat the Germans in the event of war, and protect some seven hundred miles of undefended coast-line.

But even then the Germans have the great strategical advantage of the initiative, and the great strategical advantages of a fortified coast, of naval bases, of Dreadnought docks, and of superiority in destroyers.

Is that a satisfactory position? Suppose we were German officers, should we regard the British command of the North Sea as so established and secure as to render it unwise to make any attempt to overthrow it? Leaving out of the question the serious criticisms of Lord Charles Beresford as to the shortness of stores, the weakness in men, the insecurity of the trade routes, and the dangerous reduction of our power in the Mediterranean, I claim that the Government has neglected its duty, and that our position in the North Sea is precarious.

This matter, upon which the existence of the Empire depends, upon which the security of our trade and the immunity of our country from invasion depend, is surely of very much greater importance to the nation and to the Empire than any tinkering with the House of Lords.

November 24th, 1910.

WAR AND POLICY

To the Editor of the "Daily Mail"

Sir,—The indifference of the British public to foreign politics and to national defence is due to a very general ignorance of foreign theories of war and policy. I make no claim to authority on those

matters, but I am interested in them, and I feel that I may render useful service by giving my countrymen who never read the Service papers a short and plain statement of the opinion of men better qualified than I can pretend to be.

How many Britons know anything about Clausewitz? How many have so much as heard his name? Yet Clausewitz is more important to the British people to-day than the Lords' veto or the question of Irish Home Rule.

Clausewitz was a great German writer on policy and war. He is the greatest authority on strategy. The policy and the strategy of Germany are based upon the theories of Clausewitz. If we read Clausewitz, and then read the political and military history of Germany since Clausewitz wrote his great book on war, we shall understand German policy and strategy, and shall be compelled to admit that what Clausewitz taught Germany has learned, and that the lesson has borne fruit in action.

"Power and Expediency"

The two great wars waged by Germany, against Austria in 1866 and against France in 1870, were not sudden outbursts due to political misunderstandings on the eve of those wars. Both wars were deliberate and premeditated. Bismarck (a disciple of Clausewitz) began to prepare for war with Austria two years before he struck the first blow: the war with France was decided upon three years before the pretended cause of dispute arose. Bismarck, as a pupil of Clausewitz, considered only two things—"power and expediency." German policy, based upon the teachings of Clausewitz, may be expressed in two questions, the questions laid down by Clausewitz: "Is it expedient to do this? Have we the power to do it?" If it will benefit the Fatherland to break up the British Empire, then it is expedient to break up the British Empire. That answers the first question. The second question; "Have we the power to break up the British Empire?" is all that remains. It is being answered now by the strenuous naval preparations of the German Government. When it can be answered in the affirmative there will be war.

Clausewitz taught Germany that "war is a part of policy." He taught that policy is a system of bargaining or negotiating, backed by arms. The armed force of the nation is to the nation what arms are to the soldier. The duty of the statesman is to get the best he can for his country; the armed people is the implement with which the best is to be got. A statesman without military force is like a soldier without arms. National self-interest backed by arms is the idea: "War is a part of policy."

Clausewitz taught Germany to make "every imaginable preparation" before declaring war. Germany did make every imaginable preparation before going to war with Austria in 1866, and before

MR. BLATCHFORD'S HISTORIC LETTERS (Continued)

going to war with France in 1870. Germany is now making every imaginable preparation before going to war with us ; she has made the Kiel Canal ; she has widened and deepened the Kiel Canal ; she has fortified Heligoland, and is fortifying Borkum ; she has built docks for her Dreadnoughts, and is building more ; she has removed her chief naval base from Kiel to the North Sea ; she has built destroyers and battleships, and is building more ; she continually increases and hastens her building ; she increases the power of her guns ; she has commanded the Dutch to fortify their coast ; she has spent enormous sums on strategic railways ; she has great quays for embarkation at Emden ; she keeps her fleet in continual practice in the North Sea ; she has an enormous army ready to march at the tap of the drum. She has long since settled the point of expediency, and is sparing neither money nor trouble to prepare the power.

Significant Concentration

All her efforts are concentrated on the Netherlands and the North Sea. When we find that Clausewitz says in his book on war, "the best strategy is always to be very strong first generally, then at the decisive point," and "there is no simpler and more imperative rule for strategy than to keep all the forces concentrated." The German concentration and energy in the North Sea are sufficiently significant to attract the attention, and hold the interest of every thoughtful Briton who is not wholly absorbed in the abolition of the House of Peers.

Our people are prone to assume that because we do not wish to make war upon any other European nation, no other European nation will think of making war on us. But history teaches us that a nation that is warlike and hungry, and a nation that is unwarlike and fat, have never looked at the question of war with the same eyes.

Clausewitz does not discuss the moral aspect of war ; he deals with power and expediency. His pupils take his lead. They do not read poems on the blessings of peace ; they are too busy making every imaginable preparation for war.

The nation that has gotten great wealth, great trade, great possessions, and valuable colonies, and is not armed to defend them, is naturally not eager for war with nations which are armed to the teeth, and have nothing that can be taken from them.

The idea that strong and hungry nations will reciprocate the benevolent and peaceful sentiments of a rich and ill-armed people, who have annexed all the richest prizes of the earth, will not bear examination in the light of history—and Clausewitz. Power and expediency ; the destiny of

Germany must be worked out not by speeches, but by blood and iron.

Germany has been taught by Clausewitz. Clausewitz does not spend ink on philanthropic theories. His theory is very definite and very clear. Peace is a lull during which to prepare for war. Make every imaginable preparation. The object is to get every available man and gun to the decisive point. War should be waged with the utmost violence. There are two useful kinds of surprise ; one is the surprise of an unexpected attack, the other is the surprise of secret and superior preparation. Preparation for war is part of war. "If one of two belligerents is determined to seek the great decision of arms, then he has a high probability of success as soon as he is certain his opponent will not take that way, but follows a different object" (i.e., disarmament proposals). Commanders should make war with the utmost energy in order to destroy the enemy in a single battle. War is a part of policy. These are the axioms of the German war lords and politicians. They learnt from Clausewitz and Bismarck. There is an English translation of Clausewitz, published by Kegan Paul ; it is a most important book, and should be read by every Briton who imagines that foreign soldiers and statesmen take their political and military ideas from the publications of our Religious Tract Society.

Proof?

The proof stares us out of countenance. What maxim of Clausewitz was disregarded by Germany in 1866 and in 1870 ? War was made when expedient. War was made with the utmost violence. Both enemies were surprised—surprised by the suddenness of the onset, and the magnitude of the preparations. Austria, Bohemia, and France were deceived as to the real intentions of Prussia ; as much deceived as Britain is to-day.

How have the Germans acted to us ?

When we proposed disarmament, and gave an earnest of our goodwill by checking our naval programme, what did the Germans do ? They took the hint of Clausewitz, and made a desperate rush to catch up to us. If one of two belligerents is determined upon war, he has a good chance of success against an opponent who is trying to arrange peace. The German war-lords laughed in their sleeves when we made our weak proposal ; snatched at the chance to steal a march on us.

Proof ?

Was ever a threatened country given such proofs of hostile purposes as Germany has given us ? We have had a hundredfold more proof than France or Austria had ; and we have the historical examples of their downfall to guide us.

Here is the whole theory printed in plain words in Clausewitz. Here is the realisation of the theory

MR. BLATNFORD'S HISTORIO LETTERS (Continued)

printed in history in two cases of the most flagrant kind. Here are the recorded sayings of German generals, statesmen, journalists, and professors. Here are the hurried and colossal preparations of ships, bases, docks, and fortifications.

But the Kaiser has spoken in favour of peace. So did the Emperor William I.; but he went to war.

The case is complete. The theory and the practice fit as a glove fits the hand. Clausewitz provided the theory; Bismarck, the Emperor William I., and Moltke put it into practice.

What is wanting to make the lesson patent and personal to us? Reading the theory in Clausewitz, reading the attack and defeat of Austria and France in history, reading the speeches and the writings of the Kaiser, Treitschke, and other German leaders, remembering the reception of our overtures for disarmament, considering the development of the German Navy, and the significant action of Germany at Kiel, at Heligoland, at Wilhelmshaven, and Borkum, what is wanting to convince us of the hostile intentions of Germany towards Britain?

War and Policy

War is a part of policy, and preparation is a part of war. The set-back to France in the case of M. Delcassé and of Russia in the Balkans; what were these but acts of war? Were they not a proof that war is a part of policy, and that force is to the statesman what arms are to the soldier? Were they not proof enough that where Germany deems intervention expedient she will intervene if she has the power?

Why should we expect Germany to be more lenient or generous to us than she was to Austria and to France? M. Lenoir, in his book, "The German Spy System in France," tells us that Germany spends £780,000 a year on her secret service, and that prior to the Franco-German War, there were 36,000 German spies in France. Are we to suppose that Germany spends all that money for the purpose of cementing her friendship with foreign Powers?

If Germany had 36,000 spies in France in 1870, how many are there in England to-day? Are they here for good? Bismarck said the money was well spent, and was an excellent investment.

To-day the Germans are spending immense sums upon their Navy. That also is an investment. If it pays as well as the spies paid, we shall some day have to meet a pretty bill. But perhaps by then we shall have deprived the Lords of their veto, and that will always be something of a consolation.

November 25th.

WHY I HAVE WRITTEN

(To the Editor of the "Daily Mail").

Sir,—Those of us who believe the Empire to be

threatened by a serious and growing danger are, I think, generally of opinion that the cause of our unreadiness to meet that danger is the incredulity of "our ill-informed and lethargic nation."

In spite of the strenuous and unselfish efforts of Earl Roberts and Lord Charles Beresford, the public refuse to believe that the sinister preparations of Germany constitute a menace to this country.

The fact is the British public will not heed the warnings of naval and military men. They look to their accredited political leaders; and those leaders allow party interests or political conventions to close their lips. The people do not recognise the danger; they will not listen to their sailors, not to their soldiers; and their political leaders are timid and divided.

It is true that Mr. Balfour has spoken plainly in favour of a naval loan; but the evil party system has almost nullified his efforts. If the two great parties cannot agree to place the Navy above party politics, and if Mr. Balfour cannot see his way to a frank public statement and a brave and outspoken appeal to the nation, disaster will come upon the nation. In the hour of such awakening the nation will deal sternly with Ministers whose weakness has betrayed it. But it will be then too late.

Internal Differences and External Danger

I ask you, Sir, to allow me to repeat my last year's warning because I feel that the impending election should be fought out not on the question of the Lords' Veto, but upon the question of the defence of the Empire. It is surely the most obvious common sense that internal differences should be suspended in face of external danger.

A powerful Navy is not, in my opinion, sufficient for our Imperial needs, but it is the first essential to our existence as a nation and an Empire. We need a larger Army, because owing to the enormous increase of Continental armies we have fallen to the rank of third-rate military Power, and because our vast Empire cannot be defended with the forces now at our command. But we need a sufficient Navy first, because without it we are a prey to any nation strong enough to attack us.

The first duty of every Briton is to insist upon the creation of a sufficient and efficient Navy. The first duty of every British statesman, no matter what the interests of his party may be, is to inform the nation of the magnitude and nature of the danger and to formulate and carry out plans for defence.

Those who rely upon the benevolence of foreign statesmen are living in a fools' paradise; they are closing their eyes to facts which they do not wish to see.

Does any sane person in the wide world believe that if the bulk of our Navy were destroyed in a tempest Germany would not take advantage of our defencelessness? Does any sane person believe that we should be

MR. BLATCHFORD'S HISTORIC LETTERS (Continued)

allowed to keep India, Egypt, Gibraltar, South Africa, and Australia, if any foreign Power were convinced that our Empire could be dismembered?

Does any sane person believe that if Germany were sure she had the power she would not take the whole of our trade, our Colonies, and our possessions, and annex the whole of Europe from the North Cape to Palermo? It is a question of power and expediency. "Is it expedient to do this? and have we the power to do this?" as Clausewitz said. Foreign statesmen would no more hesitate to seize our possessions than we hesitated to seize Egypt and the Rand.

It was the failure of our statesmen to recognise the German policy, as taught by Clausewitz, that led to the present dangerous crisis. It was the wish for a curtailment of armaments, and the experiment of reducing our battleship programme, which encouraged Germany to renewed energy in the race for supremacy at sea. German statesmen, thinking as Clausewitz thought, saw their opportunity in our weakness, and increased and hastened their preparations. If, after the Hague Conference failure, our Government had doubled their programme the present danger could not have arisen, or could not have arisen for many years. Now it is close upon us, and a repetition of our former blunder will place us at the mercy of a nation which considers only power and expediency, and will have the power.

Let us consider the warning of General Homer Lea to America, and apply it to ourselves:

The Hour of Desolation

"Whenever the wealth and luxury of a nation stand in inverse ratio to its military strength, the hour of its desolation, if not at hand, approaches. When the opulence and unmartial qualities of one nation stand in inverse ratio to the poverty and the military prowess of another, while their expansion is convergent, there result those inevitable wars wherein the commercial nation collapses and departs from the activities of mankind for ever."

General Lea's description of the military and un-military nation applies exactly to Germany and Britain.

To-day, upon the eve of an election to be fought upon the question of the Lords' veto, the following passage from the same writer is painfully apposite:

"As the Government of a nation passes under popular control its energies and progress are more and more consumed in the contention of internal affairs, while the nation as a whole drifts along among Scyllas and shoals innumerable. It is in this drifting that the tempests of war are encountered. A nation, to withstand the tides and storms of erosive time, must progress internationally; its internal affairs made subordinate to its foreign

policy, and controlled to conform to its needs and vicissitudes."

Our foreign policy is subordinated to our internal disputes. We appeal to the nation to decide upon the Lords' veto when we ought to appeal to them to decide the great first question of the national existence.

A naval loan and a resolute naval policy will meet the immediate danger; but the maintenance of the balance of power (which is vital to us) and the defence of our Colonies and possessions puts upon us, in face of the colossal Continental military preparations, the task of bringing our land forces up to the modern first-class Power standard. An invincible Navy we must have first; but that alone is not sufficient for our need. A vast Empire entails a vast force. We cannot hold an Empire such as ours without arduous labour and great sacrifice. A citizen of Empire needs an Imperial soul. This is an essential part of my case; but, for the present, I will confine myself as much as possible to naval matters.

Prussia invaded Austria in 1866 and France in 1870, forcing war upon these countries for the sake of political pre-eminence. Why should we believe that Germany, with a ten-fold greater prize in view, will behave any better to us? It is now, as it was then, a mere question of expediency and power.

Has Germany the power? If we can put ourselves in our rival's place, and look at the position as with German eyes, we shall find the situation very grave.

Britain is not a military Power, she is largely anti-military; Germany is a military nation; all her sons are soldiers.

Germany United

Britain is disunited; Germany is homogeneous. We are quarrelling about the Lords' veto, Home Rule, and a dozen other questions of domestic politics. We have a Little Navy party, an anti-militarist party; Germany is unanimous upon the question of naval expansion.

Germany's power is compact. Her people are a solid phalanx of armed men prepared for war. We have Colonies and possessions all over the globe. We have a vast Indian Empire to manage; we have South Africa and Egypt to attend to and to defend; in case of war we should have to reckon with disaffection in India and Egypt. Germany could concentrate the whole of her energy, thought, and power upon the North Sea and her own frontiers.

Our entente with France is more than counter-balanced by the German alliance with Austria.

We could offer France little help and little reward. Austria's help would be of great value to Germany, and it is not difficult to see how an alliance with Germany would serve Austria's interest.

Should we destroy every ship in the German Navy we could do Germany no further harm. We could not invade Germany; we could not compel her to pay

MR. BLATCHFORD'S HISTORIC LETTERS (Continued)

an indemnity. But if our Fleet were defeated Germany would be in a position to strip us naked, to bleed us white.

In case of war with Germany our supplies of food and raw material, as well as our export and import trade, would suffer, and that would bring distress upon our workers. Germany would not suffer nearly so much.

Let us weigh up these considerations as they would be weighed by a German commander trained in the school of Clausewitz. Let us consider the richness and magnitude of the prize at stake; let us remember that our defeat would lift Germany at once to the position of the greatest world-Power; then let us realise that nothing will stand between that prize and Germany but a margin of four Dreadnoughts? What, were we German statesmen, would be our decision?

It would not be a reduction of armaments. It would be a decision to make every effort and to shirk no expense in our desire to turn that narrow margin of British naval power into a margin on the side of Germany.

Well, Germany is making that great effort. If we allow her to succeed, what can we expect to happen?

Trade, Colonies, and Possessions

Trade, and colonies, and possessions; the political, naval, and military predominance of Europe; naval glory added to military glory; Britain crushed, France left helpless; who expects any German statesman to forgo such a magnificent destiny? Here is expediency dazzling the eyes with its brilliance; only the power is wanting—a few more battleships; another couple of years of British complacency and hesitation.

I would recommend those who would harbour a belief in the benevolence of German policy to read a book called "The German Spy System in France," a translation of which is published by Mills and Boon. This work throws a light upon German methods in war and policy which ought to make the truth evident to the friendly and unsuspecting mind.

The author, M. Lenoir, relates how the Germans contrived to get many spies employed on the French railways; how these spies were detected; and the Germans then tried to foment French railway strikes, and circulated anti-patriotic and anti-militarist pamphlets among the French workers. M. Lenoir tells us that in 1870 there were 36,000 spies in France. Each of these men was an agent in advance for the German armies. How many foreigners are there in this country to-day, and are none of them German spies? In the event of war German spies and agents resident in England might do very serious harm; they might attack our

arsenals, our railways, our harbours, our telegraphs. Englishmen are slow to believe in espionage. When "Punch" prints a funny picture of a number of German waiters doing sword drill with table-knives the Englishman laughs. But a careful study of "The German Spy System in France" will considerably discount Mr. Punch's humour. If the "spy scare" is baseless, on what do the German Government spend more than three-quarters of a million of secret service money annually?

The optimistic belief of our people in the benevolence of Bismarck's pupils is creditable to their own goodness of heart; it arises, doubtless, from a noble spirit of international fraternity and a disinclination to pay taxes, and is very beautiful; but it is not politics, and it is not justified by a study of Clausewitz.

I can conceive also that the British peers are all that Mr. Lloyd George believes them to be; and that they have wickedly neutralised the efforts of a good, kind Liberal Government. But I cannot regard them as more dangerous than the pupils of Bismarck and Clausewitz, and I earnestly recommend the British electorate to postpone the abolition of the House of Peers for the present and to take immediate steps to prevent a peace-loving and pro-British German General Staff from abolishing the British Empire.—ROBERT BLATCHFORD.

MR. McKENNA'S FAITH IN GERMANY

Mr. McKenna, First Lord of the Admiralty, speaking in North Monmouthshire (December 31st), said:

"Our opponents have made a variety of efforts to obscure the issue, and your luckless representative has come in for a good deal of incidental attack, in the hope that, by bringing the Navy on the scene, public attention might be diverted from the House of Lords. A well-known Socialist writer has been pressed into the service of a Tory newspaper, in order to make your blood creep with horrible imaginings as to the designs of a great friendly foreign Power.

"I don't know what effect the articles that have been written might have upon that great and friendly foreign Power, but I am sure they have had very little effect on the feeling of the people of this country, and I am still more sure that they have no influence on a single vote. Why should they have? If all these impending disasters were real, *which they are not*, at any rate the public would realise that the naval and military defensive forces of the

Crown are more powerful and efficient to-day, by common admission, than they have ever been in the whole course of our history. And, therefore, because, according to this writer, these forces are to be called up at some future time to show their merit, no reason can be shown for voting against the Government which has brought this force into its present state of excellence."

Mr. Blatchford's Reply to Mr. McKenna

(To the Editor of the "Daily Mail")

"Sir,—Will you kindly grant me a little of your space that I may deal faithfully with Mr. McKenna?"

"Mr. McKenna's latest speech, as reported in your columns, is calculated to make the judicious grieve. He says: 'A well-known Socialist writer has been pressed into the service of a Tory newspaper in order to make your blood creep with horrible imaginings as to the designs of a great and friendly Power.'

"I was not 'pressed into the service' of the 'Daily Mail.' I have said so; you, sir, in your editorial columns, have twice said so; Mr. McKenna knows that we have said so.

"Now, will Mr. McKenna withdraw that false statement and apologise; or will he support it by any kind of evidence; or will he hide himself in a coward's castle, and reduce me to the painful necessity of telling him in plain Cobbett what he is and is not?

"Mr. McKenna alludes to Germany as a great and friendly foreign Power. Has Mr. McKenna forgotten his scare speech a few months ago on the unforeseen acceleration of that friendly foreign Power's battleship programme? Has he forgotten that the Cabinet had to make a shamefaced ad-

mission that the friendly foreign Power had stolen a march upon them? Has he forgotten that the Cabinet had to lay down extra Dreadnoughts in a hurry to meet that friendly Power's friendly overtures half-way? Or does Mr. McKenna imagine that we have forgotten these things?

"No Influence on Votes"

"Mr. McKenna says he is sure that my articles have had very little effect on the people of this country. But Mr. McKenna may be mistaken, as he was about the German rate of building. A man of Mr. McKenna's intelligence will find it easier and safer to be wise after the event. And Mr. McKenna is 'still more sure' (Cabinet English) that my articles 'have had no influence on a single vote.' *Votes! Votes! What has the danger of the Empire to do with votes?*

"I wrote those articles for men and women, not for votes; and it is to men and women, and not to votes, that Mr. McKenna will have to answer.

"Mr. McKenna informed his hearers that the naval and military forces of the Crown are more powerful and efficient than they have ever been in the whole course of our history. A pretty quibble. But the question is not whether our Fleet is stronger or weaker now than it was in the reign of Elizabeth; the question is whether our Fleet is equal to the calls that may be made upon it. The British Navy of to-day has not to meet the British Navy of yesterday, it has to meet the German Navy of to-morrow.

"If Mr. McKenna could see the letters I have received from officers of all ranks in the Navy and the army, from professional men and business men, from authors, travellers, and journalists, he might not feel so sure himself as he would have us believe him to be.

"Mr. McKenna is in a tight place. If he thinks he can wriggle out of it by bluff or by quibbles, or by evasions, he does not understand the men he has to deal with.

"R. BLATCHFORD."

1911

THE "DAILY MAIL" CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE DECLARATION OF LONDON

In January, 1911, the "Daily Mail" instituted its great campaign against the Declaration of London.

The Declaration was drafted by representatives of Britain, Germany, France, the United States, Japan, Austria, Italy, Russia, and Holland, in conference in London, and was signed in February, 1909. It was the code of laws which the new Hague International Prize Court must follow in the event of war.

Main Features

It permitted in effect the capture of all foodstuffs on the way to Great Britain in neutral ships.

It admitted the principle of the destruction of neutral prizes.

It failed to forbid the conversion at sea of merchantmen into commerce destroyers.

It limited the powers of a blockading squadron in time of war. The result would be to endanger food supplies to Britain, to raise the cost of our food in war, and to prevent the effective use of British Fleets to defeat the enemy.

In the words of Admiral de Horsey, "it is well calculated to destroy the British Empire in case of war."

One of its most important features dealt with the right of capturing foodstuffs in the time of war.

For example, one neutral ship, A, is carrying food to Glasgow. Another neutral ship, B, is carrying food to Germany. A is liable to seizure by the German Fleet. Glasgow and all other British ports would rank as naval bases according to the Declaration. But B cannot be touched by British warships. Her destination is Antwerp, a neutral port, whence her cargo will go by rail to Germany. Germany's supplies are immune. The British supplies are liable to seizure. Every country with land frontiers would thus have a vast advantage over an island State.

A second defect of the Declaration was that it permitted the destruction of neutral prizes. That is to say, in a war between Germany and China, German cruisers could destroy British ships on the allegation that they had contraband on board.

A third and vital defect was that it did not forbid the conversion of merchantmen into commerce-destroyers on the high seas. Thus in war such a Power as Germany could send out merchantmen flying the peace flag, which could proceed to distant seas, using neutral ports, and in distant seas attack the shipping of an enemy. Neutral ports would be closed to regular warships.

A fourth defect was that the Declaration sought to limit the right of blockading fleets in time of war in such a way as to hamper our admirals and captains, and to blunt the edge of our only weapon, our Navy.

January 24th.

The "Daily Mail" contended that the Declaration of London should not be ratified

"Unless the instructions issued by the Foreign Office to its delegates at the Hague Conference in 1907 can be made good. 'It is essential to the interest of Great Britain,' ran these instructions, 'that every effective measure necessary to protect the importation of food supplies and raw materials for peaceful industries should be accompanied by all the sanctions which the law of nations can supply.' Unhappily, the wording of the Declaration contains no such sanctions for our food. If construed literally, it will render every ton of food consigned to British ports in neutral ships liable to capture by an enemy's cruisers.

"But, from the shipowners' standpoint, the most dangerous and objectionable feature of the Declaration is its omission of any law forbidding the conversion of merchantmen into commerce destroyers on the high seas. This opens the door to all abuses of privateering, forbidden though this was by the Declaration of Paris fifty years ago. A foreign merchantman, with guns in her hold and flying the merchant flag, will be able to steal out of port whenever the British watch is relaxed. She can then proceed, using neutral ports for coaling and successive refits, to the distant waters of the globe, where the British force is small. Once there, she can hoist the war flag and attack British shipping. The neutral ports, which would be closed to a hostile cruiser or open only under the severest restrictions, are free to her as a merchantman, and when she runs short of coal, or when her station becomes 'too hot,' she has only to return her guns and war flag to her hold and hoist the merchant flag once more to find all neutral ports open. As a consequence, Powers with no coaling stations will be able to attack Britain at her most vulnerable point—her trade—in distant waters with deadly effect, and to inflict upon her gigantic loss.

"That such an intention is entertained by our possible enemies was shown when, at the Hague and at London, the foreign delegates successfully opposed the attempts of the British delegates to obtain a regulation forbidding such a practice. And the mere fact that such a practice is not

The Declaration of London (*continued*)

forbidden will be in all probability taken by the new International Prize Court as an indication that it is permissible. It is this which more than any other feature renders the Declaration dangerous to British shipping in time of war."

Throughout the country the Press eulogised the campaign instituted by the "Daily Mail." The Liberal "Manchester Guardian" declared in a leading article: "The agitation that has begun over the Declaration of London is very useful." And Mr. Gibson Bowles, going further than any other critic, stated as his opinion that "if the Declaration of London is ratified, and the Naval Prize Bill passes into law, we shall have war with Germany in six weeks thereafter."

German Interest

The unanimity with which Imperial sentiment, as well as commercial and military and naval opinion, rallied to the "Daily Mail's" side against the ratification of the Declaration of London attracted great interest in the German Press. The Conservative "Post" declared that the "Daily Mail's" campaign "has already had such results as to require foreign Powers to reckon with the 'peril' that ratification will be refused, whereby the modest improvements adopted by the conferring Powers will be placed in jeopardy, and the old privateering rights reaffirmed."

The "Post" was frank enough to admit that "in case of war the destruction of the British mercantile marine and the starving out of the British Isles are within the range of possibilities. The English naval manœuvres (of 1909, we think) proved that by sacrificing the enemy's fleet it would certainly be possible to accomplish the almost complete destruction of the British mercantile marine. This would unmistakably cause a rise in prices of Britain's food by cutting off the sources of foreign supply. Such a crippling of the British merchant fleet would also perpetually jeopardise the British supremacy in the shipping trade."

February 17th.

A leading article again resumed the campaign. On that day the United Kingdom Chamber of Shipping was meeting, and their main business was to determine the attitude of the shipping community towards the Declaration.

An immense responsibility, said this article, rests with British shipowners, as, should they support the code of laws for naval war that has been "made in Germany," their action would probably settle the issue. On the face of it, the arguments against that code are overwhelming. It represents an ingenious attempt on the part

of Germany and the weaker navy Powers to re-arrange the rules of war to the detriment of Britain, the strongest naval Power, the one State with a world-wide Empire and with an enormous mercantile marine.

The Declaration hampers our Navy when we are at war, strengthens all the weaker naval Powers, menaces our food supply with deadly peril, and allows privateers to attack our shipping and to use for that attack neutral ports in every part of the world. Food proceeding to Germany in neutral ships cannot be touched by our cruisers, provided these ships land their cargo at Antwerp or Rotterdam, so that the food supply of Germany is assured. But food in neutral ships proceeding to British ports is liable to capture and destruction by the German cruisers. The Continental Power is favoured, the insular State is threatened with starvation. *And the origin of these singular rules was a German draft.* As if it were not enough to imperil the food supplies of this country, when two foreign Powers are at war, the cruisers of these Powers are given the right to destroy British shipping by another rule taken from the German draft, and we have no redress but to carry our complaint to the International Court, which, as we have said, has no means of enforcing justice. Thus on both these points we make disastrous surrenders to Germany.

But when we asked in exchange that Germany's claim to convert her merchant ships into commerce-destroyers on the high seas should be forbidden—a claim which would enable those ships to masquerade as inoffensive "liners" and "tramps," and, Sir Edward Grey's words, "to claim and obtain as merchantmen in neutral ports all the hospitality and privileges which would, under the accepted laws of naval warfare, be denied to them if they were warships"—we were met with a flat refusal on Germany's part. The Declaration represents, in the homely phrase, a leap from the frying-pan into the fire. To tell us that we may not be able to command the sea, and so to enforce our rights under the existing practice of International Law, is no argument for Englishmen. We must be able to command the sea, and if we surrender the command of the sea, then the most admirable code of rules—and this is essentially unfair and one-sided—will be of not the slightest practical value to give us safety.

A Significant German Comment

"The sailors' strike affords lively evidence of the critical position which would inevitably ensue in England if the island kingdom were even for a short time cut from supplies from abroad. The shortage of provisions and food-stuffs, especially eggs, bacon, and butter, in various parts of the country is already making itself felt. Many of these products are not to be had at all, and prices are

The Declaration of London (continued)

correspondingly high. The present state of affairs in England shows that utterly incalculable conditions would come into existence in case of warlike developments, because England is more dependent on imports of vital necessities, such as food and wood, than any other country on the face of the globe."—*"Deutsche Tageszeitung,"* Berlin.

January 17th.

The Proposed Fortification of the Scheldt

Attention has recently been called to the fact that the Dutch Government, while neglecting their defences on the east, are proposing to spend over £3,000,000 on their coast defences. That part of the scheme which directly concerns the Powers of Europe is the fortification of the Scheldt, at the entrance to which is Flushing. The Scheldt gives access to Antwerp, upon which is based the whole system of defences of Belgium. Belgium is a protected State. Its integrity and independence are guaranteed by five of the Powers of Europe, and in the event of a breach of neutrality one or all of these Powers must come to the assistance of Belgium. Assuming that the invasion came from the east, as it undoubtedly would in a Continental war, the natural approach of the defenders of Belgian neutrality would be by way of the Scheldt. If Holland, which is not a guaranteed State, were a party to this invasion, the fortification of the Scheldt would be a serious obstacle to the defence of Belgium.

To France the neutrality of Belgium is vital, for a breach of that neutrality would expose her armies to a flank attack from the north. The effect of an active barrier in the Scheldt would be to bottle up Antwerp and to reduce to impotence the whole system of Belgian defences. The Dutch have no quarrel with Belgium at this moment, and there is no reason why they should seek to put this menace on their neighbours.

January 31st

Anti-Aviation

At the annual dinner of the Royal Aero Club (the Duke of Argyll in the chair), *Major Sir A. Bannerman* said that aviation would not revolutionise war, as was sometimes stated, but would simply change the way in which it was conducted. . . . He doubted whether for military purposes the aeroplane was much ahead of what it was when Wright first flew.

The Navy Again

The "Daily Mail" called attention (February 14th, 1911) to the virulent and violent campaign of a certain section of the Radical Party against the Navy at a most critical time in our naval history. A determined attack was being made upon the

Admiralty's proposals for the forthcoming financial year, involving an expenditure of about forty-five millions. The Little Navy section of the Government demanded that no addition should be made to naval expenditure, that forty millions should be the limit, and that beyond that the Board of Admiralty should not go.

It is a commonplace (said the "Daily Mail") that this country depends on its Navy for its security and for its very existence. It has a Regular Army which scarcely counts in the European scale. It has a Territorial Force which will not be ready to fight till six months after the war has begun, and which is at the present moment 45,000 officers and men short of the minimum strength required by Mr. Haldane and the War Office for our safety. It has a shipping equal to the rest of the world, on which it depends for its food. It is confronted with what a dispassionate American authority, Admiral Mahan, has called the "high development of the German Navy within the past decade"—a development which still continues, and which has been followed by a disquieting increase in the Austrian Navy, a force bound to Germany by the closest ties of alliance and common interest. Germany, the first military Power of the world, who is to-day able to place in the field four millions of trained soldiers, is, in fact, rapidly creating a fleet of the first magnitude; and as fast as her ships are completed they are stationed in the North Sea. Between 1904 and 1910 her naval expenditure doubled, while the actual outlay on the British Fleet slightly declined.

The attitude of men who refuse to spend anything at all on the Navy is at least logical, though it would bring the speedy end of Britain. But the attitude of those who will spend a large sum, but too little for our safety, is altogether illogical and unintelligible. It is the fatuous policy of spoiling the ship for a halfpennyworth of tar.

We cannot disarm in the midst of an armed camp. We have no option but to go on sadly, but with unflinching resolution to maintain the comparative preponderance of naval strength which for a hundred years has been recognised by friends and foes alike as the irreducible minimum of our national security.

Our naval supremacy, living as we do from day to day on food brought from overseas, and with no conscript army of millions to defend our country, is a matter of life and death. We do not argue about it. We maintain it, and must go on maintaining it against all challengers, even if it comes to the spending of our last penny.

Little Navy Sentimentalists

A debate on the German Navy in the Reichstag coincided with the moment when the British Naval Estimates for the coming year were in framing.

Dealing with the German increases, and the attitude of the Little Navy party in England, the "Daily Mail" (February 16th, 1911) observed:

There are a number of ingenuous persons in this country who are putting the dots on the German "i's" and crossing the German "t's," and telling us that there is no need whatever for continuing the development of the Navy. In their eyes it is proof positive of harmless pacific intentions when Germany lays down four Dreadnoughts, as she will this year, and when her ally Austria begins two. But it is a sign of original sin and insult to Admiral Tirpitz for the British Admiralty to ask for five ships for the British Navy.

The attitude of these sentimentalists in our midst is the more extraordinary because they are ready to swallow anything that any German speaker, however unimportant, and however devoid of responsibility and official standing, tells them, while they discredit everything that a British Minister says on the subject, even when he is of their own party. Mr. Asquith, Mr. McKenna, and Sir Edward Grey, they now allege, were guilty of dishonesty and misrepresentation in alluding in 1909 to the fact that Germany is building a fleet of thirty-three Dreadnoughts with remarkable speed, and in requiring that Britain should provide a superior force. We do not wish for one moment to impute any hostile purpose to Germany, though the Kaiser, in his famous interview, declared that he was Britain's only friend in Germany; but a navy which is effective for defence, and which has a vast army behind it, can be deadly for offence. We do not doubt that the purpose of the German Government is pacific, but only because it aims at placing Germany in such a position that she will be able to obtain all that she requires without fighting. It is to give her statesmen the power to say to other States, "You must concede what we want, because you are not strong enough to fight." This was the policy adopted by Germany in the case of Russia in March, 1909, and in the case of France in 1905. In neither instance was there war. But in each case, as Admiral Mahan has said, if "no blows were exchanged, force determined the issues." The weakening of the British Navy would pave the way for further examples of this "diplomacy of the sword." That the British Navy exists only for defence is abundantly clear, from the fact that Britain has nothing to gain by war and everything to lose by it; and that, though for a century her Fleet has been supreme at sea, its force has never been employed for attack.

It was at this time that Count Reventlow, the naval expert, asserted in the "Deutsche Tageszeitung," that the declaration of Admiral Tirpitz, Minister of Marine, in the Reichstag, that the essence of German naval policy, the "ceterum censeo," was to build a fleet so powerful that it would be a "risk" for any other Power to attack it, was "undoubtedly a hint to Great Britain." (The ceterum censeo was an allusion to Cato's constantly repeated phrase in the Roman Senate, "Ceterum censeo Carthaginem esse delendam," which may be translated: "For the rest, I think that Carthage should be destroyed.")

And "Die Post," of Berlin, gave vent to this declaration:

"Germany cannot be defeated by international conferences, but only with the sword in the hand. But the German sword is still sharper and more terrible than that of its enemies or its so-called friends. It is possible that a great war would ruin France, Italy, and the other Latin nations, but in Germany everybody knows that such an opportunity would prove the real strength of the German nation, and not its ruin. The 'blessings of peace' of recent years have only harmed Germany and benefited other States which have cause to fear war."

"WHERE IS THE DANGER?"

But, in the House of Commons, on March 13th, Mr. Murray Macdonald was undeterred from moving a resolution "That this House views with alarm the enormous increase during recent years in the expenditure on the Army and the Navy, and is of opinion that it ought to be diminished."

Mr. Murray Macdonald asked what was the danger that justified the increase of expenditure? The reply of the "Daily Mail" was that he had only to look abroad for the answer, where, since 1904, the German expenditure on the navy had increased by twelve millions, and that of Austria by two and a half millions.

"Yet," continued the article (March 14th), "by some odd process of reasoning, Mr. Macdonald and his friends have arrived at the belief that it is right and prudent for the Triple Alliance, to which sea power matters little or nothing, to spend an additional seventeen millions on building ships; while it is wrong and 'provocative' for Britain, whose very existence depends on her Fleet, to spend a further five millions. Yet Mr. Macdonald admitted 'that what other countries did must have an influence on what we did,' though he professed it 'was not certain that it was other countries who were giving the example which we had to follow,' or whether it was we who were giving the example which other countries had to follow.' He may

possess his soul in peace. In 1907, the present Government attempted to limit the competition of naval armaments at The Hague. Its efforts were rebuffed by Germany, and failed. But none the less, in 1908, it followed Mr. Macdonald's advice. By way of setting a good example, it laid down only two Dreadnoughts and cut down its estimates by some millions as compared with 1904. The result was that Germany instantly introduced a new Navy Act, expanding her programme from three to four Dreadnoughts, and increasing her Navy Estimates by eight millions, up to the present year."

The Aeroplane

This article was followed next day (March 15th) by an analysis of the present position and expenditure of the European Powers as regards the new arm of warfare, the aeroplane, with special allusion to the activity of Germany. It was shown that the outlay of England was insufficient, and at that time mainly devoted to expensive "dirigibles," "the utility of which in war time, in comparison with aeroplanes, is seriously questioned."

These figures were given in support of the "Daily Mail's" contention.

Country		Number of Airmen	Number of Aeroplanes
France	.. ..	50	50
Germany	.. ..	40	40
Russia	.. ..	15	20
England	.. ..	14	5

March 15th.

There is sound reason for all this expenditure and activity. In the most exhaustive tests, although it is even yet only an experimental machine, the aeroplane has demonstrated with out the shadow of a doubt that its reconnoitring uses in war time will be of signal importance. Military experts have recognised that, employed in well organised squadrons, the aeroplane could be made an effective engine of destruction.

Another Proposal to Germany, and the German Answer

Sir Edward Grey (in a speech on March 13th in the House of Commons, during the Navy Debate), whilst welcoming a scheme of President Taft's for eliminating war by the creation of a new international court of arbitration, suggested that some agreement on the subject of armaments might be reached between England and Germany. He advocated "a frank exchange of information between the two Governments, to guard against surprise," and asked whether some retardation of naval expenditure, within the limits of the German Naval Law, might not be secured, or some under-

standing arrived at that there should be no addition to the present naval programme in Germany.

The "Daily Mail's" comment upon this and a non-committal communique issued in reply by the German Government, was that

Any agreements on armaments between the two Powers concerned must be such a difficult matter that all its details should be very carefully considered. We have to remember the very unfortunate effect of Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman's efforts in this direction in 1907. They were regarded by the German Press and by a part of the German people as a dexterous British manœuvre to place the German Navy permanently in a position of inferiority. Being so interpreted, instead of producing any relaxation of tension, they inflamed German feeling, and were promptly followed by the Great Navy Act of 1908, which Germany is at present carrying out. Sir Edward Grey's proposals, so far, have been fortunate in that they have elicited this first response, which is not unfriendly or hostile in character.

It is quite clear, however, from the communique, that official Germany does not view Mr. Taft's scheme with any enthusiasm, and is disposed to throw cold water on his plan of general arbitration as a substitute for war. But if the question of armaments can be discussed in a serious and friendly way between Britain and Germany, something at least would be gained.

And, in a further article (on March 17th) it was pointed out that

Since 1904 the Triple Alliance has increased its naval outlay seventeen millions. In the same period the British increase has been less than four millions. In the present year the Triple Alliance is laying down eight large armoured ships. Britain is only laying down five. With such figures before the country—figures which no one can contest or dispute—it is impossible to understand how any sane and cool-headed man can advocate any reduction in British armaments. A generation ago Mr. Bagehot, the well-known economist, declared that British armaments "are only, as it were, functions of foreign armaments, and if foreign Powers increase theirs, we shall as a principle increase ours." This is the rule of common sense, and of duty. But unhappily the Government have not acted upon it. *Strong though we are at sea to-day, that strength will pass like the dew of dawn unless we gird up our loins and show our willingness to pay the price of peace by further reinforcing the Navy.*

It is a disastrous fact that, as yesterday's debate showed, so many of the Liberal and Labour Party are so reckless of the coming danger, and so short-sighted that they cannot look beyond their noses. Perpetually they attack the British Government for replying to the naval preparations of foreign Powers. They do not seem to blame those Powers, who are the real cause of the race of naval armaments. They regard it as righteous for Germany to lay down this year four gigantic armoured ships, though her army is incontestably the strongest on the Continent, and there is no Power that could attack her with any prospect of success, and though the command of the sea matters little to her. But for Britain to lay down five is a manifestation of original sin, and this though we depend on the sea for our very existence and independence. Whatever it costs, we must maintain our naval supremacy; we must maintain it against all challengers. It means for us life or death. And, after all, though the cost of an adequate fleet is high, "battle-ships are cheaper than battles."

And on March 20th :

How Europe in the future may evolve we cannot tell, though we may legitimately hope that its evolution towards the goal of peace and righteousness will be helped by an agreement between the Anglo-Saxon races. But in the meantime, in the words of Mr. Lloyd George : "We cannot disarm in the midst of an armed camp. We have no option but to go on sadly but with unflinching resolution to maintain the comparative preponderance of naval strength which for a hundred years has been recognised by friends and foes alike as the irreducible minimum of our safety." *We are engaged in a competition in armaments, which means in will-power and the determination to survive, with Germany, a nation which, like ourselves, is one of the most virile in the world and which is sprung from the self-same stock. The world is large enough for us both, but for us there can be no questioning of surrendering our place in it. Not jingoism, not idle pride, but the very existence and comfort and independence of the British people command us to hold our own in this competition. If we fail in it, we shall fail only through want of character and will, and we shall have deserved all the disasters which will then certainly overtake us. We must, then, go forward and provide the ships and men. Arbitration remains our ideal, our hope, our "gleaming goal," but while we shall do all that lies in our power to ripen opinion upon it and convert others to it, we cannot sacrifice our safety or forget that the explosive forces in Europe were never greater than to-day. The Golden Age has not yet dawned.*

The German "No" Again

All the "golden dreams," as the "Daily Mail" regretfully described them, of an Anglo-German agreement were once more rudely shattered in the German Reichstag on March 31st. "The Fatherland's 'outstretched hand' proves to be an empty and meaningless phrase. The Kaiser's Government once more banished to the realm of Utopia the idea of a naval understanding with Britain."

"As long as men are men and States are States the question of limiting armaments will remain insoluble." This is the kernel of a short and decisive speech by the Imperial Chancellor, Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg, in answer to Radical and Socialist resolutions urging him to enter without delay into international negotiations for the limitations of armaments and the extension of arbitration. The Conservatives, Catholic-Centrists, and the National Liberals, comprising two-thirds of the elected representatives of the German nation, approved heartily and unreservedly the Chancellor's remarks. The assurance of German Radicals that the "overwhelming majority" of the nation sympathises with British desires for naval peace with Germany is revealed as a hollow and baseless theory.

As far as Germany was concerned there would be no disarmament, no arbitration, and no naval agreement with Great Britain. The Chancellor said : "As long as men are men and States are States, the question of limiting armaments will remain insoluble. Let there arise between two nations antagonism which touch their vital interests, and I should like to see the arbitration treaty that does not burn like tinder."

"The condition of peace is strength. The old saying still holds good that the weak will be the prey of the strong."

Count von Reventlow, the naval expert, chose the same day for publishing an article in the "Deutsche Tageszeitung," designed to clear up the "friendly fantasies and optical illusions" of English Ministers who think that 1917 will mark the end of the German shipbuilding programme.

The leading article of the "Daily Mail" upon the German "No" is reprinted almost in full. It stands to-day as a challenge to those who have accused that journal of desire to keep friction alive between Britain and Germany :

April 1st.

The speech of the German Imperial Chancellor, Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg, is momentous in every way. It gives the official German reply to the British overtures on the subject of disarmament—overtures, be it remembered, which have been thrice repeated by this country to Germany in the past four years. In 1907, before the Hague Conference,

our Ministers made known their readiness to enter into an understanding as to the limitation of naval expenditure. That offer was rebuffed. Undismayed, they proceeded to reduce the British naval programme in 1908 to two Dreadnoughts; Germany promptly increased her programme to four. In the present year Sir Edward Grey has renewed the offer of 1907 and 1908, only to receive a crushing answer from the German Chancellor. Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg's reply is a flat refusal, couched in the plainest terms. There is to be no disarmament, no arbitration, and no naval agreement. He has further intimated that Germany cannot recognise Britain's claim to maintain her naval superiority. Germany, in fact, will not accept Britain's present position in the world or acquiesce in it for one moment longer than is necessary.

The tenour of that speech will come as a great shock to those generous minds who are striving for the victory of peace and righteousness. It justifies our own regretful criticism of ten days ago that the Golden Age had not begun with Sir Edward Grey's speech. The "gleaming goal" is not to be reached forthwith. Yet the enthusiasm of the idealist is justified. It is no unworthy aspiration for which Mr. Taft has striven, and which Mr. Secretary Knox expressed last year in his prayer for the coming of the day "when, by deliberate international conjunction, the strong shall universally help the weak, and when the corporate righteousness of the world shall compel unrighteousness to disappear, and shall destroy the habitations of cruelty lingering in the dark places of the earth." Minds such as those of these American statesmen cannot but note with concern and anxiety the ever-growing outlay on the world upon arms and armaments, and the resultant economic pressure upon human life. Germany, to challenge Britain's position, is borrowing one-fourth of her expenditure on her fleet. Britain, in consequence, is compelled to devote to cordite and to steel seventy millions which the social reformer would apply for social purposes and for bettering the lot of man. Energy which is at present being wasted unproductively in guarding each nation's possessions against the international evil-doer would be set free if only the great States of the world would agree to submit their quarrels to arbitration of law instead of insisting on the ordeal of blood. Germany has shattered that dream, and her antagonism is fatal to any world-wide realisation of Mr. Taft's great ideal.

It cannot be said, even in Germany, that Britain has abused her naval position. For a century the British Fleet has been supreme at sea. Its power has never been used unjustly to menace or attack another people. No State in Europe has suffered from it; all, on the contrary, have benefited by it. As Admiral Mahan has pointed out, the British Navy has always stood for the world's peace, and

were the check which it exerts upon aggressive schemes removed, were its counterpoise withdrawn from Europe, a condition of chaos would result. The assertion sometimes made in Germany that Britain contemplates attack on German maritime interests will not stand scrutiny for an instant.

When our superiority at sea was even greater than it is to-day, we never even meditated such an attack. We have obtained for ourselves with our sea power no advantage that we have not been willing to share freely with other and weaker naval States. The markets not of Britain only, but of all our Crown Colonies and Dependencies throughout the world have been open to German trade on the same terms as to our own. Where we have the authority we have refused to use it to our profit. Thus Germany has gained by our strength at sea in signal degree. Yet we have now to face the fact that Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg's speech is a plain declaration that Germany cannot assent to our retaining a position in the world which threatens no one and assails none. The news need cause no alarm. Yet it must compel us to go on, as Mr. Lloyd George said, "sadly but with unflinching resolution," to provide the ships and men that will render our position secure.

We keep arbitration before us a great deal. We shall do all that lies in our power to realise it. But until the day dawns when wars are no more, when the United States of Europe are an accomplished fact, we must heed the warning of Kant, and "keep our hand on the sword hilt, lest we perish before that day." Our overtures for more peaceful and happier relations have met with a violent rebuff. For us, then, there is no choice but to arm or to go under before the aggressive forces of the world.

Germany's Shock to the World's Opinion

Public opinion, not only in Great Britain, but of leaders of the peace movement and the public of the United States, was shocked by the blunt refusal of Germany and the sentiments of the German Imperial Chancellor, Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg, that all proposals for disarmament or for the ensuing of peace by general and unlimited arbitration were impracticable and impossible. In Germany itself it was apparent the great bulk of public opinion was on the Chancellor's side. Only the organs of Radicalism and Social Democracy expressed disagreement; in all other quarters the Chancellor's declaration evoked a chorus of enthusiastic approval. Krupp's newspaper, the "Berliner Neueste Nachrichten," was overjoyed at the prospects of more and more Dreadnoughts. The National Liberal "National Zeitung," said that "the Chancellor's speech is an answer worthy of the statesman who feels himself responsible for the welfare of the German nation."

The Military and Naval organ, the "Taegliche Rundschau," declared "what the Chancellor said becomes the leader of a self-conscious Great Power. It is all such a statesman can and must say to the befuddled peace fanatics and congress brothers. All Germany agrees with the Chancellor." And the Berliner "Neueste Nachrichten" was franker still. "*Whatever price Great Britain offers us for an agreement such as she desires would be too small. So long as we keep the material instruments of power in our hands, we shall always be able, on some occasion when our good cousins are caught short on the world exchange, to snatch for ourselves the rewards held out in prospect for us.*"

In the United States resentment at the German "No" was freely expressed. The "New York Times," in particular, described the speech as "a direct answer, cold, hard, and almost scornful, to Sir Edward Grey's advances. In those passages which deal with the Navy, the speech announces a relentless adherence to the policy which Sir Edward Grey hoped to modify. It discloses a situation painful and costly, a threatening situation which makes inevitable the constant increase of the burden imposed upon both nations, and already heavy as that of actual war would have been a generation ago."

Sarcasm, indeed, was the strongest note in the American Press comment on the speech of the German Chancellor. The "Tribune" of New York challenged the Chancellor's "cynical prophecy" that as long as men are men the weak will continue to be the prey of the strong, saying that "history and the present States of Europe and the world deny it. It is true that some weak nations have been the prey of the strong, as the story of the German Empire proves, but it is no less true that some weak and practically defenceless States have stood unspoliated for years, and are likely to stand secure for ages to come."

THE CASE FOR UNIVERSAL SERVICE

Lord Roberts, on April 4th, 1911, moved a resolution in the House of Lords that

"In view of the altered strategic conditions of Europe this House views with grave and growing concern the inadequate military arrangements for the defence of this country and of his Majesty's Oversea Dominions."

In a speech of remarkable power and moderation Lord Roberts contended that we possessed neither a home defence Army such as we need, nor an effective Army to defend our territories abroad. The insufficiency of the Regular Army was proved in the Boer War. A Royal Commission had since then reported that means of expanding the Army must be provided. But the Regular Forces had been reduced by a figure which Lord Roberts placed at 30,000 men,

but which other authorities calculated at 40,000, allowing for the diminution of our reserves. The Volunteers had disappeared, and the Territorials have been substituted for them; but though there was a distinct improvement in organisation, there was none in numbers. The strength of the 310,000 fixed by Viscount Haldane himself as necessary for our safety had not been reached. The Territorials were nearly 50,000 men short of it, and of their total strength of 266,000 men, 115,000 were under twenty-one, the age for military service, and a large number had never undergone the most elementary musketry training. *In Lord Roberts's opinion a million men were required.*

April 4th.

Warning after Warning

The old era ended with the adoption of universal service everywhere in Europe. To the new era we have not yet adapted our national organisation. Yet in the past decade we have received warning upon warning of the danger of weakness. In 1905 we saw Germany suddenly menace France with war unless M. Delcassé was dismissed. M. Delcassé retired, but the incident was significant enough.

In 1903 we saw the Treaty of Berlin torn up; and a few months later Russia threatened with war by Germany and Austria. Russia gave way, and "war was averted," but a blow was struck at the Triple Entente which was speedily followed by a fresh blow in the Potsdam agreement. On each occasion the great combination of Powers, constituting the Triple Alliance showed its determination to use force to attain its diplomatic object, and employed that force against Britain's friends. On each occasion, had Britain come to the aid of her friends, she could have given them only trifling assistance on land—the aid of a force which scarcely counts in these days when not mere handfuls of men, but armed nations, take the field.

Lord Haldane, in his answer to Lord Roberts, refused to face the ultimate facts of the defence problem for this country. Voluntary service has been tried, but it neither produced the number of men nor gives us the high standard of training needed for modern war. Even he, five years ago, held that we needed 900,000 men. It is perfectly true that while we command the sea we are secure against invasion. But that will not prevent our friends and allies on the Continent from being forced to abandon the Triple Entente. *Lord Haldane must remember how it was said of Chatham that he conquered Canada on the battlefields of Saxony. Let it never be said that the modern British lost her Empire on the battlefields of Lorraine. But an ally which is unable to assist where it is most needed is an asset of small importance in the European balance. Such an ally Britain must remain, unless she takes*

up in real earnest the task of recasting and reforming her military institutions. As for Lord Haldane's objection on points of detail to Lord Roberts's plea for universal service, they are almost identical with those advanced on the eve of the Franco-German War by the French War Office against Napoleon III.'s plan of introducing compulsory service in France. The results to France all men know.

What, after all, is the policy that defines our strategic position in Europe? It was stated by Sir Edward Grey with perfect clarity, two years ago. "An attempt by any great Continental Power to dominate and dictate the policy of the

Continent," he said, "would certainly produce conflict." If these words have any meaning at all it is this: In the event of any Great Power attempting to dominate the policy of the Continent we must be prepared to resist. This is the avowed British policy. But how are we to carry out that policy? Have we the great striking force which it requires? No one believes it. It rests with the Government to recognise realities and to make good its fine declarations of policy with deeds. Otherwise, one by one our friends and allies will be driven from our side and we shall stand alone in an isolation which will not be glorious. *Words alone will never save the British Empire.*

THE GERMAN BOMBSHELL

The Agadir Crisis of 1911

IN JULY, 1911, TIME WAS DEEMED RIPE BY THE KAISER AND HIS ADVISERS TO CLENCH THE "MAILED FIST" AND TO PUT TO THE TEST ITS EFFECTIVENESS IN BULLYING EUROPE. REPORTS WERE TO HAND OF THE SWARM OF SPIES AND INTELLIGENCE OFFICERS WHO HAD OVERRUN FRANCE, GREAT BRITAIN, AND RUSSIA. THE GERMAN ARMY MACHINE WAS TIGHTENED UP; GERMAN "DIPLOMACY" CAST AWAY ITS LAST SHREDS OF THE COMMON CONVENTIONS OF NATIONS, AND, ON A SUDDEN, THE GERMAN BOMBSHELL WAS THROWN INTO EUROPE.

WITHOUT A WORD OF WARNING THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT SENT A WARSHIP, THE PANTHER, TO AGADIR, ON THE WEST COAST OF MOROCCO, AND INFORMED THE MOORISH MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF GERMANY'S INTENTION TO OCCUPY THIS PORT ON THE ATLANTIC.

IT WAS ALMOST AS OPEN AN ACT OF WAR ON FRANCE AND ON GREAT BRITAIN AS IF GERMANY HAD SEIZED ALGIERS.

Agadir is in the Sus country. There were no Europeans there, and Germany had neither interests nor commerce to protect in that part of Morocco. But Agadir has the finest roadstead on the coast of Morocco, and would make an excellent naval base.

By the Algeiras Convention Great Britain had a diplomatic interest in the action of Germany. The Algeiras Convention defined that interest. It recognised the special claims of France in Morocco, and gave to no other Power, except Spain, the right of active intervention or occupation.

It was notable that Germany took action just when France was recovering from a political crisis, and had announced her intention of withdrawing her troops from the interior of Morocco. The German action also synchronised with an unprecedented period of industrial troubles in England. The dockers and the whole of the transport workers were in violent unrest, and a great railway strike was boding.

Whilst Europe was astonished and outraged at the Agadir coup, most of the German papers expressed calm satisfaction at the action of their Government. The pan-German Press, which had long been noisily demanding an aggressive policy, gave itself over to a frenzy of delight.

Its leading mouthpiece, the "Rheinish Westphalian Gazette," exclaimed: "Hurrah! A deed!" Unless France was minded "to discuss the partition of Morocco," the journal voiced a hope that the sending of the Panther "may have the same effect as the Ems telegram" (Bismarck's famous message which precipitated the Franco-Prussian war in 1870).

The Conservative "Post," which had vied with its pan-German brethren in demanding a "forward" policy in Morocco, rejoiced that "anxiety and mistrust are now removed from every German heart."

The naval and military "Taegliche Rundschau" (Daily Review) declared that Germans with a sigh of relief would unanimously exclaim, "At last!"

Germany's Explanation

In explanation of the coup at Agadir, Germany, in a note addressed to the twelve Powers signatory to the Act of Algeiras, declared that her sole purpose in sending the warship was to protect life and property on the Sus coast, and that "as soon as quiet and order are re-established in Morocco" the warship would leave.

That explanation was accepted in good faith by the British and French Governments, whose suave reply was, in effect, that "it was not known to the British or the French Government that any foreign protégés were in danger in the Sus country. Having been officially informed by the German Government that life and property of foreign protégés are in danger, the British and French Governments are anxious to share the duty of protecting them. A

British and a French cruiser will probably therefore join the German warship in this act of benevolence. Seeing that Mogador, a port seventy-two miles north of Agadir, is also without the protection of a foreign warship, a French cruiser will be sent to that port also."

In the meantime both countries waited to see whether Germany intended to keep her word or to remain at Agadir, and the idea of sending a French cruiser to assist the German warship in its benevolent work remained in abeyance. But as the "Daily Mail" said (July 6th):

We cannot wait until time gives the appearance of permanency to the German occupation of a port which commands the narrowest part of the Atlantic and the most important trade routes of the world.

The British Government rose to the situation, and the Prime Minister, in the House of Commons, made a speech that was at once a protest and a warning to Germany. Mr. Asquith also made it clear that Great Britain would support France in any action, diplomatic or otherwise, that might be necessary. It was Great Britain's concern, none the less than that of France, even if the occupation of Agadir meant nothing more than a demand for concessions in Morocco; it concerned us more vitally than France if the German purpose were to establish a German naval base on the flank of the great trade route of the world.

In the meantime, the French Ambassador, Mons. Jules Cambon, and the German Foreign Minister, Herr von Kiderlen Waechter, commenced, in a conference-room of Berlin, those long-drawn "conversations" that provided all Europe with anxiety and speculations during the languid heats of the summer of 1911.

Mr. Lloyd George's Great Speech

On July 21st, 1911, Mr. Lloyd George made a speech of the utmost importance at the Mansion House. Having expressed his devotion to the cause of peace, and his sincere advocacy of international arbitration, the Chancellor of the Exchequer declared that:

"I am also bound to say this: that I believe it is essential in the highest interests, not merely of this country, but of the world, that Britain should at all hazards maintain her place and her prestige among the Great Powers. Her potent influence has been many a time in the past, and may yet be in the future, invaluable to the cause of human liberty. It has more than once in the past redeemed Continental nations, who are sometimes too apt to

forget that service, from overwhelming disaster and even from national extinction.

"I would make great sacrifices to preserve peace; I conceive nothing that would justify the disturbance of international goodwill except questions of the gravest national moment; but if a situation were to be forced upon us in which peace would only be preserved by the surrender of the great and beneficent position Britain has won by centuries of heroism and achievement, by allowing Britain to be treated where her interests were vitally affected, as if she were of no account in the Cabinet of nations, then I say emphatically peace at any price would be a humiliation intolerable for a great country like ours to endure."

Impression in Germany

This speech caused a deep impression in Germany, where the inspired Press had opened a campaign of abuse against the "Daily Mail," as a retort to its stigmatisation of the German demands.

The "Cologne Gazette," referring to a French exposé of the military and naval risks Germany would incur in a trial of strength with the Entente Cordiale: "If the authors of such effusions think that they can in any respect affect Germany's determinations, they are grievously deceiving themselves."

The Bismarckian "Hamburger Nachrichten": "The speech will make precious little impression. The world nowadays is not so easily intimidated by England as was the case formerly."

A subsequent statement by Mr. Asquith in the House of Commons, and a speech by Mr. Balfour, proved that in the crisis British opinion was united. The Labour Party's leader, while advocating peace, agreed that no party divisions would weaken their unity.

While the "conversations" continued, the European atmosphere remained charged with electricity. The German Press continued their diatribes.

The inspired "Lokal Anzeiger" hurled another warning across the Channel. "Despite the peaceableness of the Kaiser, upon which there is so much foreign speculation, the German nation will not tolerate a diminution of world-power."

Count Reventlow, in the "Deutsche Tageszeitung": "The Olympic utterances of the English statesmen allow it to be presumed that it would cost only a mobilisation order to signal that the last hour of the German Empire had come. But the German risk in an Anglo-German war is not nearly so great as the English."

"Die Post": "The open sea is Germany's vital interest; those who would close it must do so with the sword."

LORD HALDANE'S GENIAL PHILOSOPHIES

In the meantime, Lord Haldane, convinced admirer of all things German, and industrious proclaimer of German "culture," delivered at Oxford a philosophic speech, of which this is a summary:

August 3rd.

"It is never easy to make a satisfactory appreciation of a country to which one stands in the relation of a foreigner. Germany, moreover, is for us Britons a specially difficult country to understand. Its people possess traits so like ours that we are apt to overlook those other traits in which they are profoundly unlike. Hence arise misinterpretations and disappointments on both sides of the German Ocean.

"It is not an unmixed good for a country to be over-governed, and Germany is still probably too much governed for that free development of individuality which is characteristic of life here and in the United States. But this must not be taken to mean that the order which prevails in so many departments of German social life is not a great advantage to her, and one which ought as far as possible to be preserved. In many ways we ourselves are rapidly adopting German examples, with the modifications which the national habit of mind makes inevitable, not only in national insurance but in other directions. The Teutonic spirit is moving among us, but moving in a fashion that is on the whole our own. And, on the other hand, Germany is learning something from us. She is studying our methods of Colonial development and applying them. And she is watching our vigorous local government.

Germany's Problems

"Moreover, Germany is altering in her mode of habit and feeling. Professor Windleband, of Heidelberg, one of the best known of modern historians of philosophy, in a volume of addresses published two years ago, points out that the rule of the masses has increased, and is increasing, so far as the things of outward life are concerned. What is needed is a strong and heightened personal life that can preserve its own spiritual inwardness. The relation of the individual to the community is the new problem. The great question for modern Germany is how the infinite value of the individual inner life and the claims of the society of which the individual is a member are to be reconciled.

"In Britain democracy is advancing with even greater strides, but the state of things is not quite the same. There is a general disposition to view the people who already possess education as a class apart. Yet the two democracies have much in common in vital points, such as the desire that the State should insist on better conditions of life for manual workers. The German democracy would probably follow its rulers to war, as would,

in all probability, the democracy here. But both democracies are more and more influencing the policy of these rulers. Neither regard war in any other light than that of a calamity. A marked and growing interest is pressing forward. The demand for the solution of social problems is a guarantee of peace.

"Mutual suspicions are largely due to mutual misunderstandings. English politicians must learn that vague and sentimental appeals to German statesmen provoke mistrust. Germans should recognise that we do not conceal deep-laid plans and selfish schemes under the guise of obscurity in deed and word. We do not seek as of set purpose to annex more and more of the earth in advance of all others. What we have done in this direction we have done not as the outcome of any preconceived policy, but because we were for a long time the only people on the spot. Germany seems to me to have had one particular piece of ill-luck, the misfortune of having been born a nation a hundred years late in the world's history.

"This fact need not materially hamper her progress. She is penetrating everywhere, and to the profit of mankind. Nothing is likely to keep her back, and nothing is so likely to smooth her path as really frank and easy relations in commerce, in politics, and in society with this country. No doubt there are difficulties, and one of the most serious of these is the barrier erected by the German language, which, as Carlyle said, is 'a frightful dialect for the stupid, the pedant, and the dullard sort. Only in the hands of the gifted does it become supremely good.'

"But if Germans are narrow in certain respects, so are we English. We provoke the world by our apparent unconsciousness of the transitory-character of national institutions. Change is the order of the day. What will the world be like a hundred years hence? Can the centralised Russian Empire hold together in the face of the march of civilisation and the progress of Japan and China? Will not these countries afford examples which will be followed outside their own boundaries? Will the German Empire a hundred years hence be anything like what it is to-day? And how will it be with the British Empire?"

The Dragging Negotiations

Throughout August the negotiations between France and Germany developed into a sort of obstacle race. Each side made proposals which the other side could not accept. The negotiations were lapsed and resumed. The position of the German Government was embarrassing, the elections approached, and the old device of declaring a foreign menace appealed to Ministers. But the

German Government were in a dilemma; if they abated their demands they would lose prestige, insistence on those demands meant that Germany must face another Conference of the Powers. And they had already set a torch to the fire of Anglo-phobia in the German Press. Interest in the outcome of the negotiations with France was quite superseded by the anti-British outburst. At Hamburg the Kaiser made a flamboyant speech, cried that the German Navy represented the desire of the German people for "salt water," and said that the German Navy must be further strengthened "so that we may be sure that no one can dispute with us the place in the sun that is our due."

More Threats against England

In the "*Lokal Anzeiger*" Herr von Gottberg assured Germans that the hour was opportune to arouse them from their long-cherished delusion that England had a glorious or even a worthy martial past. Britons were a craven race, fearing to send their own sons into battle, never winning a war, even with mercenaries, without the assistance of an ally.

England's vaunted strength was mere bluff, she had never shown that she could fight a serious foe. Her Navy had as little experience of war as the German Navy, for her last fights had been with wooden ships. Her tactics in battle were contemptible.

And, on the anniversary of Sedan, the following from the "*Deutsche Tageszeitung*" was typical:

"If it should be necessary to fight again to hold what we won in 1871, or to defend with our blood German honour and the German world-power against our enemies at home and abroad, the Kaiser has only to call us, and we shall follow him as we did then, in grave yet joyous enthusiasm—if need be to the death, if God so willeth, to a new Sedan!"

"Daily Mail" comment on the Kaiser's Speech:

The German Emperor, faithful to his rôle in diplomacy, rattles the sabre. It was surely not the mere accident of the banquet at Hamburg that prompted him, on the very eve of these new negotiations, to remind the world that the Fatherland is "causing inconvenience to many parties," and to announce the further strengthening of the German Navy. No one disputes the right of Germany to her "place in the sun." The trouble is that she is never content with her place, but is always striving to put her neighbours in the shade.

The "*Deutsche Armee Blatt*" a military journal, called joyously for war over Morocco, assuring the country that only one of the fifty army corps which Germany would fling at France and Britain would be enough to obliterate the "English clay colossus."

But the vauntings of the German Press were somewhat discounted by a panic on the Berlin Exchange, and runs on the German savings banks.

The sober elements of the country made it plain to the Government that international hostilities at the moment would spell disaster to German industry and finance.

For the Sake of Peace

For the sake of peace, France offered a sacrifice of territory in West Africa. In return all she asked was a renewal, under more stringent conditions, of the 1909 Agreement (whereby Germany acknowledged the political interests of France in Morocco, with commercial rights for herself in common with the rest of the world). France made the further stipulation that the Agreement should be an international instrument, and not only with herself and Germany as signatories, as heretofore.

The German counter-offer, in a portentous despatch of 100 pages, was unsatisfactory, and was definitely declined by France, who refused to merge the question of Morocco with that of "compensation" for Germany on the Congo. The German Government was asked to acknowledge France's absolute freedom in Morocco—amounting to a Protectorate—and at the same time France offered absolute economic equality in that country for all Powers.

In return for the acceptance—after four months' dangerous controversy—of these conditions by Germany, France sacrificed territory on the Congo—an area half the size of France itself, of great value, rich in every tropical product.

Despite German allegations, the British Government intervened at no time in these protracted and tense discussions.

A Storm of Hatred

In Germany, the quarrel with France being adjusted, a storm of hatred broke out against England.

"Die Post" published an article declaring that "Germany is about to retreat in the Moroccan question—not before France, but before England. The abandonment of Germany's original claims is said to be due exclusively to the fear of war with Britain. We must see to it, however, that the fear of war with us hovers perpetually over France. We must be in a position to begin this war at any time when England is otherwise preoccupied, so that we can maintain our position on the Continent, and then take up the great and decisive struggle with England."

The "Cologne Gazette" said that "the experience of recent years has shown that Russia is not to be drawn into external adventures, and is entirely taken up with the internal development of her immense Empire. If now France also, as we hope and wish, finds in her Moroccan understanding the occupation and satisfaction she desires, we shall at last stand face to face with our English friends alone. And that is, indeed, an end worth

striving for, for experience has shown us that when she stands alone England is much more peaceably minded and much easier to handle."

A Peace That Was Only a Truce

Thus the great Agadir crisis ended in a peace that was only a truce. It became known some time afterwards, that at one tense moment Germany was on the ace of flinging down the gauntlet held back until 1914. There were rumours, never confirmed, that the British and German fleets were one night cleared for action off Cromarty. Few Englishmen, after the autumn of 1911, should have remained blind to the war that Germany was making inevitable.

Proof of the spirit of Germany was sufficiently given when the German Imperial Chancellor rose in the Reichstag to vindicate Germany's Moroccan treaty with France. After a bitter attack on Mr. Lloyd George (for his speech at the Mansion House, on July 21st), the Chancellor repelled the charge that the German Government had shown the white feather. "*Germany*," he said, "*is strong, and when the hour strikes will know how to draw the sword.*" The Conservative leader, Dr. von Heydebrand, said: "Political understandings are not the things which ensure peace for us. It is the trusty German sword. *We are ready to make use of this sword at a given moment.* The German people will know how to give an answer, a German answer, to this British question. It is for the Government to decide the moment."

An additional interest was given to the speech by the extraordinary behaviour of the German Crown Prince, who "at every reference to the German sword, and every word directed against France and England, especially England, with an entire absence of restraint, manifested his assent and now applauded, and now enthusiastically nodded as in a theatre."

The pan-Germans rejoiced openly at this open display of the Crown Prince's well-known Anglophobia. The "Post" hailed him as "a splendid fellow, and a great hope." Only in Liberal quarters was there criticism of the Prince for intervening in politics. The French "Temps" declared that "it is impossible to shut one's eyes to the singular agitation of the public mind on the other side of the Rhine. What will be the upshot nobody knows. Seldom has the hatred of Great Britain been so freely expressed."

September 16th.

A "Daily Mail" Prophecy of the German Socialist Attitude in War

In recent years it has been a cherished illusion of British pacifists that the German Socialists might be trusted to prevent a great war by ordering a general strike or preventing the German mobilisa-

tion after the German Government had thrown down the gage of war. Again and again has this argument been urged in Parliament or on the platform by those who have clamoured for vast "economies" at the expense of the British Navy and Army. If there was ever any ground for this belief it has been summarily removed by Herr Bebel's speech at the Socialist Congress, now assembled at Jena. *Herr Bebel declared on Thursday that German Socialists were unalterably opposed to a general strike in the event of war, and added that, when once war had broken out, it was the "duty of Socialists to throw themselves into the breach, so as to bring the war to the speediest possible end."* In Germany, in fact, *Socialism comes second and patriotism first.* And, as endorsing this remarkable utterance, it should not be forgotten that one of the most noteworthy of German Socialist organs, the "*Sozialistische Monatshefte*," when the first great Naval Bill was under discussion, proclaimed that Germany might have to face the alternatives of perishing or forcing her way sword in hand into foreign markets; and therefore decided in favour of the Bill.

Thus no reliance can be placed on Socialism as a preventative of war in Germany. And probably those German thinkers who disparage the military position of France on the ground that the French Socialists would follow the advice of such anti-militarists as M. Hervé, and paralyse the French mobilisation, are as much at fault as our pacifists. The French Socialists, if the very existence of their country was at stake, would fall into line with their countrymen, and if they did not they would be very summarily dealt with by the French workers, who are, be it remembered, the bulk of the French Army. It is noteworthy that in recent years when German pressure upon France has increased, the anti-militarist propaganda in France has died down. Little or nothing has been heard of it in the present crisis.

The Aftermath of Agadir

A debate which the "Daily Mail" characterised as "perhaps the most momentous of our times, and well destined to exert unparalleled influence over future history" opened (on November 27th) with reference to British foreign policy during the Morocco crisis. "Never before has a British Ministerial pronouncement been awaited with such extraordinary anxiety on the Continent, never have graver issues hung upon the words of a single man."

That this deep concern was shared by the German Press and public was amply shown by no less than two columns which the "Daily Mail" was able to fill with extracts from German papers. The general tenour of their opinion was that "things cannot remain as they are, but must either grow better

or worse." And, if worse, "scarcely anyone in Germany is in two minds as to what that worst will be—a violent explosion, and that before long."

Sir Edward Grey's Speech

Sir Edward Grey's speech was at once conciliatory to Germany and loyal to France. He held out the hand of friendship to the German Government, and expressed his appreciation of the amicable tone of the German Chancellor's most recent utterance. But he warned the public that the peace towards friendship cannot be forced or a better understanding secured in a moment. Britain, he said, desired no further territorial expansion. She has no wish to exclude Germany from "a place in the sun." All that the British Government seeks is to live on equal terms with Germany, and to improve relations with her, provided our existing friendships with other Powers are not sacrificed. "We hope that these friendly and conciliatory overtures will be received in Germany in the spirit in which they were made. If they are thus received, a new day will have dawned in the relations between the peoples."—"Daily Mail" leader, November 28th.

Sir Edward Grey then reviewed the whole diplomatic history of the Moroccan crisis, explaining that only after four futile attempts to obtain from the German Foreign Office information of Germany's intentions, did Mr. Lloyd George make his much-discussed speech, the terms of which were considered by him in conference with Mr. Asquith and Sir Edward Grey. It claimed no predominance, it contained no menace. It emphasised the one fact that where British interests were concerned, Britain could not consent to be ignored. "If ever the time came when a British Minister must be called to account for such words," said Sir Edward Grey, "we should have ceased to exist as a Great Power."

In the closing passages of his speech he dealt with the future of British foreign policy, and definitely and peremptorily set his face against any return to "splendid isolation." The face of the world has changed. Such a policy would render Britain to-day not the friend of every Power but an international nuisance. Finally, he reminded Germany that her very strength is a pledge that no Power will wantonly attack her. With the strongest Army, with a great Navy which she intends to make yet larger, she would be wise, as he reminded her, to do all that lies in her power to prevent natural apprehensions in those who have no aggressive intentions, and he believes that her Government will take such action. Thus (said the "Daily Mail") the speech firmly established the pillars of British foreign policy. "It proclaims to our friends that we stand loyally to our engagements; it disclaims any desire for territorial aggrandisement; it holds out to Germany the promise of peace. We may

earnestly hope that it will end the era of unrest and anxiety in Europe."

This speech was received with disappointment in Germany, deep satisfaction in France, surprise at its firm tone in Austria, and enthusiastic approval in the United States. The pan-German "Post" said:

"So long as England does not show her friendliness by deeds, such as, for example, the carrying out of the Delagoa Treaty, according to which Germany should receive Portuguese West Africa and Portuguese East Africa to the Zambesi, Anglo-German relations will remain as in the summer, and perhaps grow worse."

"Germany must acquire new territory, and if England continues to hinder her, Germany must oppose her with her fleet and army. We have no aggressive views, but will rather fight than decay or starve."

The New Arm

The "Daily Mail" once more urged more War Office encouragement of aeroplane manufacturers, and further development of the new "arm."

The War Office must take courage and face the question boldly. The German Admiralty has given it a hint. The German naval authorities are at the present time assisting a syndicate for applying oil-engines to warships to the extent of 50 per cent. of the capital required. At the same time they are acting as partners in the construction of a 9,000 h.p. oil-engine at Nuremberg, the conditions being that the Admiralty will pay a high price if the engine is a success and half the cost should it prove a failure. On these lines one or more of the most successful makers in the coming competition should be induced to establish aeroplane works in this country on a large scale, and, in partnership with the War Office, to carry out experimental work for the design of more satisfactory machines than those at present in the field. Only in some such way will our present deplorable weakness be removed.

December 12th.

The Declaration of London

In December, the "Daily Mail" returned to its indictment of the Declaration of London. It urged that the House of Lords would render a "transcendent service to the nation by rejecting the Naval Prize Bill, behind which lurked the Declaration of London." This would "hang up" the Declaration itself for two years, give time to the new Admiralty Board to examine carefully its revolutionary provisions, and for the War Staff to report upon its value. The article pointed out that a distinguished Danish officer, Commandant Hovgaard, had told us that its rules "are as favourable to Germany as they are unfavourable to England."

The long campaign terminated in victory on December 12th, when the Lords threw out the Bill. The effect of the "Daily Mail's" fight was admitted in the House by the Lord Chancellor, albeit he described it as "a raging, tearing propaganda."

December 18th.

THE TREMENDOUS ISSUE

Lord Roberts, in a long and historical letter to the "Daily Mail," made his great appeal for Compulsory Military Service. In the course of that grave call to his country, Lord Roberts said that it was idle to criticise Ministers. So long as a nation itself remained supinely indifferent to the real condition of its defences, there would always be politicians to assure that nation that it could persist in its apathy unpunished. Lord Roberts analysed and criticised in detail our existing strength, and he concluded:

"Let us cease to blind ourselves by vain sophistries to the dangers which beset us. Let us face the reality. Britishers are not fools. Let them once be taught to understand the changes that are going on in the world and that, however much we may desire peace, it is not possible for us to be exempt from the effects which those changes must inevitably bring about, and they will soon realise that it is necessary to have a reliable National Army. The question is not a party one; it is a question in which every man and woman in these islands ought to take an interest.

"I do not think I overstate the case if I say that the great bulk of the members of both Houses of Parliament, no matter to which party they may belong, are in their own minds persuaded that compulsory service is not only advisable but is essential to the future greatness and stability of our Empire; and that they are restrained from giving utterance to these views not from lack of conviction but from party considerations. To all such, and more especially to the leaders on both sides, I therefore appeal to consider this all-important subject from a patriotic point of view. The issue is tremendous, for it is nothing short of the future of this country and of this Empire.

ROBERTS, F.-M."

December 18th.

Lord Roberts's Warning

The "Daily Mail," in its leading article, said:

"There is no general in the British Army with Lord Roberts's vast experience of war. His record of service is so varied and so splendid that it adds a unique force to his words. He has fought in India, in Afghanistan, in Abyssinia; and in South Africa he converted disaster into victory. He has commanded an army of 250,000 men in the field, and conceived and carried out a campaign which is

among the most brilliant in history. When such a man points out patent defects, he deserves and should receive a straightforward answer. Lord Roberts has 'no axe to grind' in his fight for British military efficiency. He resigned a post of high honour and a large salary that his hands might be free and his tongue unfettered to tell the truth as he sees it.

"The War Office will drift and live in a world of make-believe till disaster overtakes the British arms. It is to avert such a calamity that Lord Roberts has made his impressive appeal to his countrymen."

Dec. 25th.

England's Worst Enemy

The "Neues Wiener Tagblatt," from the pen of the former First Secretary of the German Embassy at Vienna, Prince Lichnowsky: "*Although the possibility of an understanding between England and Germany exists, no radical settlement can be found except by an appeal to arms.* The troubles of the Morocco question were merely symptoms of a general divergence due to competition for the mastery of the seas. The writer considers that England's worst enemy is her people's luxurious softness caused by good times."

Dec. 27th.

WHAT GERMANY WANTS

Under this heading the "Daily Mail" printed an important interview by its Berlin correspondent with Professor Hans Delbrück in Berlin.

The professor is one of Germany's greatest publicist's, and neither a pan-German nor Jingo. Yet he launched forth into militant views which the "Daily Mail" correspondent described as beyond all question those of all influential German minds of the day.

The professor stated that Anglo-German war could not be avoided. He alleged that England deliberately planned to fall upon Germany during the Morocco crisis, and proved herself Germany's inveterate enemy. He further alleged that England never offered Germany a "square deal," nor ever, through its Ambassador at Berlin, nor through the German Ambassador in London, "expressed categorically its wish for a sincere, open-handed, broad-gauge understanding with Germany. Your Cabinet Ministers, your party leaders, your newspapers affirm in platonic and persuasive phrases your deep desire for friendly relations. But you have never taken a practical, tangible step in that direction. You must take it, if you think German friendship worth having. The initiative rests with you."

Professor Delbrück asserted that Germany's land hunger was a myth. She wanted markets, not territory.

"We Do Not Want War"

"Can Britons rid themselves of the nightmare that Germany wants war with England? We have fire-eaters who want war; your country is not altogether free from them. We do not want war with England because we know perfectly well that it has nothing to bring us, even if we should win. Could we take and hold Egypt, perhaps, or Ireland, or British South Africa, or Canada, or Australia? Is the German régime so beloved by the Arabs, the Irish, the Dutch, or the French-Canadians, or the Britons oversea that they would accept it without making us fight, and fight interminably, to impose it upon them? If Germany humbled Britain in war, it would not be six months before we should find ourselves precisely in the desperate position of Napoleon I.—the masters of Europe, with all Europe united to encompass our overthrow. That is a vision the business Germany of 1911, the sane and sensible Germany of 1911, conjures up only to banish as wild and irresponsible.

"Let me summarise what I have said: The abandonment of unworthy suspicions; the acknowledgment of our right to grow and to participate in shaping the world's destinies; the expression of an honest desire to reach an understanding; formal diplomatic steps in that direction; simultaneous withdrawal to arbitrary opposition to legitimate German political aspirations—these are the things we mean by an exhibition of British friendship in 'positive form.' If you have no inclination to meet us on that ground, if your interests rather point to a perpetuation of the anything-to-beat-Germany policy, so let it be. The Armageddon which must then, some day, ensue will not be of our making."

"It Is Not True"

The "Daily Mail" deprecated the atmosphere of hatred and suspicion revealed by the interview, and traversed all the statements of the professor as to British hostility to Germany, saying, as regards the statement that England planned to fall on Germany in the autumn, in an italicised sentence, "*It is not true*," and asking, if she indeed entertained such a plot, what there was to prevent her carrying it out? As regards the professor's description of British action in the Morocco crisis—"a malicious interference with legitimate German aspirations"—the "Daily Mail" pointed out that British policy was dictated only by a treaty well known to all the world, the Anglo-French Convention of 1904, whereby we were bound to give France support in Morocco.

"A further charge is that Britain has 'lost no opportunity to unite Russians and Frenchmen against us.' Here we might remind Professor Delbrück that there is no sort of alliance against Germany, but a purely defensive understanding

between the Powers of the Triple Entente. It threatens no one, whereas the German alliance with Austria, is offensive as well as defensive. If the Powers of the Triple Entente have drawn together it is because all three feel the menace of German armaments. The great navy which Germany is building by the preamble to the German Navy Act of 1900 has in view a war 'with the greatest naval Power.' France was threatened with attack by Germany in the 'Delcassé crisis' of 1905, in the 'Casablanca crisis' of 1908, and again in the Morocco crisis of the present year. Russia was summoned to surrender or face a war with Germany in the Balkan crisis of 1909."

Our Desire for Peace

The charges that Great Britain is hostile to the expansion of the German Colonial Empire and to a "square deal," are equally unfounded. Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Bonar Law last month declared in the clearest terms that Britain does not wish to stand in the way of Germany's "legitimate aspirations." We went out of our path in the past to satisfy Germany, with small thanks. In 1890 we surrendered to her Heligoland. In 1899 we surrendered to her two of the best islands in the Samoan group. We promised not to connect Wei-hai-wei with the Shantung railways. All these were acts of goodwill on our part, and show no sign of that "inveterate" hostility which Professor Delbrück detects. And when Professor Delbrück suggests a partition of the Portuguese Colonies in Africa we must remind him that they are not Britain's to give away. Germany cannot expect the British people to follow the Christmas counsels of the Berlin "Post" and to aid in the plunder of an ancient and loyal ally. That, after all, would be an odd means of securing the peace of the world. "We want markets, not territory," he says. But in that case Germany has what she wants. The British market is open to her without toil or restriction, though British imports entering Germany are heavily taxed. She sends to this country goods to the value of fifty-eight millions a year. Nor was there any feeling in England against this one-sided arrangement until the profits derived from our markets were devoted to the construction of a gigantic German Navy to dispute with us the command of the sea. Germans, in fact, are living in an atmosphere of artificial suspicion deliberately created for obvious political reasons. *On our part we have said before, and we now say again, that the British people have every desire to live in peace with their neighbours.*

Pan-German Anglophobia

The allegation of Professor Delbrück that England intended to attack Germany was made frantic use of by the pan-German Party and their Press as a means of obtaining voters for the Government and more armaments. Further violent use was made of

an interview (published in the "Daily News") in which Lord Lonsdale had said that the German Emperor was one of the strongest admirers of England, and that "nobody who knew him more or less intimately could get over the fact that his one horror (unless compelled in the interests of his country) was the thought of war. . . . There is no greater soldier, there is no greater mind, there is no greater ally, no human being more devoted to England, Englishman, and the English in general, so far as is consistent with the interests of his own nation.

"Die Post," organ of the German war party, violently assailed Lord Lonsdale.

"If, after all the shame and injury that England heaped upon us last summer, anybody contends that the German Emperor is the sincere friend of England, and cherishes only the warmest feeling towards that country, it is an insult against which we must protest. We cannot imagine a German Emperor so oblivious of the real feelings of the German nation that he could have inspired such sentiments as the English earl put in his mouth.

"The declarations of English politicians on the acts and qualities of our Emperor have once already been disastrous for him. *What Lord Lonsdale has said deserves to be described as a 'public danger.'* In a really 'disgusting' manner he attempts to flatter the Emperor and show him to be a pacifist and an Anglophile. After what has happened that is an insult to our Sovereign.

"Lord Lonsdale compared William II. with Frederick the Great as a commander-in-chief of the army. The Emperor knows perfectly well what his military capabilities are worth, and in the event of war he would leave the generals to command.

"Lord Lonsdale calls William II. the greatest mind of the century. The German people know their Emperor and they realise that in no domain whatever could he claim such a qualification."

[We have been unable to trace any reference to Frederick the Great in the interview, and the Berlin "Post" seems to have been misled by one of those "telegraphic errors" which are so common in the transmission of messages to Germany.]—"Daily Mail."

1912

January 16th.

GERMAN SOCIALISTS CARRY NO WEIGHT

The result of the German elections left the Reichstag much as before. The Socialists gained some successes, but, as the "Daily Mail" had warned its readers previously to the election, nothing would alter the policy of the German Government to enormously increase its armaments.

"The Reichstag is a mere shadow of a Parliament. It has no power to dismiss the Chancellor, who is the nearest analogue in German politics to our Prime Minister. Dr. Bethmann-Hollweg is responsible not to it, but to the Emperor. It cannot cut down the German Army or Navy, for the strength of both is determined by laws covering a long term of years. It cannot bring administration to a standstill by refusing supplies, as most German taxes are permanent and are not voted annually. It cannot pass Acts altering the Constitution, for it is not permitted to initiate legislation; it may only criticise. It is, in fact, little more than a 'talking shop' and a place where indignant Germans may 'let off steam.' Should it prove troublesome and reject the Government's measures for the increase of the army and navy, it would promptly be dissolved and its members would be branded by the Government and its organs as traitors to Germany.

"The position is, then, in all essentials 'as you were.' . . . So little is the Chancellor dismayed that he has already disclosed the gigantic military and naval demands which he intends to make in the coming Session. He will ask for two more army corps on land. He will call for an addition of two millions to the Navy Estimates and for 5,000 more men for the fleet. He will increase the number of battle-cruisers to be built, and require an extraordinary vote to cover the cost of extra destroyers, submarines, and fortifications. If there is to be any change, then, it will be one for the worse. The competition in armaments, far from being suspended, is to be aggravated, and the tension in Europe to be increased by these vast preparations for war by a Power which is already indisputably the strongest on the Continent.

"The lesson for us in this country is plain. At whatever cost we must make ourselves safe. The trident must remain in our grasp, and, to retain it, we must be ready for further sacrifices."

January 18th.

Facts to Ponder Over

The race of armaments is none of our making. In 1906 we announced our willingness at The Hague to consider plans for the limitation of armaments,

which Germany rejected. In 1906, 1907, and 1908 we reduced our shipbuilding programmes, while Germany increased hers. Germans, who are now being invited to add immensely to their fleet on the excuse that England meditates a sudden attack upon them, might do well to ponder over these facts. They at least suggest the question why Germany should spend millions and keep the whole world in tension to meet a danger which is purely imaginary—to avert a struggle of which no one in this country or in France dreams or has ever dreamed.

January 31st.

The six months' campaign of Anglophobia . . . has not been without effect. When will the German Government allow the German people to know the real truth—that Germany is keeping all Europe in a state of alarm for the sake of a form of Government which rests not upon the votes of her people, but upon the bayonets of her soldiers?

January 26th.

What the Germans Really Want

(Extract from article by Mr. Charles E. Hands)

The commercial Liberals, who are the strongest Anglophobes, being unable to improve business conditions by Liberal legislation, are eager to see what a strong navy will do for them. They want lessened duties, cheaper prices, reduced cost of administration, some prospect of better relations with their workmen, and some relief from the growing charges, that fall chiefly upon business, of the costly Socialist legislation that does not satisfy the Socialists. As the system of politics gives them no chance of obtaining these requirements, they are willing to see what they can get by fighting. They are the people who talk most of annexing Holland, spreading to the sea as far as Calais.

Some extreme Socialists look forward almost with eagerness to the prospect of war, because they think that, whatever its result, it would bring about a tremendous political upheaval that would end in revolution.

February 8th.

Lord Haldane

Lord Haldane made a journey to Berlin that was regarded somewhat as a surprise and that excited, both in England and Germany, much speculation. Lord Haldane himself told the Berlin representative of the "Daily Mail" that his trip was of an entirely non-political character.

"Will your lordship's visit have a favourable effect on peace and general Anglo-German relations in particular?" "I hope," he smiled back, "that my visits always make for peace."

But both German Press and public were persuaded that he had come with a mission of transcendent political importance.

A list of topics which, the newspapers said, were "undoubtedly" the cause of Lord Haldane's "mission."—(1) A mission from the King to the Kaiser for an Anglo-German entente; (2) limitation of armaments; (3) arrangements for exchange of information in regard to military and naval estimates; (4) division of the Portuguese colonies; (5) negotiations for the pardon of Mr. Bertrand Stewart; (6) the cession of Walfisch Bay in exchange for certain German sovereign rights in Zanzibar; (7) to meet Sir Ernest Cassel here and carry on negotiations with regard to the Bagdad Railway; (8) the regulation of Anglo-German colonial boundaries in Africa.

Mr. Churchill Speaks Out

In the meantime Mr. Churchill, in England, delivered a speech at Glasgow (February 9th) which the "Daily Mail" characterised as a political event of the first order.

Mr. Churchill definitely announced that if other Powers increased their navies we should increase ours in greater ratio, so as to enlarge our margin of superiority. Whatever happened abroad there would be "no whining" and "no hoisting of distress signals," in Great Britain.

Almost in the terms of the great Athenian orator Pericles he recapitulated our resources and showed that they would be equal to the strain, and that, whoever succumbed, Britain would not go down in the competition. He pronounced against a naval loan, but suggested that it might be advisable to pass a Navy Act, fixing the shipbuilding programme in advance for a short term of years. He declared that a strong fleet was a vital necessity to Great Britain, but only a luxury to Germany.

The British Navy (he added) was in a high state of preparedness. But to meet the threatened foreign competition the Government would stint neither men nor money. In this determination they were absolutely agreed.

The "Daily Mail," in a leading article (February 10th), touching upon the extravagant speculations of the German Press as regard Lord Haldane's visit, said:

... The British Government has not changed its policy because Lord Haldane has gone to Berlin. It is not negotiating behind the backs of its friends of the Triple Entente—France and Russia. There is no question of abandoning the principle

which Sir Edward Grey so emphatically laid down in his speech of November 27th, and "making new friendships at the expense of the ones which we already possess." We stand absolutely where we have always stood. Our friends on the Continent may trust our loyalty absolutely. Lord Haldane's visit is unofficial and undiplomatic in character.

... If, as the result of these unofficial talks with friends, steps can be taken to dispel the illusion which Dr. Delbrück told us in his famous interview in the "Daily Mail" is universal in Germany, that the British Government last autumn planned a treacherous attack upon the German Fleet, everyone will rejoice. But as the Kaiser, the German Admiralty, and the German Foreign Office already know this to be sheer nonsense, and as they have not, apparently, been able to convert the German people to the correct view, we do not see how Lord Haldane is to succeed.

The wise policy is frankly to recognise that we cannot force the pace in improving our relations with Germany, and that, as Mr. Churchill pointed out in his splendid speech at Glasgow yesterday, "the nations of Europe are at this moment pressing forward and pressing each other forward into an avenue of almost indefinite naval expansion and expense." Neither expostulations nor polite protestations will get rid of that grim fact. It follows as the consequence that we must go forward too. Mr. Churchill gave a plain assurance that the Prime Minister and his colleagues "without exception are resolved to maintain the naval supremacy which this country enjoys." We welcome that statement and the spirit in which it is made. "If there is to be an increase on the Continent," said Mr. Churchill, "we should meet it not by words but by deeds. ... We should not only increase the number of our ships, but also the ratio in which we stood to other Powers." This is a manly and plain-spoken intimation. There will be "no whining" in this country if it is carried out. The whole nation is behind Mr. Churchill when he speaks thus.

Angry German Reception

A profound impression was created in Germany by Mr. Winston Churchill's speech. For the most part it met with an angry reception. In numerous quarters the speech was denounced as "arrogant," "impulsive," and "tactless," as "post-prandial exuberance," and as "provocative."

The pan-German Conservative "Post":

"We do not need to take Mr. Churchill's speech too tragically. He opened his mouth very wide, and said more than he can actually substantiate. On the whole we welcome the Glasgow speech, because it proves conclusively that every attempt

to bring about an armaments understanding would only be an attempt to reach a clumsy end by clumsy means."

Cards on the Table

Count Reventlow, writing in the "Deutsche Tageszeitung":

"We do not think it particularly fortunate that Mr. Churchill should conclude his speech by addressing a threat to Germany. He will thereby hardly achieve anything but the exact contrary of what he hoped. Despite many clumsy allusions we discern a conciliatory tone in Mr. Churchill's speech, but before a naval understanding can be considered it will be necessary for England to lay her cards openly on the table as Germany has done for the past twelve years. We must know what England has in mind in the way of British armaments. When this has been told we shall be in a position to say whether Great Britain has anything to offer compatible with the political, economic, and military interests of the German Empire."

The "Post" remarked pleasantly that "perhaps Mr. Churchill's description of the German Fleet as a luxury is a variant on the *mot* attributed to King Edward about Germany's 'naval toy.' England has it in her power to put the capabilities of the German Fleet to the test at a distance usual nowadays—two and a half to four and a half miles."

February 14th.

As the Germans See Us

(Charles E. Hands)

If the question were whether the average German harbours feelings of hostility and resentment against England, the answer would be a prompt and unmitigated "Yes." You are conscious of that feeling everywhere in Germany, even on the part of people who individually are showing you the most kindly courtesy. They resent the English commercial predominance and the English maritime predominance. Among the commercial and upper classes the feeling is general that England, in some mysterious, malevolent manner, stands in the way between them and their rights in the world. To a certain extent that resentment against England finds individual expression. Shopkeepers and their assistants, you sometimes notice, while not actually uncivil, will show a more brusque manner towards an English customer than to one of their own race. English residents in Germany complain of this at the present time. The English residents in every part of the country keep more to themselves nowadays than formerly. In consequence of it fewer English boys than formerly are being sent to Germany for educational purposes. The other day in Heidelberg I had a talk with an ordinary German business man. He was quite frank about it.

"England," he said, "does not understand that Germany has grown up into a big nation that must have a big fleet. We are a Great Power and a great commercial nation with a big trade all over the world, and we must have a big fleet and room to expand. But every time we move in any direction we find England and the English Fleet in the way. England is jealous of our growing commerce, of our growing power, that is why. We do not say to England that she shall not have a big fleet, but we do say that we must have, and will have, a fleet ourselves strong enough to enable us to speak our word in the world. How can England prevent us? Tell me that."

Why Lord Haldane Went to Berlin

In the course of the debate on the opening of Parliament Mr. Asquith explained why Lord Haldane went to Berlin.

"Both the German Government and our own are animated by a sincere desire to bring about a better understanding, and in the course of last month we had an intimation that the visit of a British Minister to Berlin would not be unwelcome and might facilitate the advancement of our common object.

"Lord Haldane had in any case intended sooner or later to visit Germany on business connected with the London University Commission, and in the circumstances we thought it well that his visit should be hastened and that we should take advantage of it to communicate any friendly or confidential communications with those who were responsible for the direction and control of German policy. This involved a departure on both sides from the conventional method, but the negotiations were conducted with complete frankness of statement, and it was felt that it would be much easier to do this in the first instance if it were a question of informal and non-committal conversations rather than full-dress diplomatic negotiations.

"These anticipations have been completely realised. There was perfect freedom of statement and perfect frankness, the explanations covering a wide area of subjects; while the very fact of an interchange of views under such conditions ought to dispel suspicion, wherever it still prevails, that either Government contemplates aggressive designs against the other.

"I go further, and say that I genuinely believe that the conversations may have more than this merely academic result. At this stage I cannot make any prediction, but I may say this, that in the case of my noble friend's visit he saw unmistakable evidence of a sincere and resolute desire on both sides to establish a better footing between us,

though I wish to make it perfectly clear that on either side this would be without in any way sacrificing or impairing the special relationships in which each of us stands to one another and to other Powers. It is in that spirit, with the fresh light which the interchange of views has created, that both of us are now engaged in a careful survey of practical possibilities."

February 15th.

The German Imperial Chancellor, in the Reichstag, confirmed Mr. Asquith's statement, welcomed the "exchange of views," and hoped that they would be continued. Sedate gratification was expressed by German Liberal, Radical, and Socialist opinion, but the Anglophobe elements still maintained that suspicion and mistrust of England's aims should be Germany's watchword. Messrs. Krupp's "Berliner Neueste Nachrichten" talked of "the English facing both-ways" and of British "bluff." "Die Post" adjured the nation to go on strengthening its armaments by land and sea. The "Taegliche Rundschau" asserted that "Germany is tired of words and awaits deeds." And in all those quarters it was still maintained, despite Mr. Asquith's categorical denial, that England planned to attack Germany in the previous summer

March 5th.

England the Enemy

A Fresh German Press Campaign (Berlin Correspondent.)

"One of the most systematic and determined campaigns ever organised on behalf of naval expansion is now in full swing in Germany. Launched with a subtlety designed to arouse only the minimum of attention both at home and abroad, the campaign has risen to a crescendo of vehemence well calculated to serve its purpose—to mobilise public sentiment in favour of 'more Dreadnoughts' at a moment when the German naval programme is once more in the melting-pot.

"The fact that official negotiations are pending with a view to discovering a basis for an Anglo-German understanding has not deterred the naval agitators from resorting to reckless use—and abuse—of England for their purposes. Britain is universally pilloried as the 'inveterate foe.' The myth of the projected attack on Germany last summer 'without formal declaration of war' is insisted upon. Mr. Asquith's declarations to the contrary and Lord Haldane's assurances in Berlin are swept aside as perfidious deception. In countless leading articles, magazines, pamphlets, and in volumes from the pens of respected strategists, Germany is warned not to be bewitched by the siren song of friendship, but to prepare steadily and restlessly for the 'danger' which menaces the nation.

Campaign Methods

"The methods by which the campaign is being carried on are familiar to all students of the processes which have preceded and accompanied German naval 'increases' in the past. In the first place, like practically all its predecessors, the crusade has been engineered on orderly, systematic, and thoroughgoing lines, which more than suggest a centralised directing agency. Facts and figures—more figures than acts—have been spread broadcast, which, in the language of the publishers of 'England's World Dominion and Germany's "Luxury" Fleet'—the book of the hour—could only have been derived from sources not open to the general public."

"All the great propaganda forces have been in full eruption. 'Die Flotte,' the organ of the Navy League, fulminates from month to month concerning the 'war preparations of England against Germany' during the Moroccan negotiations. Count Reventlow is indefatigably personified. The armour-plate Press of Berlin, Hamburg, and Essen specialises in news and views designed to depict Britain as the stealthy enemy preaching peace and plotting war. The pamphleteers whom the Navy party is accustomed to bring up like reserves have been active for the past eight weeks. The great monthly reviews make a feature of articles on Germany in peril, and a great tactician launches three volumes on 'Germany's Next War.'"

March 6th.

The Fire of Anglophobia

Mr. Churchill's speech was forthwith converted into fresh fuel to stoke the fire of Anglophobia already spread throughout the land. "Lookout" was summoned to produce the brochure, "England's World Dominion and the German 'Luxury' Fleet." Arrangements were made to circulate it on an unprecedented scale. It contained eight chapters—a pot pourri of abuse, "revelations," and warnings, ending with a chapter entitled "What We Want."

This is "Lookout's" peroration:

"A land Power which is content to play a merely military and Continental rôle must sink inevitably into a state of political dwarfishness and disappear from the list of World Powers. In this realisation the entire German nation is now inspired by the once ridiculed slogan of the Kaiser about our future upon the water. Germany would find existence as England's satrap on the Continent intolerable. She looks forward, therefore, with clear eyes to the time when German manhood will show its prowess far out on the billowy deep. To the days of Fehrbellin and Sedan will then be added, should anybody ever again attempt to strangle

us, a new day, which will be named after some bank or point or patch in the North Sea—a name as yet unknown to the landsman, but of which our grandchildren will learn to speak in accents of enthusiasm ! ”

“Lookout’s” pamphlet had an unprecedented reception. In five days more than 7,000 copies were sold—a record for German political tracts. Hundreds of newspapers made copious extracts from it. “Everywhere,” write the publishers, “the book is considered an answer to Mr. Churchill which springs from the bottom of the German heart.”

A Wry Face in Germany

The British Naval Estimates were received, as the “Daily Mail’s” Berlin correspondent reported, with a “wry face” in Germany, whose attention centred largely upon the passage at the head of the estimates reading thus :

“These estimates have been framed on the assumption that the existing programmes of other naval Powers will not be increased. In the event of such increases, it will be necessary to present Supplementary Estimates, both for men and money.”

Hostile comments again and accusations again appeared in most of the German Press. The “Lokal Anzeiger” said :

“The First Lord has only lifted a corner of the drapery, revealing to us a grim countenance which hisses threateningly. England wants peace and limited armaments, but if not strictly on her terms then we shall see England from another side. We hope Germany will understand this tone and be governed accordingly when the forthcoming Naval Bill is under discussion. Let England build the fleet she considers necessary for her requirements. We shall be the last to complain of that ; and we shall do the same.”

“Die Post” :

“If Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg answers this impudent British bluff with the immediate publication of the new German Naval Bill in its original proportions he will to-morrow be the most popular man in Germany, especially if he accompanies it with a statement explanatory of the unbearable pressure we have silently suffered at the hands of England for years. That might mean war, but *a settlement with England by force appears better and wiser than an endless armaments competition.*”

Undeterred by these threats Mr. Churchill (on March 18), in introducing the Naval Estimates, made a frank offer to Germany.

March 19th.

MR. CHURCHILL'S OFFER

Extract from the “Daily Mail” Leader,
March 19th

Mr. Churchill pointed out that the British programme must necessarily depend on the German

proposals. In present conditions, and so long as Germany does not exceed the programme laid down in the German Naval Act, the British Admiralty will maintain a superiority of 60 per cent. in battleships. That is to say, for each 10 German ships it will build 16, which is virtually 3 to 2, or the figure for which German opinion has been clamouring. But if the German programme is augmented, then the British Admiralty will lay down two additional keels for each additional one that Germany begins. On the other hand, Mr. Churchill made Germany this offer, that if she diminishes her programme, there will be a corresponding reduction in the British proposals.

That the British Navy must possess a “large margin of safety” was a strong point well made in Mr. Churchill’s speech. That margin is necessary, he stated, for two reasons. In the first place, the British Navy must be prepared to meet the next strongest navy at any moment selected by that other navy. On the average, as he showed, some 25 per cent. of our ships would be unavailable, while the foreign navy which can select its hour for attack could place its entire force in line. We shall never attack, for reasons on which Mr. Churchill dwelt. Even if we suppose the British Government totally oblivious of moral considerations, it has nothing to gain by delivering a sudden blow, as it has no army to drive that blow home. A second reason for our “large margin of safety” is that our danger is greater. We depend on the sea for our food and our very existence. No other Power is in a similar position.

Mr. Churchill’s programme makes clear to all the world that the British Government meditates no aggression. His proposals are for defence alone. But they are the very minimum that a prudent Minister could lay before the country ; and he may be assured of the enthusiastic support of the nation against the dwindling Little Navy faction which would have England throw aside her armaments in an age which Mr. Churchill described as one of “violence and deep-seated unrest.”

Extracts from Mr. Churchill's Offer

“If Germany liked to drop out any one, or even two, of her annual quotas and keep the money in her own pocket for the employment of her own people and the development of her own property, we will at once, in the absence of dangerous development elsewhere, drop out our corresponding quota.”

He put the supposition that we both take a holiday for a year. “The three ships that Germany did not build would automatically wipe out no fewer than five potential super-Dreadnoughts—more than they could hope to do in a brilliant naval engagement.”

Mr. Churchill summed up this portion of his speech with the remark, "Germans will be no gainers in naval power by any increases they may make; and no losers from the basis I have laid down by any diminutions."

March 20th.

The Wry Face Turns to An Angry Scowl

The "Daily Mail's" Berlin correspondent summarised the effect on Germany of Mr. Churchill's proposals as having converted a wry face into an angry scowl.

"Only in one or two quarters is there any semblance of an inclination to accept it as a basis for an understanding. Most of the commentators find the speech either 'arrogance,' or 'bluff,' and declare that it is unthinkable that Germany should be influenced by it to modify her naval plans one jot or tittle."

The "Cologne Gazette" scornfully rejects Mr. Churchill's suggestions, saying, "Germany will decide the question of increasing her fleet as England does, strictly from the standpoint of what she herself considers necessary in her own interests. It is improbable that Germany will ever possess a fleet equal to that of Great Britain, but if our fleet goes to the bottom the victory must cost the enemy such sacrifices that England would hardly have the means left for the adequate protection of her great international interests."

Count Reventlow, who finds Mr. Churchill's tone insufferable, dismisses the First Lord's arguments as "childish, laughable, and untenable, either from the military or political standpoint."

Messrs. Krupp's local organ at Essen, the "Rheinisch Westfälische Zeitung": "Let the authorities in Berlin not overlook the fear of us which his speech reveals."

"With Special Regard"

The "Hamburger Nachrichten": "Mr. Churchill's speech is chiefly welcome because it definitely disposes of the useless and unworthy chatter of the possibility of a German-English naval understanding. We must continue to expand our sea forces with special regard to the possibility of war with England."

"The German 'No,'" continued the Berlin correspondent next day, "is as firm and unyielding as it was on the day when Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg uttered it in the Reichstag a year ago."

"Die Post" (in a leading article that covered its entire front page) said: "Above all, let us not be lured by the suggestive suggestion that we should 'both take a holiday for a year.' That suggestion touches the very heart of the whole question for Germany. We must never, in any circumstances, permit England time to catch her breath, because we are now at the finish of the final struggle. We

are in the midst of such a duel with England that we would be the biggest fools in the world, and deserve the most miserable of fates, if we allowed her to gain a solitary advantage."

Mr. Churchill, in the meantime, made a further suggestion to Germany. "I wish," he said, "that I could bring myself to believe that a sudden act of restraint on our part" (referring to a Little Navy speech by Mr. Murray Macdonald) "would break the spell. I don't think it would."

He showed, however, how suspicion would be reduced by frankness, and referred to the negotiations which had been in progress for an exchange of naval information between this country and Germany.

"We shall be very glad if these negotiations reach a satisfactory conclusion."

"We have nothing whatever to conceal in the scale of our shipbuilding. We shall always be ready to allow it to be known what ships we are constructing, and within general limits when those ships shall be expected to be added, provided, of course, we receive reciprocal treatment."

"What we want to avoid, if possible, is the suspicion that vessels are being constructed apart from those which are shown in the regular published returns."

A Significant Act

The Budget Committee of the German Reichstag passed a Bill further increasing the navy. Only the Socialists voted against the measure, and discussion lasted less than half an hour.

The significant effect of this Act was that it completely transformed the German position in the North Sea. The main points were:

An addition of £750,000 to the current year's estimates.

An addition of three Dreadnoughts to the programme fixed by the Navy Act of 1908.

Further additions in smaller vessels, personnel, and expenditure on aeroplanes and airships for naval use.

An increase of fifty per cent. in the High Sea Fleet, the force perpetually maintained in commission.

The "Daily Mail," publishing the details of these additions, maintained that the British Admiralty would now be compelled to give effect to Mr. Churchill's statement in the previous year, that the Naval Estimates had been framed on the assumption that the programmes of other naval Powers would not be increased.

It quoted, also, "the very serious contingencies" to which Mr. Lloyd George alluded when holding back six and a half millions of surplus in his Budget, and summed up, in a brief line:

"The 'very serious contingencies' are now facts."

Mr. Balfour on Anglo-German Relations

THE GERMAN NAVY Its Menace to Britain

An article of extraordinary importance was contributed by Mr. Balfour to the June number of the "Nord und Sud," a Berlin monthly magazine. The "Daily Mail" quoted from it in extenso, claiming that it was of the deepest interest, as neither Mr. Balfour nor any other British statesman of the first rank had ever before so directly discussed "the grave problems raised by the present German policy and the immense increase of the German Navy."

Mr. Balfour began by pointing out that he wished "to present the English point of view clearly and without offence" to German readers, and thus to mitigate evils due to want of mutual comprehension. He stated that "in a very real sense the deep uneasiness with which the people of this country contemplate possible developments of German policy throws its shadow across the whole country, irrespective of party or of creeds."

He then briefly summarised the relations of England and Germany in the more distant past, and paid a warm tribute to German work in art and philosophy. It is no want of gratitude to Germany for her brilliant services in these fields, he said, that has caused the change of British feeling.

"It is due to the interpretation which Englishmen have thought themselves obliged to place upon a series of facts, or supposed facts, each of which taken by itself might be of small moment, but which when taken together can neither be lightly treated nor calmly ignored."

The first of these facts was the German Navy Bill and its results.

An Unthinkable War

"If Englishmen were sure that a German Fleet was only going to be used for defensive purposes—i.e., against aggression—they would not care how large it was; for a war of aggression against Germany is to them unthinkable.

"Putting on one side all considerations based on public morality, it must be remembered, in the first place, that we are a commercial nation, and war, whatever its issue, is ruinous to commerce and to the credit on which commerce depends. It must be remembered, in the second place, that we are a political nation, and an unprovoked war would shatter in a day the most powerful government and the most united party. It must be remembered, in the third place, that we are an insular nation, wholly dependent on sea-borne

supplies, possessing no considerable Army either for home defence or foreign service, and compelled, therefore, to play for very unequal stakes should Germany be our opponents in the hazardous game of war.

"It is this last consideration which I should earnestly ask enlightened Germans to weigh well, if they would understand the British point of view. It can be made clear in a very few sentences. There are two ways in which a hostile country can be crushed; it can be conquered or it can be starved. If Germany were masters in our home waters, she could apply both methods to Britain. Were Britain ten times master in the North Sea, she could apply neither method to Germany. Without a superior fleet Britain would no longer count as a Power. Without any fleet at all Germany would remain the greatest Power in Europe.

"It is, therefore, the mere instinct of self-preservation which obliges Englishmen, not merely to take account of the growth in foreign navies, but anxiously to weigh the motives of those who build them. If they are built solely for purposes of defence, Britain would not, indeed, be thereby relieved of the duty of maintaining the standard of relative strength required for national safety, but she would have no ground for disquiet, still less for ill-will.

"But does Germany make it easy for Britain to take this view? The external facts of the situation appear to be as follows: The greatest military Power and the second greatest naval Power in the world is adding both to her Army and to her Navy. She is increasing the strategic railways which lead to the frontier States—not merely to frontier States which themselves possess powerful armies, but to small States which can have no desire but to remain neutral if their formidable neighbours should unhappily become belligerents. She is in like manner modifying her naval arrangements so as to make her naval strength instantly effective . . ."

"A Tremendous Instrument"

Mr. Balfour urged that a tremendous weapon had been forged, and every year added to its efficiency and power. "It is as formidable for purposes of aggression as for purposes of defence." He claimed that ordinary Englishmen did not believe in a contemplated attack by Germany on her neighbours, and expressed his own belief that the majority of German people had no wish to make that attack.

"The danger lies elsewhere. It lies in the co-existence of that marvellous instrument of warfare, the German Army and Navy, with the assiduous—

I had almost said the organised—advocacy of a policy which it seems impossible to reconcile with the peace of the world or the rights of nations. For those who accept this policy German development means German territorial expansion. All countries which hinder, though it be only in self-defence, the realisation of this ideal are regarded as hostile, and war, or the threat of war, is deemed the natural and fitting method by which the ideal itself is to be accomplished.

"If German students, anxious to re-draw the map of Europe in harmony with their conceptions of the distribution of the German race, regarded the German Empire of the twentieth century as heir-at-law of the Roman Empire of the twelfth, and assumed that Germany should be endowed, at the cost of other nations, with overseas dominions proportionate to her greatness in Europe, they could not ask Englishmen to approve."

Mr. Balfour continued with a reference to "the conviction, widely held by many Germans, that Britain stands in their country's light, that Englishmen desire to thwart her natural development, and are jealous of her legitimate growth. Of these crimes we are quite unconscious; but surely it is no slight evil that they should be so readily believed?" The conclusion of the article urged the danger of such convictions, and of the spread, in either country, of the belief that Great Britain and Germany were predestined enemies, and Mr. Balfour terminated with an appeal to Germany to teach the world that the appetite for domination belonged to an outworn phase of patriotism; that the furtherance of civilisation must be the joint work of many peoples, and that the task of none of them was lessened by the tremendous burden of armaments or the perpetual problem of self-defence.

May 24th.

A Cause for Distrust

As a statement of the English view of German armaments it comes very near to perfection. Laid before German readers, who seldom hear the English case, it can do nothing but good. They cannot be insensible to Mr. Balfour's arguments. Germany, as he shows, is forging a "tremendous weapon" in her vast Navy and concentrating an enormous fleet in the North Sea. Germans familiar with Bismarck's utterances and policy will not forget his anxiety when the Russian Government increased its forces in Poland by a couple of regiments or a battery. Can they feel surprised that the British Admiralty has been driven by the long series of German Navy Acts to take defensive precautions in the North Sea?

The vast scale of the German armaments would suffice in itself to explain uneasiness. But as an additional complication comes the fact that in recent

years a number of Germans of European reputation, men such as General Bernhardt and Professor Oncken, have preached the necessity of war with England and the destruction of the balance of power in Europe. Numerous efforts on our part to prove our desire for peace have failed. Between 1905 and 1908 we heavily reduced our Navy. What was the instant result? In 1906 and 1908 two Navy Acts were passed by the German Reichstag, more than doubling the strength of the German Fleet. This year, again, a reduction in the British naval expenditure was effected, with the immediate consequence that Germany passed yet another Navy Act, increasing her permanently commissioned force in the North Sea from 21 to 33 armoured ships. *In this country we desire peace; we all wish to live on good terms with Germany.* But if there is to be a "detente" two things are necessary—that the German Government should be ready to treat France as a friend and should cease its present policy of inordinate armaments which fills the pacific States of Europe with concern.

And on May 27th:

When Mr. Balfour dwelt on the aggressive tendency which shows itself in German policy he spoke by the book. Only a few weeks have passed since General Bernhardt, a Prussian soldier of European reputation and no mere wild "Jingo," pronounced the peace movement to be "poisonous," asserted the German "right of conquest," declared that "might is right," and ridiculed the idea of respecting Belgian neutrality.

No one in this country entertains ill-feeling towards Germany. But the people of England are gradually arriving at the conclusion that there is ill-will in Germany towards this country, and signs of it are manifesting themselves in all directions in the Fatherland. An atmosphere of artificial suspicion has been manufactured among the German people. The false assertion that the British Fleet planned last year a treacherous attack on the German Navy is now known by Herr Hausemann's disclosures to have proceeded from the German Admiralty; and upon the sea of Anglophobia thus created the new Navy Act, with its prodigious increase in the strength of the German High Sea Fleet, has been floated. Yet it is clear that England has no imaginable motive for attacking Germany. She is only anxious to guard herself against an attack which is almost daily canvassed in the German Press.

The Candid German Answer

To the frank and moderate statement of the case of England by Mr. Balfour, Germany, in the person of her famous publicist, Dr. Delbrück, returned a no less candid answer.

In an interview with Dr. Delbrück by the Berlin correspondent of the "Daily Mail," all the old

German charges against England were revived with increased bitterness. The chief of those charges was that Germany alone had not shared in the partition of the world by other great Powers, and that England and other Powers still refused to recognise the natural demands of Germany for full equality in world politics. The Morocco affair was instanced, "when England supported France in order to reduce our compensation demands to a minimum, instead of recognising their legitimacy and assisting to induce France to meet us in an appropriate manner. Germany's natural answer has been again considerably to strengthen both her Army and Navy."

"Mr. Balfour repeats in his letter that Germany must not expect Englishmen to approve of her intentions in the direction of territorial acquisition. What remains then for us except to enforce the accomplishment of our purposes by increased armaments."

But the most interesting part of the interview was Dr. Delbrück's disclaimer of German aggressive ambitions in words that recoil on himself, and millions of other Germans, in 1914.

"Mr. Balfour himself intimates that the tendencies he fears in Germany would bring about a constellation such as came to pass under Napoleon. Quite right, but what an end Napoleon suffered! Does Mr. Balfour think there could ever be a responsible German statesman or German Reichstag so idiotic as not to see that the German Empire would inevitably crumble as France did under Napoleon if it attempted a similar policy? The German Empire is very powerful to-day, but in comparison with other Powers is not nearly so strong as Napoleon was. Nevertheless, he finally succumbed when all the others united against him. Germany would experience the same fate if she committed herself to the inconceivable venture of increasing the predominance she already wields on the European Continent by the annexation of other territory. Anybody who credits Germany with such plans is from the very start so blinded with passionate suspicion that sensible discussion hardly appears possible."

The speaker ended by declaring that he saw a "rising danger of war" in this English suspicion of Germany.

A leading article declared that these views, coming from a man of Professor Delbrück's eminence and influence, would come as a shock to the people of Great Britain.

The Growing Perfection of Aircraft

On June 20th the "Daily Mail" returned to the new menace of the air:

The British people have to face the facts. They must begin to realise that something more

than a small Army and a strong Navy is necessary for their security. Even now it is possible for an enemy to arrive by another route than the sea—by using the air—and from this element to strike heavy blows at vulnerable points such as dockyards and magazines. Aircraft are as yet only in their infancy. Less than ten years have elapsed since practical flying was first achieved with an aeroplane. But the profound influence of the new arm, the new service, as it should more correctly be called, is already felt, and, given a few years more of such progress as that of the immediate past, it may be the controlling factor in war. Battles, as Colonel Ross has pointed out in his remarkable study of the Russo-Japanese campaign, will hereafter be fought out not on one plane but on many planes, for there is nothing to limit the height to which aircraft may ascend. Can we feel that this country and its Government are taking adequate precautions against that day when the total expenditure of both Army and Navy upon the new arm falls short of £350,000, or one-fourth the sum that France is spending? The command of the air is fast becoming as vital a question for us as the command of the sea. Yet we are doing nothing worth considering to secure it.

On June 28th it received (Berlin Correspondent) an account of a remarkable 250 miles cruise by a Zeppelin airship over the North Sea:

The cruise lasted about ten hours, and the vessel, besides her regular crew, carried ten passengers.

The airship left Hamburg at 6.15 this morning, and flew over Cuxhaven to Heligoland, which was reached at 9.30. From Heligoland the airship turned south-west to Nordeney and Borkum, and then inland, via Wilhelmshaven and Bremerhaven, back to Hamburg.

During her cruise the airship held directly over the liner *Amerika* for a considerable distance. She also cruised over Heligoland and Nordeney, dropping paper bombs upon the fortresses.

And again (July 15th) the report of a long and successful night voyage of the same airship:

Starting from Hamburg at 12.13 a.m. on Saturday morning, the *Victoria Louise* passed over Kiel and then put out to the open sea to the Danish island of Moen and back along the Mecklenburg coast to Hamburg, which was reached at 9.45 a.m. The total distance covered was 343 miles, of which 125 miles were over the open sea. The night was clear but moonless. An exact course was kept by compass. No searchlights were carried, though the cabin

and engine cars were brilliantly lighted by electricity. The Government, it is stated, propose to spend £25,000 out of the credit of £100,000 voted two months ago by the Reichstag in the purchase of this air-cruiser.

On September 20th it recorded a record-breaking flight of another machine, the Hansa, of 375 miles in twelve hours.

The return course from Hamburg was across the southern coast of Sweden, whence the vessel steered straight across the Baltic for Germany. The Hansa, during part of the return journey, travelled at seventy-five miles an hour. -

June 19th.

LORD HALDANE AGAIN—THE KAISER'S LOVE OF PEACE—"HALF AN ENGLISH-MAN"

One of Many Astounding Speeches

Lord Haldane delivered a fervent eulogy of the German Emperor at the sixty-seventh anniversary dinner of the German Hospital in Dalston, held at the Savoy Hotel. He said he spoke of one whom we admired in this country and regarded as one of ourselves.

"He knows our language and our institutions as we do, and he speaks as we do.

"The German Emperor is something more than an emperor—he is a man, and a great man. He is gifted by the gods with the highest gift that they can give—I use a German word to express it—Geist [spirit]. He has got Geist in the highest degree. He has been a true leader of his people—a leader in spirit as well as in deed. He has guided them through nearly a quarter of a century, and preserved unbroken peace. I know no record of which a monarch has better cause to be proud. In every direction his activities have been remarkable.

"He has given his country that splendid fleet that we who know about fleets admire; he has preserved the tradition of the greatest army the world has ever seen, but it is in the arts of peace that he has been equally great. He has been the leader of his people in education and in the solution of great social questions.

"That is a great record, and it makes one feel a sense of rejoicing that the man who is associated with these things should be half an Englishman. I have the feeling very strongly that in the last

few years Germany and England have become much more like each other than they used to be. It is because we have got so much like each other that a certain element of rivalry comes in.

"We two nations have a great common task in the world—to make the world better. It is because the German Emperor, I know, shares that conviction profoundly that it gives me the greatest pleasure to give you the toast of his name. 'Into the face of things there always come elements of difficulty—the Ambassador knows it and I know it. But we live in a time that ought to fill us with hope, and one of the things that fills me with hope is that the Sovereigns on the various thrones have the cause of peace and the cause of development at heart, each one as much as the other."

Among those present were Baron Marschall von Bieberstein, the German Ambassador, and representatives of the Austro-Hungarian and Italian Ambassadors.

WORDS OR DEEDS?

The Naval Crisis of 1912

Another grave crisis in the naval policy of the country arose when Mr. Churchill (on July 22nd) rose to outline the measures which the Government proposed to provide a fleet for the Mediterranean and to cope with the new German Navy Act.

There had been strong rumours that while the Government were prepared to accept the principle that our supremacy should be maintained, it did not intend to carry out that principle in acts. The Supplementary Estimates, issued the previous day, lent support to that rumour. The politicians had spoken with two voices. The "Suicide Club" (the Navy's name for the Little Navy party) had been assured that more ships would not be laid down, and, on the other hand, those who realised the paramount importance of a strong fleet had been told that they need have no fear.

July 23rd.

The speech of Mr. Churchill may be summarised in the heading of a "Daily Mail's" leader next day, "Words, but no ships," which expressed the unappeasement of public anxiety. "The country has been looking for action, which means building ships. Instead of action, it has once more been put off with words. . . ."

"It is not as though the menace in the North Sea has diminished since March. On the contrary, the first part of his speech was devoted to showing the

extreme gravity and importance of the new German Navy Act. He stated that under that Act Germany will maintain four-fifths of her fast-growing fleet fully manned and in instant readiness to deal a tremendous blow. To illustrate the formidable character of that force, he reminded the House of Commons that it will be as numerous as the splendid fleet assembled at Spithead and far superior in actual strength.

"We confess to a feeling of intense disappointment at the speech, if only because it is so entirely in contrast with Mr. Churchill's previous promises. At Glasgow he declared:

"The whole fortunes of our race and Empire, the whole treasure accumulated during so many centuries of sacrifice and achievement, would perish and be swept utterly away if our naval supremacy were to be impaired. . . . As naval competition becomes more acute we shall have not only to increase the number of the ships we build, but also the ratio which our naval strength will have to bear to other great naval Powers, so that our margin of superiority will become larger and not smaller as the strain grows greater."

"So far as Mr. Churchill and the Government are concerned, their attitude must be summed up in the American phrase, 'Nothin' doin'!' Their policy is words, not ships, in an hour of grave national danger."

"THIS NOBLE FORCE, THIS BRITISH NAVY, ON WHICH, IN THE GREAT-HEARTED WORDS OF THE ELIZABETHAN, 'UNDER THE GOOD PROVIDENCE OF GOD, THE WEALTH, SAFETY, AND STRENGTH OF THE KINGDOM CHIEFLY DEPEND,' IS TO-DAY, AS IN THE HEROIC PAST, OUR GREATEST SCHOOL OF LOYALTY, PATRIOTISM, AND DUTY, THOSE FORCES THE WAXING OR WANING STRENGTH OF WHICH MAKES NATIONS GREAT OR BRINGS THEM DOWN IN RUIN."

(Terminating words of "Daily Mail" leading article on Spithead Naval Pageant, July 9th, 1912.)

October 1st.

German Efficiency

"The endurance of the German infantryman, as demonstrated at these manoeuvres, is nothing short of remarkable. Take this typical instance. At 11 p.m. on the 11th Blue's infantry started on a 31-mile march through the night. They attacked and fought in the morning and throughout the day with varying success. At the end of the day they withdrew for the night, attacked at 5 o'clock on the morning of the 13th, and fought until 11 a.m. For the first time in several series of 'Kaiser Manoeuvres,' of which I have personal knowledge, some foot-sore men were seen, but probably not more than

eight or ten out of a whole division. The infantry attacked well and with initiative and dash.

"Supply, the least picturesque, but in the last analysis the vital constituent of a fighting organism, was revealed afresh as one of the most inconspicuous but most efficient departments of the German Army.

"Another innovation was the employment of auto-omnibuses for troop-transport. The surprise arrival of a heavy detachment of riflemen, who were rushed up in omnibuses, proved the decisive factor in a certain engagement—an experience which demonstrated the rashness of cavalry attacking infantry in position. Motor-cars, motor-cycles, and motor-trucks were used to an unprecedentedly large degree."

October 1st.

A FRANK OPINION OF THE GERMAN ARMY The World's Model Organisation

Under this title the "Daily Mail" devoted a column on its leading page (written by a "Foreign Military Observer"), which was intended as a further warning of the immense and systematic military organisation of Germany. These are quotations from the article, which was based upon observation of the German manoeuvres:

"Certainly in all that concerns leadership, the handling of large bodies of troops spread over a county-broad area, mobility, and the other great features of Kriegspiel, the operations in Saxony confirmed the impression that the German army is eminently well trained, hard-working, and earnest, and that its command is in the hands of capable men.

"It may be said at once that the work of the military aircraft was of first-rate order. As far as was ascertainable, disaster overtook only one aeroplane of all the craft engaged. The scouting on both sides was so efficiently done that each army was compelled to resort to an extraordinary amount of night-work in order to screen its movements and tactical operations. Never before has it been brought home so vividly to my mind that the armies of the future will be compelled to march and fight under cover of darkness to a degree hitherto unexperienced in the annals of war.

"For far reconnaissance, cavalry and aeroplanes co-operated for the first time in German manoeuvres—a noteworthy step in the effective use of aircraft. There were innumerable occasions when both armies had reliable knowledge of the movement and dispositions of the enemy many hours, or even a whole day, in advance of what would have been the case if cavalry scouting only had been relied upon. Zeppelin III. was omnipresent, literally, and ren-

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dered incalculably valuable service to Blue. There seemed hardly a moment during the operations when Zeppelin III. was not hovering at a safe altitude over some Red position or returning to its headquarters with priceless intelligence. Aeroplanes did not limit their work to scouting, but proved great and reliable time-savers in the carrying of communications between far-separated divisions. . . ."

October.

FRESH ANTI-BRITISH FURY

The middle of October witnessed another campaign of almost unprecedented ferocity of the newspapers of the pan-German and War parties, who led their readers to believe that Great Britain was engaged in a diabolical attempt to ferment a European conflagration.

The campaign became such a scandal that the German Government was forced to take cognisance of it. Through the "Cologne Gazette," the Foreign Office rebuked the excesses of the War party, but the simple statement that "it is going too far" to hold Britain responsible for the war in the Balkans was but a feeble rebuke to such remarks as the following :

The Munich "Neueste Nachrichten" (often the mouthpiece for official utterances) :

"Ostensibly pro-Turkish, the attitude of the British Government during the peace efforts of the Powers is one of the most impudent and transparent 'bluffs' England has ever made. The British Government knew perfectly well it thereby only promoted war. It is war and not peace in the Balkans which will further British interests in the Near East."

The "Rheinische Westfaelische Zeitung," of Essen (the local organ of Messrs. Krupp) :

"A strong Turkey is extremely dangerous to England, which must reckon that Turkey would exploit an Anglo-German war to drive the English out of Egypt."

"Die Post" (the official organ of the War party which led the campaign) :

"It is becoming clearer hour by hour that everything has been arranged in one central quarter, and how deliberately English diplomacy has gone to work to accomplish its ends. The secret threads of the Balkan crisis have been spun in London. Germany has urgent need to be on her guard and to close up without delay the various gaps in her military preparedness."

These universal expressions of German sentiment scarcely coincided with the declarations devoutly expressed by Prince Lichnowsky, newly appointed the German Ambassador to Great Britain, in an interview with the Berlin correspondent of the "Daily Mail" (October 19th)

"We do not cherish the slightest desire or inten-

tion of disputing Great Britain's mastery of the seas. You are an island people, and a supreme Fleet is, as you claim, a life or death question for you."

The Growing Shadow of 1914

In November and December, 1912, was enacted the penultimate chapter of the Austro-Servian-Russian imbroglio that Germany eventually seized upon as her excuse for the great European war of 1914.

Almost insoluble antagonisms developed over the Balkan peace and the rearrangement of the Balkan territories, and a crisis arose between Russia and Austria. Austrian troops were concentrated near the Russian and the Servian frontiers. The immediate cause of the crisis was the Austrian demand that Servia should evacuate Albania and abandon her claim to acquire a port on the Adriatic.

It was believed in Vienna that Russia was encouraging Servia in her claim, and it was reported that Russia was proceeding to the mobilisation of twenty-four army corps.

The Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne (assassinated in June, 1914), came on a momentous mission to Germany, and the "Reichpost," whose political news was deemed exceptionally authentic, made the announcement that the Triple Alliance was closer than ever before, and that in Eastern affairs the three Allies would "march in serried line."

The "Reichpost" proceeded to say that common sittings had been held of representatives of all the Imperial German Ministers and of the Prussian Ministry.

"As a result it has become apparent that, general as the wish is to maintain peace, preparations for every eventuality are fully made, so that all surprises are guarded against.

"It may be stated that as the intensive work of the War Office and the Admiralty has borne very good fruit, General von Heeringen and Admiral von Tirpitz, the Ministers of War and Marine, had occasion to show that they had done their duty.

In Serried Line

"The Archduke Francis Ferdinand will certainly return to Vienna with the conviction that Austria is supported by Germany's most loyal friendship, and that, as the Triple Alliance is firmer than ever before, the three allies will march in serried line in Eastern affairs, and primarily in the Adriatic and Rumanian questions.

"This represents a power which it is simply impossible to outvote."

The "Reichpost's" statement concludes :

"In the deliberations at Springe the Archduke at any rate realised how truly these words corres-

pond to the inmost sentiments of the leading circles in Germany. The military discussions—which reckon with eventualities that it is to be hoped will not occur—will have convinced the Archduke that the German Army and Navy are ready at the will of their supreme War Lord, if needs be, to place themselves in their full strength by the side of their Austrian friend.”

The pan-German Press, going further, directly threatened Russia with another glimpse of the Kaiser in the “shining armour” with which he coerced her into surrender on the Bosnian annexation in 1909.

November 25th.

The leading article of the “Daily Mail” on November 25th was sufficient confutation of those writers and speakers, in both England and Germany, who accused it of a hostile policy against Germany and her allies.

Nothing that Would Justify a War

There is no visible cause for war at this moment. The attitude of Germany, as it is said to have been stated to the Archduke Francis Ferdinand during his visit to Berlin, gives every hope that peace will be preserved. The German Government, according to our Berlin correspondent, is believed to have told the Archduke that it does not wish to go to war, and that it does not consider any situation has arisen which would justify a war, but that Germany will give her ally unflinching support in the event of any attack by Serbia and Russia on Austrian territory.

We entirely agree with the German Government. There is nothing in the situation which would justify war. The Austrian position is set forth in a noteworthy article entitled ‘What Austria Wants,’ which we publish to-day, and which we believe to be an authoritative expression of Austrian opinion. Austria will not permit Serbia to acquire a seaport on the Adriatic. She requires Serbia to respect Albanian independence. But Serbia may find an outlet to the sea in any other direction without wounding Austrian susceptibilities. In fairness to Austria it should be remembered that she has already made remarkable concessions. She has shown her willingness to abandon the Sanjak of Novibazar to the Servians and Montenegrins. She has abandoned her dream of an Austrian advance through Macedonia to Salonica. Serbia has already made vast gains by the war. To persist in her claim to an Adriatic port in the face of Austrian hostility would be to risk all that she has won. There should here be material for a transaction, as the idea of a great European conflict over the question whether Serbia shall obtain a ‘window’ on the Adriatic with a ‘corridor’ leading to it will not appeal to sane and balanced statesmen. A European conflict on such an issue would be a blunder and a crime.

Lord Roberts and Universal Service

Lord Roberts continued his patriotic work of attempting to arouse the nation to the grave peril of its military weakness, and in this further campaign the “Daily Mail” supported him with constantly renewed appeals and warnings to the country.

In a leading article (September 24th) it was pointed out that the people of Australia and New Zealand had accepted a form of National Service because their statesmen honestly told them it was essential for their security.

“Is the need in Britain less? Excellent as the British Army is in quality it is pitifully small in quantity. Its organised expeditionary force of trained men does not exceed 158,000 troops, and cuts a very indifferent figure beside the 1,250,000 of the German field army, the 800,000 of the Austrians, or the 500,000 of the Italian. For home defence, in addition to some odds and ends of Regular troops, we have only the Special Reserve and the 270,000 Territorials, who cannot take the field until they have received six months’ training.

“Lord Roberts showed that, with the open formations necessary in modern war, the highest degree of training is essential. So long as the supremacy of the British Navy was beyond all possibility of challenge, there may have been no urgent need for a strong army for home defence. But in recent years British superiority at sea has been grievously shaken. In the recent naval manœuvres, as Lord Roberts stated, the possibility of landing a large force on our shores, in the face of a superior fleet, was demonstrated. *A strong Army at home would free the Fleet from all need of guarding against such a deadly blow, would render invasion out of the question, and would add immeasurably to the chances of peace. Yet, because with voluntary service it is impossible to obtain the number of men required, or to give them the training without which they will be useless in war, we continue weak and thereby invite attack.*”

And on November 27th.

Collective Responsibility

The young manhood of this country cannot be condemned for reluctance to answer an appeal which has never been made. Men grow more and more unwilling to serve in the Territorials because they see that the force imposes an inequitable burden. We cannot expect wholesale altruism except under the stimulus of national compulsion. Englishmen will give themselves freely enough for national military service when they know they are joining in a collective undertaking. They will not volunteer for duties which become steadily more exacting while they see that their less zealous brethren can spend their short holidays in pleasant enjoyment at the seaside. Thousands of Bulgarians have willingly laid down their lives for their country during the

last few weeks. Their martial ardour was not less exalted, their eagerness to get to grips with the enemy was not less keen, because they marched forth in compulsory service. They welcomed the mandates which drew in all the waverers and knit the whole nation in bonds of brotherhood. Until a Government has tried to pass a measure for national military service and been rejected at the polls in consequence, we have no right to brand the working men of Great Britain with unwillingness to shoulder arms in their country's cause. When such a measure is submitted, we have no fear about the response; but the instinct of the nation rebels against service in a makeshift and badly trained force. Meanwhile, if blame must be given, let us place it fairly on the shoulders of the leaders who fear to lead."

And again, November 28th.

"We have asked for our politicians to give a clear lead in a matter which is vital to the nation. Not one of them but feels in his heart that Lord Roberts speaks the truth. Not one of them but is aware of the grave weakness of the Territorial Force. Not one of them but knows that at any moment the position of Great Britain may be challenged, or understands that weakness must invite attack by the strong. The real question is not whether we are to have universal service, for come it must, but whether we are to accept Colonel Seely's policy and wait for disaster before introducing it, meantime contenting ourselves with a weapon which is almost as futile as the Chinese cannon of painted wood. *Is there no man in the Ministry with courage to stand*

out, tell the nation the truth, and call upon it to give its answer before reform is too late?"

December 24th.

THE WRITING ON THE WALL

Extract from an article by Twells Brex.

"Only those who make the most urgent preparations for war can hope to avoid it. Until Europe breaks away from her madhouse chains one nation alone cannot doff armour, saying, 'For my part there shall be no more war.'

"Unless we British (who want nothing but peace) without delay train all our manhood for war, we hold as doomed an Empire as Spain's, perhaps even as doomed a homeland as Poland or Lorraine. *This thing is as certain as the coming of the seasons—we all know it—our writing is large and fateful on the wall of Time. For War hungrily watches ours, the unravished land—rich forage for his red banquet. He is crouching on land, scouting the seas, even winging his spies through the air in the secret night! Are we so in love with war that we do nothing to avert it?*

"Not thus will wars be for ever ended by crying to rivals, 'You and I together could have made all the world put away their weapons—you and I in the forefront of humanity! What could we not have done if we had stood together?'

"We must arm—arm for five years; and then we can step out alone for humanity. 'In our one hand is *this* sword—in our other hand is our pact of brotherhood for the world's eternal court of arbitration. Which will you have?'"

1913

THE AEROPLANE

Yet again, on February 17th, 1913, the "Daily Mail" hammered at the increasing importance of the airship and the aeroplane.

If there were not many precedents it would be an astounding thing that our insular imagination has not yet grasped at all the profound difference that the coming of the airship and the aeroplane have made in the relation of nations. Germany at the present moment possesses more than twenty dirigible airships, mostly of the Zeppelin type, which have a speed of fifty miles an hour, which are armed with guns of small calibre, which can travel out of shot-range, which can carry provisions for several days and a great weight of explosives. More than this, the Germans intend to increase their fleet yearly by the addition of a number of airships of another type. This vast superiority of the Germans is alarming the French. In a recent number of "Le Temps," General de Lacroix laments the inferiority of France both in quantity and quality, and points out with military precision the actual and moral effect which these great ships of the air would quite certainly exert in war, whether by land or sea.

France is conscious of her inferiority, though she possesses an incomparable fleet of 500 aeroplanes in compensation for her deficiency of airships. If France realises her deficiency, what ought our mental state to be? Those who go to Olympia, which among any imaginative people would be crowded, will see satisfactory proof of the capacity of English firms to build as good aeroplanes as any nation can build. But those who have seen the Zeppelins will scarcely note without something like shame the exhibit of the War Office airship Delta, a pretty enough ship, but a toy. We possess in England just three airships, of which the Delta, which is the best, is to a Zeppelin very much what a torpedo-destroyer is to a Dreadnought.

A factory capable of building airships, and sums of money adequate to provide a fleet, are absolute, urgent necessities of the moment, over and above the grant for aeroplanes. A Government has before now been turned out for a slight deficiency in the supply of cordite. We have here a deficiency which, once exposed, no Government ought to be allowed by public opinion to permit for a moment longer. It is a crime against patriotism to have permitted it at all.

February 25th.

The German Air-Fleet

The "Daily Mail's" Berlin correspondent sent details of the trials of the newest German army airship. This vessel covered a distance of 500 miles

at a speed of 40 miles an hour, maintaining touch by wireless telegraphy throughout with Karlsruhe.

The new ship was believed to be similar to L1, a recent German naval airship, which is 525ft. long, 50ft. in diameter, 770,000 cubic feet in capacity, with engines of over 500 horse-power, and a maximum speed of 50 miles an hour. She can remain aloft for 60 hours, and can carry five tons of explosives.

The new Army Zeppelin airship (known as Ersatz Z1) executed an interesting all-night practice flight across Western Germany, Baden, and Bavaria on Saturday night.

The flight, which was a non-stop cruise lasting 12½ hours, was undertaken with a full military crew of officers and men for the purpose of testing the vessel's wireless apparatus. The latter worked faultlessly, and enabled the vessel to keep in touch throughout the flight with the military station at Karlsruhe.

The maximum distance at which communication was maintained was 150 miles.

The total distance of 500 miles was covered at an average speed of 40 miles an hour.

In answer to a question in Parliament, Colonel Seely stated, on February 12th, that the fleet of airships owned by the German Government stood as follows at the close of 1912:

	Cubic Ft.		Cubic Ft.
One of	63,569	One of	516,495
One of	141,267	Two of	635,688
One of	183,646	One of	688,662
One of	282,528	One of	776,600
One of	353,160	One of dimensions un-	
One of	423,792	known.	

The number of more important privately owned airships was ten, it was reported, but the dimensions of them were not available.

Since December, 1912, further German airships have been completed.

British Comparison

In mortifying contrast to the above figures were the particulars he gave of the British airship fleet:

Beta	33,000	cubic feet.
Gamma	75,000	" "
Delta	180,000	" "

Why Germany Builds

On February 26th, 1913, Mr. Norman Angell, who had just returned from a tour in Germany, contributed to the "Daily Mail" a captivating article which embodied the reply of a German friend to the question, "Why Germany Builds?"

Mr. Norman Angell's German friend (apparently no less eloquent a special pleader than Mr. Norman Angell himself) contended throughout that Germany's armaments were solely directed against the constantly menaced revenge of France and the increasing power of "barbaric" Russia.

The German Explanation

"Of course, you cannot conceive, no man can conceive, what the destruction of ten million human beings mean. Yet by that number of beings was the population of Germany decreased during these wars [the Napoleonic wars]. A State as populous as England when Queen Victoria came to the throne was in one war reduced to the population of Holland. What have you to compare with this, to set beside it? When, indeed, have you had to watch vast, uncounted multitudes of young women and children driven forth homeless, their corpses massed in the country roads, with grass in their mouths, the only food that the invader left? And these same invaders, who have poured in devastating floods over our land to-day, boast that again they will invade us if and when they can. I say 'boast.' Can you find me one French public man who will say that France should abandon the hope of attacking us? It is declared their overt policy.

"And that is only half the story, the danger of one side of us only. On our other side we have 160,000,000 of semi-barbaric people, of whom not more than one-eighth can read or write. The Chinese have a larger proportion of literates than these Russians. And these, our immediate neighbours, are governed on absolutist methods by a reactionary bureaucracy frankly militarist. It is a country in which public interest means the interest of an autocratic caste. Do you believe that such a State, whose frontier abuts directly on ours, is no danger?

Russian "Barbarians"

"What is all this talk of the 'new France,' of which we hear, but the revival of old France, of all that Napoleon meant, 'the Great Shadow,' as one of your own writers has called him? It is you who have revived the old spectre of the *guerre de revanche*, which was nearly laid a year or two ago, and would have disappeared but for your encouragement. The successors of the Napoleons are now talking, as you are now talking, of this 'expeditionary force' to the Continent. But an English expeditionary force to the Continent means a force against Germany. Against whom else would you use it? And so, with these 160,000,000 barbarians on our right, and our ancient military enemy (who also talks of using the black troops of his African Empire against us) on our left—both peoples who have invaded us and destroyed our homes—you are now to add an invasion from another quarter.

What do you expect us to do? Stand and wait supinely for it to come to us; watch the hordes of invaders, the old invaders and the new prospective ones, increase?

"My friend, the reply to an English expeditionary force is a German Navy. We must try to prevent that force reaching our shores or the shores of our enemy, your ally. That is why we build."

Feb. 28th.

A Reply to Mr. Norman Angell

The "Daily Mail" published two days later a reply to Mr. Norman Angell by Mr. H. W. Wilson.

Mr. Wilson, "in the interests of history and truth, and for the very safety of the British Empire," subjected the German explanation of "Why Germany Builds" to a searching and shattering criticism.

He pointed out that Germany began the creation of her enormous fleet—by the famous German Navy Act in 1900, during the most critical part of the Boer War—four years anterior to the Anglo-French agreement which Mr. Norman Angell's German friend alleged as the provocation of German Fleet construction.

"The Naval Act in its preamble laid down that Germany must have a fleet of such strength that, even for the greatest naval Power, a war with her would involve such risks as to imperil its own supremacy.

"The Act was taken by the world as a challenge to Britain. It compelled the British Government at once to abandon its policy of isolation, for it was accompanied by a declaration from the German Emperor that 'the trident must be in our fist.' The British alliance with Japan, the Entente with France, the understanding with Russia, followed. These things were not the causes but the consequences of the sudden decision of Germany to create an immense navy. Mr. Angell's German friend has reversed the sequence of events. The British Empire was guilty of the supreme offence of attempting to protect itself against attack."

Mr. Wilson proceeded to ask what we had done to provoke or annoy Germany.

"For whole decades British policy was deferential to Germany. To Germany we surrendered Heligoland. We made way for her in Africa, in Oceania, in China, where, in the affair of the now forgotten 'Yangtze Treaty,' we were treated by German statesmen with scant regard. It is not correct to allege that Britain obstructed her in the acquisition of a colonial Empire. Germany obtained Togoland, the Kameruns, South-West Africa, East Africa, a large slice of Papua, and an archipelago in the Pacific.

"We have to face the fact, which Mr. Angell's

informant has studiously ignored, that Germany, in the words of Professor Delbrück, is a *Kriegsstaat*, a nation organised for war.

Past Menaces of War

"We are told by Mr. Angell's friend that she has not made war for forty years. That is true. But, unfortunately, she has threatened it repeatedly in the immediate past. Moltke and Bismarck were anxious to complete the destruction of France by a fresh war in 1874, and again in 1875. They were deterred because immediately Russia and Britain ranged themselves on the side of France, and announced that an unprovoked attack upon her would be resisted by them. Yet Professor Lamprecht regrets that his countrymen did not strike France down on that occasion. Again, in the Delcassé crisis of 1905, Germany suddenly threatened France with attack, and only withdrew her threats because Britain and Russia promised France support against any aggression. In 1908, over the Casablanca affair, Germany once more threatened war against France; in 1909 the 'armed Michael' menaced Russia with the invasion of Poland; in 1911 for three months Europe was kept on the verge of war by the apparition of the Panther at Agadir. These are incidents which do not reveal such an excessive devotion to peace on the part of Germany and her rulers as Mr. Angell's friend suggests.

"We should like to believe that Germany cherishes no hostility to Britain. But the Kaiser, in the famous interview which appeared in 1908, declared:

"The prevailing sentiment among large sections of the middle and lower classes of my own people is not friendly to England."

Treitschke, the great German historian, writing a generation ago, stated that the 'settlement' with England 'must come,' and would be 'the hardest and the last.' That brilliant journalist Maximilian Harden has repeated in his 'Zukunft,' week after week, '*ceterum censeo Karthaginem esse delendam*' ('I hold that Carthage must be wiped out'). Again, General Bernhardt, no ignorant firebrand, but the most capable of German military critics, has recently declared war with England inevitable. He admits, be it noted, that before the immense increase in the German Navy no one in England ever dreamed of war with Germany. And thus incidentally he demolishes Mr. Angell's informant's case.

The Real Spirit in France

"We 'have revived the spectre of the *guerre de revanche*,' says this informant. Nothing could be more fundamentally untrue. France is a nation of 39 millions; Germany of 67 millions. The odds against France are such that no French Government will ever dream of a 'war of revenge.' What occupies the entire attention of France is the task

of protecting herself against the possibility of a sudden German attack, and Germany would be in a position to deliver such an attack if France took no steps to meet the augmentation in the strength of the German effectives that is now proposed. In three years Germany will have raised the strength of her army from 600,000 to 865,000 men. After all, French statesmen cannot be blamed for recalling Von der Goltz's famous saying that the German statesman who, seeing war inevitable and being himself ready, hesitates to strike is guilty of a crime against his country."

The writer then dealt with the numerous attempts which the British Government had made in recent years to check the competition in armaments, and the invariable German rebuffs. And he concluded as follows:

The Price of Peace

"Mr. Angell's friend offers Britain peace at the price of the abandonment of France. But if Germany cherishes no hostile purpose against France, why should she be so anxious for us to withdraw from the Republic support which is only to be given if France is subjected to an unprovoked attack? There can be nothing unfriendly to Germany in this, as, according to Mr. Angell's informant, the last thing of which Germans are thinking is such an unprovoked attack. If, however, there should happen to be a majority of Germans who entertain the idea of 'striking France down,' then, by withdrawing her support, Britain would commit the very mistake which led Prussia direct to Jena. Prussia remained inactive in 1805 during the campaign of Austerlitz, when Napoleon was crushing Austria. The result was that in the following year she was forced into war and crushed herself.

"In fine, Britain has no quarrel with Germany, and never had. The naval competition is not of Britain's seeking. It is not due to the understanding with France or the promise of a British expeditionary force to aid France in certain circumstances, but to a deliberate German policy, conceived in 1900, four years before the entente. We may hope that the German policy may change with time. But till there is evidence that it has changed we cannot be blamed for taking steps to defend ourselves."

A New War of Armaments

The new German military proposals were published in the "Daily Mail" on March 3rd.

The German Army was to be raised with all possible speed to the gigantic total, in time of peace, of 860,000 men, at an initial outlay of from 50 to 60 millions, with a permanent charge of 10 to 15

millions. In the current year Germany was spending on her army no less than 102 millions, with a total outlay on armaments, including naval expenditure, of 130 millions.

"These colossal armaments explain the extraordinary efforts for which France is preparing with such energy and such courage. They require corresponding exertions on our part. The situation in Europe is being vitally modified; and if we are to be secure in this new world, steps must be taken without delay to strengthen both our Navy and our Army. Look where we will, the position is full of danger. Our battleship force in commission with full crews in the North Sea will be only 25 at the close of the year to the German 29 ships. Our Regular Army is weak in numbers and slow in mobilisation, our Territorial Force is menaced with collapse. Our Air Service hardly exists; in this element we are already hopelessly out-distanced by Germany, who is now proposing to double her outlay on her air-fleet. Gravest sign of all is the apathy of the Government. Is there no moral and spiritual lesson for us in that re-birth of France to a new creed of energy and self-sacrifice?"

March 5th.

If a Territorial Force of 313,000 men was required in 1907, when the armies of Europe were 40 per cent. weaker than to-day, when our naval preponderance as against Germany's was twice as great as it is at this hour, can it be pretended for a moment that we are safe with a Territorial Force of 240,000 men? That is the question which the British Government have to answer. *The manly course would be to introduce national service. But if the Government can suggest any alternative, let them adopt it. Theirs is the responsibility—the grave responsibility—to see that the Empire suffers no hurt in this new age of iron which is opening so darkly for Europe.*

"A Germanised Europe"—Letters of an Englishman

"We have heard much lately of the United States of Europe which, under the leadership of Germany, should hold the citadel of civilisation against the rude barbarians, and this proud dream of United States is nothing more or less than the dream of Simplicissimus. To make this dream a reality is the sole aim of German energy and German endeavour. Armaments are added to armaments, ships to ships, that Jupiter's promise may be redeemed. It is the fault of Europe if she does not understand the peril which confronts her; and to repel it, as she will, is worth the last sacrifice she can be called upon to make.

"A Germanised Europe! It is a nightmare from which the most callous of men might shrink in fear.

For a Germanised Europe means the eternal triumph of the efficient second-rate. The inventions of England, the arts of France, are already turned by anxious Germans to their own use and spoiled in the process. But if, in accordance with Jupiter's prophecy, the Germans overrun the fair territory of France and placed England under their heel, there would be an end of enterprise and of the arts. Henceforth we should be drilled to a neat Teutonic pattern; what is left to us of individuality, once our most precious heritage, would be beaten out of us with a sabre; and we should be left lamenting too late that we sold our birthright for the poor pottage of gazing idly at football matches and picture palaces. Happily, prophecies do not always come true. The lofty hope encouraged by Simplicissimus will end in vanity. Meanwhile, it has given us an accurate measure of what was and what remains Germany's ambition. If we cannot thwart it we shall deserve to wear the chains of servitude for ever. Truly a perpetual peace between all nations, as in Augustus's time, would be very dearly bought by the privilege of receiving our crowns, kingdoms, and incorporated lands as fiefs of Germany!"

March 24th.

Yet Another Offer to Germany

Mr. Churchill, speaking in the House of Commons on the Naval Estimates, made, in the name of the Government, yet another offer to Germany. If Germany would undertake not to build new warships in the year 1914, Britain would do the same. Mr Churchill advocated a "naval holiday" for one year. His chief points were:

There is no prospect of avoiding large and continual increases of the Estimates in future years, unless the period of acute national rivalries is ended.

The present race in naval armaments, which Britain is best able to bear, is pitiful folly.

A concerted effort should be made to arrest it.

The peoples of Europe should be asked: "If for the space of a year no new ship is built for any navy, would your interests be prejudiced in any conceivable way?"

Why should we not all take a naval holiday for a year?

The finances of every country would obtain relief, and no navy would sustain the slightest injury.

This is no appeal to weakness, but of strength striding in front.

There was no idea of entangling bargains with Germany.

Our superiority of 60 per cent. would be maintained, plus two ships for every additional German one.

All Empire ships are excluded from this calculation.

If Britain and Germany agreed to postpone or cancel their programmes for 1914, matters could be arranged with the other Powers.

The influence of Anglo-German co-operation for the peace and welfare of the world would be immeasurable.

And Yet Another German "No"

Mr. Churchill's proposals again fell on unsympathetic ears in Germany. "Grotesque," "swaggering," "absurd," "bluff," "insincere," and "arrogant" were some of the terms applied to it. The Conservative "Post" exhausted its resources of abuse in denunciation of Mr. Churchill:

"Mr. Winston Churchill's speeches are always distinguished by inconsistency and insincerity, but he has made it particularly easy for his critics on this occasion to dispose of him point for point. Who will guarantee us, for example, that England during this 'pause year' would not cheat us shamefully by employing the time in expanding the Colonial fleet or building in her own yards 'for foreign account'? Let the English build what they wish, and we shall build what we must."

Count Reventlow, in the "Deutsche Tageszeitung," accused Mr. Churchill of "a feonious attempt to influence that section of German public opinion which has been opposed to German naval expansion in the past, and which he hopes will keep on doing so."

"Remote from Realities"

The "Lokal Anzeiger," which customarily reflects the Foreign Office view, declared that "Mr. Churchill's pacifist-idealist proposal is far remote from the realities with which States have to deal. His scheme will remain Utopian as long as the idea of general disarmament itself."

The pan-German "Taegliche Rundschau" said: "The psychological puzzle why Mr. Churchill is making such passionate love to us ceases to baffle when it is realised that Englishmen fear the moment when they will be financially strangled before we are. We shall eventually possess a fleet of sixty-one Dreadnoughts. In order to maintain her present superiority, and be able at any time to impose her will upon us as during the Morocco crisis, England will require 130 Dreadnoughts. That denotes for the English a process which will bleed them white. They do not possess an inexhaustible reservoir of men from compulsory service like ourselves. After seven years they will need 230,000 men. These are figures calculated to make blanch even Winston's brazen face. What Churchill wants is to make 'Rule, Britannia,' cheap. If we let him, there is a place awaiting us in the fools' gallery of the world's history."

March 29th.

The "Daily Mail" Berlin correspondent sent the

following as the view taken in competent German naval quarters of Mr. Churchill's speech.

"Despite its friendly reference to this country, the speech makes the impression of a deliberately anti-German utterance. Its failure to discuss the development of other naval Powers like Japan and the United States emphasises its one-sidedness.

"It is extremely difficult to take the idea of 'a year's naval holiday' seriously. It can hardly be believed that it was meant to be taken seriously by the British Parliament to which it was suggested. If any such agreement were consummated, Britain would probably find ways and means of evading its spirit if not its letter by a subterfuge of one kind or another.

"Other portions of Mr. Churchill's speech reveal the real motives of his proposal. England has about reached the limit of her available supply of trained seamen and petty officers. She lacks men to man the ships she desires to build. Mr. Churchill seeks to gain time to remedy these vital conditions. The English shipbuilding industry also could only benefit. It cannot take advantage of the prevailing 'boom' in maritime constructions because of the shortage of hands caused by the heavy demands of naval construction.

"If the latter ceased for one year the shipyards would be freed to take up other work, and the 'holiday' scheme, therefore, would rebound to the benefit of British yards, while paralysing the shipbuilding industry of Germany."

Germany's Remorseless Preparations

"Germany," said the "Daily Mail" (March 31st), on the German answer, "pays no attention to words. She marches forward, remorselessly, unswervingly to pre-determined ends."

The article continued:

The first point to notice is the gigantic outlay on her air service which Germany proposes. We show elsewhere that, during the next five years, a sum of over fifteen millions will be spent upon German aircraft and their accessories. This gives an annual outlay during those five years of at least three millions, and goes far beyond any of the forecasts published. The policy adopted by the German military and naval advisers is significant in the extreme. It proves the immense importance which they attach to the control of the air, and their determination at all costs to secure it for their country. The steps which they are now preparing to take throw our puny efforts in Great Britain into the shade, and will necessitate an immediate revision of the British measures.

The disproportion is the more disquieting because the day is evidently at hand when the Power which controls the air will be able to obtain access to every

part of these islands. With the coming of airmanship, in fact, British insularity ceased, and it became as essential for this country to command the air as to control the sea.

The Menace of German Aerial Power

A second point is the extreme rapidity with which the expansion in the German armaments is to be carried out. The Paris "Temps" has recently published calculations which show that by the close of the present year the German Army will be carried to a strength of 860,000 officers and men, always with the colours, though the strength of the French Army has fallen to 500,000 men. Unless France, then, acts with all possible speed, she will find herself enormously outnumbered on her land frontier at an early date. But the need for prompt action is not incumbent upon her alone. The British Government and the British nation have also a part to play. They have done their best to end the competition of armaments with Germany, but in vain. Henceforward, it must be their duty to see that in this competition they hold their own. The vast development of the German air-service is something more than a menace to Continental Powers. It is, in the words which Napoleon used of Antwerp, more than a century ago, a "pistol held at the head of Britain." Unless we reply to it forthwith and on the same scale we cannot be safe.

THE MENACE OF THE AIR

In pursuance of its campaign for the development of British aviation, the "Daily Mail" (April 1st) announced two fresh competitions for large sums.

Both of these competitions are intended to develop the air weapon which we believe to be best suited to the peculiar needs of an island and a naval Power. The prize in the first competition is of the amount of £5,000, and is to be paid to the first person who makes a complete circuit of England and Scotland—a distance of about 2,000 miles—starting from the mouth of the Thames, in a waterplane of entirely British construction, within seventy-two hours. The prize in the second competition is of the amount of £10,000, and will be paid by the "Daily Mail" to the first person to cross the Atlantic in a waterplane in the same time.

Ten years ago anyone who ventured even to suggest the practicability of such flights as these would have been regarded as a suitable occupant for a lunatic asylum. So recently as six years ago many believed that our London-to-Manchester and Calais-to-Dover contests were mere fantasies. To-day, however, no one who has studied the progress of the aeroplane and waterplane has any doubt that the journeys which we propose will be made.

Need for Waterplanes

On this occasion we have not to face a world of Doubting Thomases. The nation's anxiety has been thoroughly aroused by the gigantic expenditure on airships purposed by our German friends. We believe, after closely watching the actual work of all the various patterns of aircraft, that the alert and speedy waterplane, capable as it is of flying in weather when a huge airship would be wrecked, able to proceed at twice the airship's speed, small and difficult to hit, yet sufficiently armed to attack and destroy the gas-bag monsters, is the type upon which Great Britain should concentrate her attention. Yet we do not advocate neglect of airships or dirigible balloons. While their very size is their chief danger, rendering them vulnerable to artillery and liable to destruction by the wind, we regard them as possessing certain advantages in conditions of comparatively fair weather.

It is now a thoroughly established fact that aeroplanes can fly even in a gale. Mr. Orville Wright, who shares with his late brother the renown of inventing the first practicable heavier-than-air flying-machine, has recently informed us of flights in winds which he has timed as blowing at the rate of 55 to 60 miles an hour. A second advantage of the waterplane is that it is possible to build at least thirty craft of the present small pattern for the price of one enormous airship. We are, however, among those who hold that, just as aeroplanes for service on land are now being constructed to carry six or eight persons with ease, so will waterplanes be built that will be able to carry a petrol supply of their own sufficient for flights of immense distance over the ocean.

New developments are coming so thick and fast that Great Britain has not a moment to lose. We want to see less national supineness and far more energetic action in this all-important matter of air defence. That the British Government should remain inert and apathetic while other Powers are busied night and day in the construction of engines of war which may be used against ourselves is not in accordance with the traditions of enterprise, determination, and foresight that have made the British Empire what it is.

April 3rd.

Germany's Seven Millions in Five Years

Now that Germany has determined to spend an additional capital sum of seven millions in the next five years upon aircraft and their accessories, the situation has been radically changed. For in the sphere of aerial competition—to vary a recent aphorism of Mr. Churchill's—"everything is relative. The strength of one air-fleet is its strength compared with another." If the German air-fleet is enormously

augmented, the British air-forces must be increased in proportion. Proposals which were adequate before the new German schemes were launched are utterly inadequate to-day.

If a ratio of 16 to 10 is essential for British security on the sea, a similar ratio of superiority in the air may well be just as necessary. *The day is not far distant when invasion by the air will become a practicable military operation, so profound a revolution has the new art of flying wrought in war. To neutralise the menace of the German airships and aeroplanes this country must admittedly build either airships or waterplanes and aeroplanes in sufficient number, or a proportion of both. It has no effective airships of large size, and, owing to the new German proposals, it will be completely out-distanced in aeroplanes and waterplanes unless special steps are taken by the British Government without further delay.*"

MR. H. G. WELLS AND WAR

Mr. H. G. Wells, one of the most stimulating, and sure of posterity, of modern writers, contributed (April 8th, 9th, 10th) to the "Daily Mail" three vivid articles in which he gave his view of modern warfare.

Mr. Wells presented his aspect with his accustomed originality and independence. The "Daily Mail" added this rider to the headings of the articles :

"Mr. Wells's headings are his own, and our readers will realise that the views are not necessarily those of the 'Daily Mail.'"

The reason of this reservation was obvious in the first article, an attack on the principle of compulsory army service.

It is unnecessary to reprint all of this article, inasmuch as, for once in his far-sighted vision, Mr. Wells saw crookedly (as the events of the Great War of 1914 have proved), especially as regards a prophecy that huge numbers of troops would not be able to be brought into action in modern war, and (in his concluding article) that Russia and Asia, and not Germany, were the present menace to Great Britain.

(Extract from first article.)

April 8th.

"I believe that the vast masses of men in uniform maintained by the Continental Powers at the present time are enormously overrated as fighting machines. I see Germany in the likeness of a boxer with a mailed fist as big as and rather heavier than its body, and I am convinced that when the moment comes for that mailed fist to be lifted the whole disproportionate system will topple over. The military ascendancy of the future lies with the country that dares to experiment most, that experiments best, and meanwhile keeps its actual fighting force fit and admirable and small and flexible. The experience of war during the last fifteen years has been to show repeatedly the enormous defensive power of small,

scientifically handled bodies of men. These huge conscript armies are made up not of masses of military muscle but of a large proportion of military fat. Their one way of fighting will be to fall upon an antagonist with all their available weight, and if he is mobile and dexterous enough to decline that issue of adiposity they will become a mere embarrassment to their own people. Modern weapons and modern contrivances are continually decreasing the number of men who can be employed efficiently upon a length of front. I doubt if there is any use for more than 400,000 men upon the whole Franco-Belgian frontier at the present time. Such an army, properly supplied, could—as far as terrestrial forces are concerned—hold that frontier against any number of assailants. The bigger the forces brought against it, the sooner the exhaustion of the attacking power. Now, it is for employment upon that frontier and for no other conceivable purpose in the world that Great Britain is asked to create a gigantic conscript army."

In his second article, Mr. Wells was much more stimulative, and his remarkable forecast of the triumph of the submarine has already been largely verified.

PUT NOT YOUR TRUST IN DREADNOUGHTS

"In the popular imagination the Dreadnought is still the one instrument of naval war. We count our strength in Dreadnoughts, and so long as we are spending our national resources upon them faster than any other country, if we sink at least £160 for any £100 sunk in these obsolescent monsters by Germany, we have a reassuring sense of keeping ahead and being thoroughly safe. This confidence in big, very expensive battleships is, I believe and hope, shared by the German Government and by Europe generally, but it is nevertheless a very unreasonable confidence, and it may easily lead us into the most tragic of national disillusionments.

"We of the general public are led to suppose that

The Next Naval War

—if ever we engage in another naval war—will begin with a decisive fleet action. The plan of action is presented with an alluring simplicity. Our adversary will come out to us, in a ratio of 10 to 16, or in some ratio still more advantageous to us, according as our adversary happens to be this Power or that Power; there will be some tremendous business with guns and torpedoes, and our admirals will return victorious to discuss the discipline and details of the battle and each other's little weaknesses in the monthly magazines. This is a desirable but improbable anticipation. No hostile Power is in the least likely to send out any battleships at all against our invincible Dread-

MR. H. G. WELLS AND NAVAL WAR (Continued)

noughts. They will promenade the seas, always in the ratio of 16 or more to 10, looking for fleets securely tucked away out of reach. They will not, of course, go too near the enemy's coast on account of mines, and, meanwhile, our cruisers will hunt the enemy's commerce into port.

"Then other things will happen."

"The enemy we shall discover using unsportsmanlike devices against our capital ships. Unless he is a lunatic he will prove to be much stronger in reality than he is on paper in the matter of submarines, torpedo-boats, waterplanes, and aeroplanes. These are things cheap to make and easy to conceal. He will be richly stocked with ingenious devices for getting explosives up to these two million pound triumphs of our naval engineering. On the cloudy and foggy nights so frequent about these islands he will have extraordinary chances, and sooner or later, unless we beat him thoroughly in the air above and in the waters beneath, for neither of which proceedings we are prepared, some of these chances will come off, and

We Shall Lose a Dreadnought.

"It will be a poor consolation if an ill-advised and stranded Zeppelin or so enlivens the quiet of the English countryside by coming down and capitulating. It will be a trifling counter-shock to wing an aeroplane or so, or blow a torpedo-boat or so out of the water. Our Dreadnoughts will cease to be a source of unmitigated confidence. A second battleship disaster will excite the Press extremely. A third will probably lead to a retirement of the battle-fleet to some East Coast harbour, a refuge liable to aeroplanes, or to the West Coast of Ireland, and the real naval war, which will be a war of destroyers, submarines, and hydroplanes, will begin. Incidentally, a commerce-destroyer or so may take advantage of the retirement of our Fleet to raid our trade routes.

"We shall then realise that the actual naval weapons are these smaller weapons, and especially the destroyer, the submarine, and the waterplane—the waterplane most of all, because of its possibilities of a comparative bigness—in the hands of competent and daring men. And I find myself, as a patriotic Englishman, more and more troubled by doubts whether we are as certainly superior to any possible adversary in these essential things as we are in the matter of Dreadnoughts. I find myself awake at nights, after a day much agitated by a belligerent Press, wondering whether the real Empire of the Sea may not even now have slipped out of our hands while our attention has been fixed on our stately procession of giant warships, while our country has been in a dream, hypnotised by the Dreadnought idea.

An Arrest of Imagination

"For some years there seems to have been a complete arrest of the British imagination in naval and military matters. That declining faculty, never a very active or well-exercised one, staggered up to the conception of a Dreadnought, and seems now to have sat down for good. Its reply to every demand upon it has been 'more Dreadnoughts.' The future, as we British seem to see it, is an avenue of Dreadnoughts and super-Dreadnoughts and super-super-Dreadnoughts, getting bigger and bigger in a kind of inverted perspective. But the ascendancy of fleets of great battleships in naval warfare, like the phase of huge conscript armies upon land, draws to its close. The progress of invention makes both the big ship and the army crowd more and more vulnerable and less and less effective. A new phase of warfare opens beyond the vista of our current programmes. Smaller, more numerous, and various and mobile weapons and craft and contrivances, manned by daring and highly skilled men, must ultimately take the place of those massiveness. We are entering upon a period in which the invention of methods and material for war is likely to be more rapid and various than it has ever been before; and the question of what we have been doing behind the splendid line of our Dreadnoughts to meet the demands of this new phase is one of supreme importance. Knowing, as I do, the tremendous imaginative indolence of my countrymen, it is a question I face with something very near to dismay.

"But it is one that has to be faced. The question that should occupy our directing minds now is no longer 'How can we get more Dreadnoughts?' but:

Submarines and Aeroplanes

"To the Power that has most nearly guessed the answer to that riddle belongs the future Empire of the Seas. It is interesting to guess for oneself and to speculate upon the possibility of a kind of armoured mother-ship for waterplanes and submarines and torpedo craft, but necessarily that would be a mere journalistic and amateurish guessing. I'm not guessing in these short papers, but asking urgent questions. What force, what council, how many imaginative and inventive men has the country got at the present time employed not casually but professionally in anticipating the new strategy, the new tactics, the new material, the new training, that invention is so rapidly rendering necessary? I have the gravest doubts whether we are doing anything systematic at all in this way.

"Now it is the tremendous seriousness of this deficiency to which I want to call attention. *Great Britain has in her armour a gap more dangerous and vital than any mere numerical insufficiency of men or ships. She is short of minds. Behind its strength*

MR. H. G. WELLS AND NAVAL WAR (Continued)

of current armaments to-day, a strength that begins to evaporate and grow obsolete from the very moment it comes into being, a country needs more and more this profounder strength of intellectual and creative activity.

"This country most of all, which was left so far behind in the production of submarines, airships, and aeroplanes, must be made to realise the folly of its trust in established things. Each new thing we take up more belatedly and reluctantly than its predecessor. The time is not far distant when we shall be 'caught' lagging unless we change all this.

The New Arm

"We need a new arm to our service; we need it urgently, and we shall need it more and more, and that arm is Research. We need to place inquiry and experiment upon a new footing altogether, to enlist for them and organise them, to secure the pick of our young chemists and physicists and engineers, and to get them to work systematically upon the anticipation and preparation of our future war equipment. We need a service of invention to recover our lost lead in these matters.

"And it is because I feel so keenly the want of such a service, and the want of great sums of money for it, that I deplore the disposition to waste millions upon the hasty creation of a universal service army and upon excessive Dreadnoughting. I am convinced that we are spending upon the things of yesterday the money that is sorely needed for the things of to-morrow.

"With our eyes averted obstinately from the future we are backing towards disaster."

April 10th.

Trifling With a Vital Problem

Under this heading the "Daily Mail" once more returned to the charge (in April, 1913) of the country's aerial defence:

Germany already possesses 28 airships, some 12 of which are capable of naval operations, and in the near future she will have a fleet of 50 of these craft. We, on the other hand, are backward in almost every direction—in waterplanes, in aeroplanes, in airship sheds, in guns for the destruction of aircraft, in searchlights to detect them, and in a personnel trained in the navigation of the air. Our only naval airships now building are two of comparatively small size. That is a pitiful result. It condemns the British Navy in any future conflict to the defensive; and, as Pitt said, "defensive war spells ruin." *The conquest of the air by man has revolutionised the art of warfare. So profound is the revolution that its full meaning has not been grasped*

by either the Government or the public. Napoleon declared that correct information was one of the most important factors in victory. The commander of a fleet or army with a good air-force can obtain accurate information about his enemy and deny that enemy information about his own force. The first act of the next war will be a struggle in the air for the power to ascertain what the foe is doing; and if British admirals or generals have no aircraft, or weaker aircraft than their opponents, they will be blind men fencing with keen-eyed antagonists. They will be doomed to defeat in such conditions. Immediate and strenuous efforts are required to meet the danger.

April 22nd.

PRINCE LOUIS' WARNING

In his speech at the Union Jack Club, Admiral Prince Louis of Battenberg administered the *coup de grace* to those critics of Lord Roberts who tell us that invasion is impossible because the Fleet will prevent it. "There could," said Prince Louis, "be no more foolish and mischievous statement. The Fleet alone cannot do it, and the presence of a sufficiently trained professional army in this island kingdom at all times is quite as necessary."

No officer's opinion carries greater weight. Prince Louis is not only First Sea Lord of the Admiralty, and as such charged with the direction of the British Navy in war, but also an admiral of unrivalled experience and extraordinary success in manœuvres. Yet against all this experience and success, and against odds of 2 to 1, a fleet representing the German Navy was able in last year's mimic war to land 28,000 men on the Yorkshire coast. Prince Louis in speaking has knowledge of the actual verities of naval war behind his words, for not all his skill was able to prevent this blow.

The hour has come for the Government to admit the danger and face it manfully, as Lord Curzon urged in the House of Lords last night, by joining hands with its political opponents to place the safety of the country beyond dispute. *The Government is pretending that the invading army of 70,000, which it itself four years ago laid down as the standard by which British preparations to resist invasion must be measured, can never come at all, or, if it does come, will come in scattered detachments and without artillery and cavalry.* Prince Louis' speech yesterday disposes of this contention once and for all. It hoists for the nation the signal of danger.

April 26th.

Sir John French's Endorsement

General Sir John French's speech at the London Chamber of Commerce dinner is deeply significant,

in that it endorses Admiral Prince Louis of Battenberg's declaration on Monday at the Union Jack Club. It shows that there is entire agreement between the First Sea Lord and the Chief of the General Staff on this point, that the Navy alone is not sufficient protection against invasion. Prince Louis condemned that view as both "foolish and mischievous." It is quite clear that Sir John French's opinion is the same, though it was expressed in carefully guarded language. As he said, it was impossible for him to "speak very freely." But what he did say was enough to carry conviction to all but the wilfully blind. He recalled the fact that six years ago the First Sea Lord had told the citizens of London they might sleep comfortably in their beds "because invasion was an impossibility." And he went on to say, "whatever was thought then, it is deemed advisable now to reconsider the whole question." In other words, the complacent view of 1907 is no longer accepted by the Army and the Fleet.

But if the Navy in its present strength cannot give security against an invasion, it becomes a matter of overwhelming importance that we should be able to meet and crush an invader on land should he succeed in effecting his disembarkation. The Regular Army may be absent; indeed, its absence has always been assumed by British Governments in making their calculations. We are left, then, with the Territorial Force as our sole defence in the last resort; and upon this force General Sir John French has already pronounced the following verdict:

"You are not fit, and you cannot be fit, with your present training, to be brought face to face with regular troops in the field. Training in war conditions is absolutely necessary, and you must make up your minds to that."

But the "training in war conditions" cannot be given, for reasons adduced by Sir John French on Thursday night. "The numbers and efficiency of the Territorial Force are governed and bounded by the limits of voluntary effort." Were more drills demanded of the men, the advantage which the shirker already holds would be increased. The volunteer cannot make limitless sacrifices, and the numbers, which even now are 60,000 below the establishment, would be enormously reduced.

The Government now knows the opinion of its chief naval and its chief military adviser. It is aware that both insist on the necessity of a sufficient and well-trained military force behind the Fleet. This force must be provided whatever the cost. If Ministers will not adopt national service, it is their business and duty to tell us what other plan they have in view to provide it. The danger of the present policy of drift, in the face of increasing perils and responsibilities, grows every day.

25th July.

THE ENEMY ASHORE

Though the mimic war which is being fought out with such ingenuity and spirit between the Red and Blue fleets on our coast is now only three days old, the enemy managed to get ashore. Despite bad weather and generally unfavourable conditions, Red made his way past the Blue defenders and disembarked a force of 2,500 troops at and near Grimsby. The docks were captured; the oil depot destroyed—in theory; the all-important wireless station at the Humber mouth put out of action, and various other damage inflicted. Were this real war, with what a thrill and shudder would such news be read! And yet it is certain that in real war we must be prepared for raids in every direction round our coast. The enemy will try his hardest to injure our exposed bases and to spread panic among the unarmed and undrilled population of our seaboard. It is well, then, that we should be prepared. The realism of these manœuvres is full of hints and warnings to John Bull.

Yet, in war, blows such as this would involve a far greater degree of risk. In manœuvres there is for the transports laden with troops no danger of being blown into the air by a torpedo without any notice, a possibility which acts as a singular damper on enthusiasm, to judge from the statement of those who have faced it. In actual war the North Sea would be a sea of death, sown with mines, haunted by fierce and terrible steel creatures—the home of the devilish grey submarine and the lean, black, swift-moving destroyer. Overhead would hover, humming like evil insects, the airships and waterplanes, scouting for the enemy, looking for submarines, and, it may even be, dropping bombs when hostile craft were sighted.

This is the new phase of naval war of which our own age is witnessing the beginning. In the past the large vessel, the capital ship, was everything. In the naval war of to-day there is no such certainty. The battleship finds her supremacy menaced by the aircraft and the submarine.

"THE DAILY MAIL" AND AVIATION

It will be remembered by many readers of the "Daily Mail" that after that journal, in collaboration with the early members of what is now the Royal Automobile Club, had brought before the public, by prizes and contests, the value of motor traction, it set to work to arouse a national awakening in regard to aircraft.

It is difficult to realise to-day that in May, 1896, motor-cars were hardly known in this country and their use was illegal, yet in the very first leading article which appeared in the "Daily Mail," on May 4, 1896, its first number, their future utility was emphasised.

In its endeavour to encourage aviation, the "Daily Mail," from the very earliest days of flying,

offered a series of valuable prizes, the winning of which marked the successive stages in the new method of progress. As long ago as 1906—before that first famous aviation meeting at Rheims which introduced the new art to the great mass of the public—the “Daily Mail” offered £10,000 for a flight from London to Manchester in twenty-four hours, with not more than two halts en route. Those newspapers which waxed sarcastic at what they in their sublime ignorance held to be a prize offered because it could not possibly be captured came to wish they had been less hasty with their sneers when young Louis Paulhan, flying a great, clumsy biplane, won the “Daily Mail” £10,000 in April, 1910. Since those early days the “Daily Mail” has offered an aggregate sum of no less than £39,100 in cash prizes for flying. The fact that prizes representing as much as £24,600 of this amount have been won, despite the growing severity of the conditions governing the “Daily Mail” competitions, shows what enormous strides aviation has made since the far-off days when Santos Dumont’s modest hop in his heavier-than-air machine opened up fresh vistas to the world.

The greatest “Daily Mail” prizes, and those which had incontestably the greatest effect on the progress of flying, were its two £10,000 prizes. Of the first we have already spoken; the other is so recent as to be well known. This was the £10,000 offered for the circuit of Britain, won in 1911 by “Beaumont,” that master airman. This race definitely established the utility of the aeroplane as a long-distance machine. The third “Daily Mail” £10,000 cheque is still waiting to be won, the prize for the Transatlantic flight, which would in all probability have been attempted this year but for the outbreak of war; and also a £5,000 prize for the circuit of the British Isles by water-plane.

One of the most celebrated “Daily Mail” prizes, which created an enormous stir at the time, was the £1,000 offered in 1908 for the cross-Channel flight. Previous to this, in 1907, the “Daily Mail” had offered a prize of £100 for the first half-mile flight in an aeroplane, the winner being the famous Henry Farman. But to cross the Straits of Dover by air appealed vividly to the popular imagination, and the exciting contest between Blériot and Latham, the aerial stars of their day, and the final victory of the former, have invested this “Daily Mail” prize with immortality.

The first Channel flight marked the opening of a new era. It was followed by two “Daily Mail” £1,000 prizes, one for the first circular mile flight in the British Isles by a British subject in a British-built machine, the other for the greatest aggregate cross-country flight in the year. Mr. Moore-Brabazon won the first, Paulhan the second.

In order to develop the waterplane, now the indispensable adjunct of all fighting fleets, the “Daily Mail” offered a prize of £5,000 for a water-plane flight round the British coast. The “Daily Mail” gave Mr. Hawker a consolation prize of £1,000 in recognition of his splendid, though unsuccessful, attempt to complete the flight.

The flight round London, inaugurated by a prize of £250 and a gold cup to Mr. Sopwith from the “Daily Mail” in 1912, now bids fair to become an annual event under the name of the Air Derby, with a hundred-guinea gold cup from the “Daily Mail” as the trophy.

In addition to these prizes, the “Daily Mail” has always encouraged airmen and aviation generally by bestowing a number of handsome cups and consolation prizes for notable feats in the air.

October 7th.

The Scorn of Discipline

From “The Letters of an Englishman.”

“Numbers we have, and refuse to use them. We laugh in scorn at the mere threat of discipline. So intent are we upon peace that every year we approach nearer to the provocation of war.”

Mr. Churchill's Fresh Offer

Mr. Churchill, speaking at Manchester on October 18th, made still another friendly and sincere offer to Germany:

“The proposal which I put forward in the name of his Majesty’s Government for a naval holiday is quite simple. . . . Next year, apart from the Canadian ships or their equivalent, apart from anything that may be required by new developments in the Mediterranean, we are to lay down four ships to the Germans’ two. Now, we say, in all friendship and sincerity to our great neighbour, Germany:

“If you will put off beginning your two new ships for twelve months from the ordinary date when you would have begun them, we will put off beginning our four ships in absolute good faith for exactly the same period.”

“That would mean that there would be a complete holiday for one year, so far as big ships are concerned, between Great Britain and Germany. There would be a saving, spread over three years, of nearly six millions to Germany and of nearly twelve millions to this country. The relative strength of the two countries would be absolutely unchanged.

“But we recognise that it would not be possible for either Germany or ourselves, even if we were agreed between ourselves, to stand still for a whole year unless other Powers could be persuaded to do

likewise. If such an agreement were reached between us, it could only be an agreement contingent upon the result of our negotiations with other Great Powers.

"Suppose, then, that Great Britain and Germany take the lead in approaching other great European Powers. Do you not think that there would be very good prospects of success? Would not the influence of Great Britain and Germany, excited in such a cause, be most powerful, perhaps all-powerful? Can we not go to our respective friends in Europe and use our influence with them? If Austria did not build for a year, would not that relieve Italy? If neither Austria nor Italy builds, the obligation would be removed from France and Great Britain. The fact that the Triple Alliance was building no ships would make it possible, without the slightest danger or risk, for the other three great European Powers to do the same.

"A Glorious and Memorable Event"

"Does it not seem likely that if such a great event, such a glorious and memorable event, even came to pass—does it not seem very likely that it would produce an effect upon the naval construction of the United States, and that that again would produce its repercussion upon the naval policy of Japan? At the end of a year you might have all these great countries just as safe and just as strong as they will be if they build all the ships they have in mind at the present time, and a vast treasure of many millions would have been arrested for the progress and enlightenment of mankind."

The "Daily Mail," welcoming Mr. Churchill's offer, said:

Fortunately, in recent months British relations with Germany have markedly improved without injury to British understandings with other Powers. So the raising of this awkward question of dis-

armament in the frank and friendly spirit which Mr. Churchill displayed can cause no mischief, though we shall be agreeably surprised if any good results so far as Germany is concerned. Our Berlin correspondent, who is exceptionally well informed, indicates in the important message which we print to-day that Germany's reply to this offer is not likely to be more favourable than those which were accorded to the similar offers which have been made by Britain six times in the immediate past. German naval circles insist that the Reichstag must be consulted before anything can be done. They plead that a suspension of shipbuilding for twelve months would paralyse the German yards. They declare that the British proposals are "undebatable" and mean "naval suicide" for Germany. This is not altogether promising, but the German Government has still to speak.

But even should the German reply to Mr. Churchill's overtures be as unfavourable as our Berlin correspondent expects, the First Lord's efforts will not have been wasted. They will have demonstrated to the advocates of retrenchment in the Liberal Party that their policy of wholesale naval reductions is unhappily impracticable. For us, Mr. Churchill has said, *the strength of the Fleet is not merely a question of our trade; it is a question of our lives. If Germany and the Continental Powers continue to build Dreadnoughts with might and main, Britain must also build—or perish.*

Once More the German "No"

The German Press, as in previous instances, scouted Mr. Churchill's last offer not only with almost absolute unanimity, but with a repetition of their former insults and accusations against Great Britain. "Die Post" characterised the offer as the "generosity of the burglar who places his revolver in his left pocket and takes another from his right pocket."

FATAL 1914

THE SUICIDE CLUB AGAIN

The energies of the Little Navy party flamed up again in the New Year. That very staunch Englishman (of Swiss parentage) Sir John Brunner, in his grave anxiety for the welfare of Great Britain, invited all the Liberal Associations in the country "to pass resolutions in favour of reductions in armaments expenditure."

January 3rd.

The "Daily Mail," in leading articles, said:

The country must realise that a concerted movement is on foot, ably led and powerfully supported in the House of Commons, to reduce British sea-power below the margin of national and Imperial safety.

And the reasons for so wanton a gamble with the foundations of our very existence? The first is that we are on better terms with Germany. So we are, and so, it is to be hoped, we may long continue to be. But are we on that account to forgo the battleships we need? Are we to cut down our shipbuilding programme because Germany for the moment seems to have outgrown her fit of scowling ill-will? If German smiles are to be rewarded by the sacrifice of so many Dreadnoughts every year, the Teutonic countenance will be simply wreathed in benevolence until our forces are sufficiently reduced. It is nothing less than ludicrous to ask us, as "men in a world of men," to frame our naval policy as though all international ambitions had exhausted themselves, as though the last great naval fight had been fought, as though our Estimates were to go up or down in accordance with each fleeting change in the barometer of European politics.

The second reason put forward is that the events of the past year must impose—in fact, have already imposed—upon Germany the necessity of safeguarding anew her strategic position on land, and that for some time to come there is bound to be a proportionate diminution in her preparations at sea. But the German Navy Law is fixed for a definite period, which has still four years to run. Nothing we can do can affect the allotted programme in a single item. It will proceed to its predestined completion independently of us. Germany will still build even if we stop; and the only result of flinching to-day will be that we shall be called upon to make a superhuman effort later on, possibly after a period of severe political tension, certainly with many circumstances against us that are now in our favour.

The question is of extreme gravity, because, whatever the "Suicide Club" may assert, German naval development is proceeding uninterruptedly.

Mr. Churchill's proposals, far from giving this country too strong a Fleet, leave it with forces approximately equal in numbers to the German squadrons permanently maintained in full commission in home waters. Behind the British Fleet there is nothing but the wreck of the Territorial Force and a numerically insignificant Regular Army. *Moreover, the naval manœuvres of the past two years have shown that, even with a great preponderance at sea, the defence of the British Islands is a matter of quite unexpected difficulty.*

January 5th.

EXTRACTS FROM ADMIRAL MAHAN'S ARTICLE

The Tinder-Box of Europe

"The avowed and executed purpose of Germany with regard to the force of her Navy, and the rivalry between Italy and Austria insuring a similar, if smaller, development in the Eastern Mediterranean, constitute the main elements of the contemporary naval situation as adverse to Great Britain.

"That the Near East will continue for a generation the tinder-box which it has been for a half-century past is more than ever likely from the events of the last twelve months.

"If a general war should grow out of the present critical situation, how certainly can the British Navy secure Egypt and Suez?

"Such security, if maintained, would imply almost inevitably power to act offensively also in neighbouring waters. If similar conditions were to arise five years hence, how would the situation be affected by probable changes in the variable factor of the several naval forces—a matter of prediction?

"When in England last autumn I was told that a German naval officer had predicted some years before that German naval increase would compel Great Britain to abandon the Mediterranean. Whether abandonment has actually occurred may be a matter of argument, dependent upon the appreciation placed by any adequate authority upon the movement or redistribution of the British Navy which has recently been made. That there has been relative abandonment seems indisputable when measured by the conditions of the past two centuries. But circumstances alter cases; such abandonment has occurred more than once, though not, I believe, in time of peace.

"Whether France alone, formerly the enemy, or whether France with the support of Great Britain, can maintain the control of trade security and military effectiveness through the sea is the point in question. It will not be sufficient to secure the western half.

"The British Empire needs the whole sea for Imperial movement of commerce and for Imperial naval effectiveness, dependent upon the movement of fleets, essential to the existence of the Empire."

February 28th.

LORD ROBERTS'S LAST WARNING

On February 27th Lord Roberts, accompanied by an influential deputation of the National Service League, placed before Mr. Asquith arguments of what the "Daily Mail" described as "overwhelming force" for the introduction of national service in this country. Those arguments and Mr. Asquith's answer are summarised in the leader on the subject of the "Daily Mail" next day.

The breakdown of the voluntary system for home defence after years of experiment is complete. The Territorial Force is 63,000 men short of its meagre establishment, and is shrinking as rapidly as the Liberal majority. It is not only short in numbers; it is also wanting in efficiency, and it cannot take the field until it has received six months' training. This is the more serious because, as Lord Roberts pointed out, while the Territorials have been marching backwards, other nations have been going rapidly forward with their armaments. To-day, as Admiral Sir Edward Seymour warned Mr. Asquith, the British Navy is no longer able to perform all the duties which will fall upon it in war. The country is not safe, and yet, as Spinoza said, "Security is the virtue of the State."

Mr. Asquith was sympathetic to the deputation, but not altogether convincing in his reply. He admitted that the burden of defence should be more widely borne. He recognised the value of physical and military training of the young, though he questioned whether compulsory service was the best means of securing that training. He acknowledged serious defects in the Territorial Force, and spoke of giving it "more encouragement." But no amount of encouragement will overcome this essential difficulty which was pointed out years ago by the Norfolk Commission—that as the officers and men are tied by the economic necessities of civil employment, they cannot in return for higher pay give up more time to military duties. *He believed that the famous Sub-Committee on Invasion had shown that the danger of anything more than a raid did not exist. Yet our recent naval manœuvres have suggested that the risk is certainly greater than Mr. Asquith allows. Thus the net result is that the country is once more put off with fair words, and its Premier in the matter of home defence has adopted a policy of "wait and see."*

"Ten Minutes' Firing"

This is not a satisfactory position, and it is not improved because Ministers shut their eyes to its

perils. They declare off-hand that "the country will not have national service." But, as Lord Roberts reminded them yesterday, this may be because *they have never told the country the full truth or warned it of the immense risks which it is incurring by remaining half armed.* In Australia and New Zealand two of our daughter nations have loyally accepted the duty of national defence, and a great system of compulsory training is now at work within their territories. That duty is even more imperative for us, because we lie nearer to the seat of danger. The British Isles are within a few hours' steam of ports whence vast invading forces could issue were our command of the narrow seas once shaken or destroyed. And the growth of foreign fleets has produced conditions in which that command might vanish in a single night or in ten minutes of firing in the stormy waters of the North Sea. *The creation of a citizen army, by rendering invasion out of the question, would set the British admirals free for their work of destroying the hostile fleets.* It would do more; it would instil into the rank and file of the nation a new spirit of duty and devotion, while it would preserve the physique of our manhood from degeneracy. *Until there is national service the country cannot be safe. That it has to come is certain. The only question is whether, as Colonel Seely once remarked, it is to come before or after a great disaster—to come now or to come too late.*

Lord Roberts (March 2nd) addressed to the "Daily Mail" a long letter as a rejoinder to Mr. Asquith. The following is the concluding passage of the letter:

"It is difficult to take Mr. Asquith seriously when he denies that the dangers to his country of invasion are greater and our capacity of defence less 'than either have been at any previous time in our history.' *A century ago, when the voter was in a mood to take the dangers of war seriously, behind a Fleet that had swept all other fleets off the sea we had more than four times more soldiers in proportion to our population than at present.* This is a notorious and oft-repeated fact; and in the face of this and similar facts, Mr. Asquith's optimism is scarcely more reassuring than the right-about-turn of the First Sea Lord.

"ROBERTS, F.-M."

March 13th.

Mr. Churchill Defeats the Suicide Club (Extract from Leader)

The Navy Estimates for the coming year were published yesterday, and show a proposed expenditure of £51,550,000. Thus it appears that on the main issue Mr. Churchill has had his way and defeated the Suicide Club. Large though the

amount to be voted is, it is not one penny too much when the disparity of the risks run by Great Britain and her naval rivals is considered. Nor will there be any flinching at this outlay of a million a week. We can bear it better than any other Power.

These Estimates show that the British Admiralty has adopted a policy of complete reliance upon the French Navy to protect British interests in the Mediterranean. But this policy, as Lord Roberts points out in the grave letter which we print to-day, involves corresponding obligations for the British people on land. If we look to the French Navy to aid our Navy at sea, we must be prepared to assist the French Army on the Continent if need be with a perfectly organised and adequate expeditionary force.

THE LAST WORD

In May of this year (1914)—prior, be it noted, to the Sarajevo assassinations, seized upon by Austria and Germany as their cause of the Great War—the relations of Germany and Russia became strained, owing to a violent campaign of the inspired German Press against Russia. The strengthening of the Russian Army was declared to be directed against Germany. So violent was the campaign that part of the German Press—so horrified a few months later at the perfidy of those Allies who “broke the peace of Europe by a concerted attack on Germany”—urged the German Government “forthwith to fall upon Russia with the German Army and destroy her.”

Herr von Jagow, the German Foreign Secretary, reviewing foreign affairs in the Reichstag on May 14th, threw the blame of this war-cloud on the British and Russian Press, blaming the former for “paying no attention to the systematic anti-German campaign” carried on by the Russian Press until it evoked recriminations in Germany.

The “Daily Mail” leader thereon (May 15th), was its last reference to Germany’s menace to Europe.

The German Foreign Secretary, Herr von Jagow, saw fit yesterday to deliver a violent attack on the British Press in the Reichstag. The cause, if we understand him correctly, was that it did not espouse Germany’s interests in her recent newspaper war with Russia. Yet that English newspapers should sympathise with Russia rather than with Germany is not extraordinary in view of the fact that Russia is Great Britain’s partner in the Triple Entente, while Germany is building Dreadnoughts amain with the avowed intention of endangering the supremacy of “the mightiest Navy.” In such circumstances to denounce the British Press for showing sympathy for Russia is to reveal a curious want of humour.

We do not complain because the Austrian Press is generally sympathetic to Germany, or the German

to Austria, knowing that these Powers are allies, and recognising fairly and frankly that the existence of an alliance will modify political opinions. But we must be permitted to point out that in the immediate past Russia has received more than one unpleasant shock from Germany, who, in 1909, suddenly threatened her with war. After such a lesson the Russians would have been more than angels if they had not taken steps to protect themselves against similar surprises in the future. Even so, Germany led the way with the immense increases in her army effected in 1912 and 1913. Of what, then, does Herr von Jagow complain?

This book may fitly conclude with a remarkable contribution to the “Daily Mail” by Mr. Lovat Fraser on June 18th—a few weeks only before Germany and Austria flung Europe into the greatest war of all time.

Mr. Lovat Fraser faithfully recorded a dream—a dream of war in the air. The vision—with all its tragedies of German barbarity—was strangely prophetic.

A DREAM OF WAR IN THE AIR A True Record. By Lovat Fraser

This is the true record of a dream, and not an artificial product of the imagination. Many details are omitted, but the fantastic inaccuracies of dream-land remain untouched, and nothing has been added.

I dreamed that I was roving aimlessly about Europe, as I have done several times before. I drifted to Constantinople, and there I heard vague talk of war, I do not know between whom. It made no impression on me. I had made up my mind to go round all those delightful little towns and villages on the Bosphorus, sketching and idling. I was full of this project, and did not suppose the war-talk could possibly affect me personally. I feel sure most men are like that.

I went to Buyukdereh, the place beyond Therapia. The next thing I remember was driving rather quickly all along the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, but high above and far back from the shore. Whether there is actually a road there I do not know. I stopped somewhere, at a little, rose-covered inn with a verandah. It stood very high, there were trees before it, and through them one seemed to see all Stamboul down a long, blue vista. Away to the left, in the foreground, was an immense red-brick building, which I should have taken to be a barracks, only it had three tall round chimney-stacks, so I supposed it was a factory. In reality, there cannot be any such place in that locality. It did not block the vista, so I sat in the verandah among the roses and sketched quite happily.

And then the smash came! One moment, roses and sunshine, and people sipping their drinks; the

next, the red building split and collapsed, and the three tall chimney-stacks toppled sideways all in the same direction, exactly like a row of skittles. Far below, through the blue-grey haze, I also saw a vast mosque on my side of the water instantly squashed, just as though someone had hit a card-board toy palace with a wooden mallet. I heard no noise. I suppose one does not hear noises in dreams.

I remember that instantly I said to myself: "Here are these extraordinary happenings, and I alone, of all newspaper men, have seen them from a hill-top." Then I found myself muttering: "All my life I have said that the biggest news does not come by looking for it, but at utterly unforeseen moments." Then it occurred to me that I did not know how or why these things had happened. An immense shadow, like the shadow of a cloud on a hillside, passed over the landscape before me. Looking up, I saw, with wonder rather than with fear, a mighty airship, shining like silver, gleaming and splendid and terrible. It was moving very slowly, but seemed inexorable as death, and wonder quickly changed to fear. Where could one escape from this terrific engine of destruction? The fields all round became full of soldiers. They were not marching in any order, but were running about in confused fashion, like ants in a disturbed ant-heap. One or two bombs fell among them. I became possessed by the thought that I would get across to the European side of the water. The airship circled overhead, quite low down. More bombs fell, deadly as ever, though to me noiseless.

Next I found myself on the European side, but do not know whether it was in Pera or Stamboul. I am not writing a story, but recording a dream. I wanted to get to a certain hotel. I thought it was in Pera, but from the view from the hotel windows it may have been in Stamboul, somewhere near the aqueduct of Valens. I had got hold of an open two-horse carriage. The road was filled with a frenzied, panic-stricken mob running away. The driver jumped down to bolt with them. A fierce calmness had succeeded my fear. I snatched his whip, lashed the horses, and drove forward ruthlessly through the silent, maddened throng.

I reached the hotel. It was a ramshackle place, like a big warren, all whitewashed within, and with old timber doorposts and staircases. It stood in a narrow, sloping lane amid an untidy muddle of smaller buildings. I could draw it now, but in real life I have never seen it. Inside I met an Englishman I knew. He seemed quiet, but dazed.

"They're Germans," he said. "None but Germans could do this."

"But why should they wreck a city?" I cried; and said something about international law.

"International law ended when airships came in," was his reply; and he said no more.

Somehow, I know not how, I got a room high up, and looked out over the Golden Horn and the doomed city. There were two or three airships flying quite low, and they seemed to be intermittently destroying the principal buildings. From first to last I never saw an aeroplane. I remember seeing the tremendous mosque of Suleiman the Magnificent perish in a moment, and recall even the first black hole in the dome before the structure vanished. Terror seized me once more.

I no longer wanted to run. Hope had not deserted me, but earth had no refuge left. I sat at the window of my garret and brooded, chin on hand. Thoughts of personal safety had gone, but as I watched I saw, or thought I saw, the meaning of those hovering monsters.

"Aerial warfare," I thought, "means the end of our civilisation. Plainly in conquering the air man has also wrought the destruction for a time of the glories he has so painfully reared. While men fought on land or on the seas the opportunities for destruction were more limited, the rate of movement comparatively slow, the chances on the whole more equal. In a siege, in a land battle, even in a sea fight, combatants still had their chance, and so had the populace. The meaning of aerial warfare is that secrecy has gone, and that both sides have enormously increased their facilities for smashing things. Victory must be won through terror. Why smash an army or a fleet when they can smash a capital? No laws can overcome the temptation, and humane restraints will not do it, for war is bound to be essentially inhuman. They will smash and smash each other's cities until our civilisation is smashed too."

I pondered on. "Civilisation rises and wanes. Other civilisations have been smashed before. Does this new warfare mean more than Atilla and Genghiz Khan and the Goths? Yes; all the difference between a few swords and a tremendous explosion. Our civilisation is vaster and more complex; and just as the means of destruction are greater, so the smash must be more overwhelming."

As I sat and brooded I saw more troops, as it seemed a whole new army, pouring into some open spaces near at hand. A glittering airship drew close overhead. I went downstairs and found the other Englishman.

A great block of buildings right before us was shattered and vanished in clouds of dust. Our inn still stood, but was partly unroofed. We were open to the sky. The troops were in sight, running from the scattering bombs.

A shower suddenly fell all round us. "They're

dropping bullets," said my friend. I saw big, white smears like paint on my clothes, and, scraping a little on my finger, smelt it. "Good Lord!" I cried, "the brutes are dropping inflammable stuff! They're going to burn us as well!"

Then in a moment the whole scene vanished, and I woke. I have not been trying to write like a certain famous novelist, with whose works I am, nevertheless, familiar. Even to the thoughts in that garret, this is a true and exact record of a dream.

The Pro-German Press.

"There will be no war with Germany."—Mr. Cadbury, *Daily News*.

Extracts from "Daily News," "The Nation," "Manchester Guardian," and "Daily Graphic."

In the preceding pages there has been given a careful and chronological account of the "Daily Mail's" campaign of enlightenment with regard to the insidious designs of Germany. This is one side of the picture. On the other hand, contemporaneously there have been appearing a number of journals the essence of whose attitude can, without exaggeration, be designated pro-Germanism.

Since the Liberal Government took office in 1906 certain of their official organs have at all times and in all ways advocated a policy which, if adopted by their own more responsible leaders, would have covered this country with shame and would have spelt ruin to the Empire.

It has been a policy of Little Englandism. A small Fleet, a small Army, hostility to Russia, a studied coolness towards France—in short, a foreign policy on the lines of the Manchester School. Before the pettifogging demands of trade, the safety of Europe has been as nothing. The excuse which has been offered for this programme has usually been that of Social Reform; and the Old Age Pensions, Liberal Budgets, and fanciful land schemes have been dangled before the eyes of the people with a set purpose of distracting their attention from the gathering war-clouds on the Continent. For the Liberal Press must have known, however incompletely, the intentions of Germany. The "Daily Mail" undoubtedly gave special prominence to the ever-increasing crowd of disconcerting facts. But while these facts, or at least a portion of them, were equally accessible, the pages of the Liberal Press may be searched in vain for any such emphasis or for any such insight. Not only that, but the leaders of the Liberal Party, since the decease of the Little Englander, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, have undoubtedly been pursuing a foreign policy which has been proved to be in full accordance with the "Daily Mail's" interpretation of facts since 1906. And for this the best evidence which may be cited are the countless attacks on Sir Edward Grey and his colleagues which have illuminated pages of contemporaries, and which were even continued when every right-thinking man was convinced of the necessity of our entering into the war.

One has only to read the leaders in such papers as the "Manchester Guardian" and the "Daily News" from August 1st to August 5th of this year

to realise to what depth of degradation and dishonour responsible guiders of public opinion could sink.

But this was the culmination of a descent—from no high height of patriotism, indeed—which began, if one must fix a date, with Campbell-Bannerman's letter in the first number of the "Nation." This letter laid down certain principles of false patriotism which have been enthusiastically followed and distressingly developed by this pro-German section of the Press. Their only notices of Germany have been when either they have pleaded, in the face of reason, for an alliance with that country, or when they have contemptuously and with feeble humour attempted to attack some important item of news about Germany which they as the "know-nothing" Press missed, and which the "Daily Mail," with its splendid service of foreign correspondents, obtained. Envy and rancour intensified stupidity. Complementary with these attacks, whose futility present events are completely demonstrating, has been the advocacy of an inadequate Navy and an inadequate Army, and the abandonment of our friendship with France—the most priceless legacy of the last Conservative Administration. Even more disgusting, if not actually so harmful, have been the columns of fawning adulation which, week in and week out, have been poured upon the Kaiser. In order to attract the people of these islands towards the alliance with Germany which they so desired, the War Lord of Germany was invested with a halo of romance and with so attractive a personality that it is no wonder certain purblind people refuse even now to believe in the destruction of Louvain and Rheims. On the coarse, cynical, and brutal figure of the arch-Hun the Liberal Press seem to have paid more sincere homage than they have done to their own King-Emperor.

In the following pages there will be given extracts from these Liberal journals in support of these generalisations. They are taken from the "Daily News" and the "Manchester Guardian." Also, it is to be regretted that the pages of the "Daily Graphic" furnish curious and copious illustrations of English Kaiser-worship. The extracts begin in January, 1906, and end on the declaration of war against Germany, and, taken as a whole, they present an interpretation of foreign policy which would be ridiculous if it were not so seriously lamentable.

THE "DAILY NEWS"

"Daily News," March 7th, 1906.

"The total sum in military and naval expenditure stands thus at the staggering total of nearly sixty-six millions a year. *Here is the legacy left by ten years of Conservative rule.* The two totals stand on a different level of criticism. The Navy is England's first and last line of defence. Its reduction must depend not upon any theory of rival parties, but upon the correct reading of the European situation. We believe that every recent change in that situation has made for the possibilities of wise retrenchment. And considering the nature of such changes as the vanishing of the Russian Navy, the friendship for France, the alliance with Japan, the alternative appears irresistible."

The Kaiser's Letter to Lord Tweedmouth

"Daily News," March 7th, 1908.

"*The methods of the 'Times' of yesterday throw the normal atrocities of the 'Yellow' journalism completely in the shade.* . . . The correspondence is branded—it would seem before the letter has even been scrutinised—as 'an attempt to influence the Minister responsible for our Navy in a direction favourable to German interests: an attempt, in other words, to make it more easy for German preparations to overtake our own.'"

"Daily News," March 8th, 1908.

"The widespread indignation in reference to the action of the 'Times' has not diminished in intensity with the progress of events. It is seen with increased clearness to be not only a *gratuitous insult to a friendly monarch* before any evidence is vouchsafed, but an attempt to restore the relations of England and Germany to their old conditions of bitterness and distrust. . . ."

"Daily News" Berlin correspondent reports: "The Kaiser is known to be rather disappointed at the fact that, although he gave every proof of goodwill and friendship towards England, Germany's naval policy is still deliberately distorted by a part of the English Press, while it has nothing to say about American, French, and Russian armaments."

"Daily News," July 23rd, 1908.

Berlin correspondent states: "The various reports suggesting that Germans have been guilty of acts of espionage on the English East Coast have hitherto been taken over here in a humorous spirit. Neither in the Press, in official circles, nor, so far as there is any indication, among the general public, have they caused any feeling, although they are universally denounced as unfounded and ludicrous."

"Daily News," August 10th, 1908.

"For some time past many leaders of opinion in England have been faising a panic about Germany, and the panic does not abate. Within the past two or three months it has certainly increased, and the bugbear of Germany on the North Sea is fast becoming what the bugbear of Russia used to be on the North-west Frontier of India."

There will be no War with Germany

"Daily News," August 12th, 1908.

"*There is the old song which tells us that those who make the battles should be the only ones to fight. If, at this moment, there is nervousness in the City, the fault lies not with kings, nor with their Ministers, but with the Press. The Yellow journals seem to thirst for blood. Their leading articles would be couched in a very different strain if their tilled proprietors were at any personal risk of smelling powder.*

"Alienation, if it exists, is purely temperamental. In past years we have suffered the pangs of Russo-phobia. Then we had a period of irritation with France. And now it seems to be the turn of Germany, though, happily, the virulence of the disease seems to be greatly abated.

"*There was no war with Russia. There was no war with France. There will be no war with Germany. The conspiracy against peace will fail.*"

"Daily News," August 24th, 1908.

"The Germanophobes are clamouring still. Nothing will content them but a four years' shipbuilding programme, financed, 'if need be,' by a loan, and of that necessity they have not the smallest doubt. . . . We are to follow the simple rule that for every battleship Germany lays down we must lay down two. *That way ruin lies.*"

Zeppelin Flight of 610 miles

"Daily News," January 1st, 1909.

"*. . . As far as national danger goes, the thing is not yet within sight. 'Dirigibles' may in the future be useful for scouting and collecting intelligence when war has once begun . . . but talk about invasion by airship or bombardment from the sky need not for a long time be considered by ourselves or any other nation.*"

"Daily News," January 11th, 1909.

"It is maintained by some of our contemporaries that Germany is struggling to regain her position of predominance in Europe such as she held more than thirty years ago. *That is not our reading of the situation.* . . . The outbursts of panic in Berlin are of much the same character as the panics about German invasion continually raised among ourselves."

"Daily News," February 5th, 1909.

"We have reason to fear that the Admiralty is pressing for authority to 'lay down' no fewer than six Dreadnoughts this year. That is a panic programme, and, taken in conjunction with the fresh concentration of our strength in the North Sea, which was announced so inopportunistically on the eve of the King's visit to Berlin, would constitute an unmistakable menace to Germany. Defence requires no such building."

"Daily News," February 9th, 1909.

"The truth is that at no period in our history—taking the political as well as the naval and military facts into account—have we been in so unassailable a position as we are at this moment when the Yellow Press is engineering a panic with wild inventions of crises in the Cabinet and resignations in the Admiralty. We are at no loss to understand these tactics. *This campaign is engineered, alike in the Press and on the stage, in order to plunge the country into absolutely ruinous expenditure, whose only purpose would be to act as a provocation to other nations.*"

"Daily News," February 27th, 1909.

"*Little courage, indeed, is wanted to call for six or ten Dreadnoughts and sing 'Rule, Britannia.' But at times of excitement, when the populace has been worked up into a state of panic by the abuse and misrepresentation of the Yellow Press, the Tariff Reformers, and the natural enemies of all social progress, a good deal of the courage of conviction is required to stand against the clamour.*"

"Daily News," March 23rd, 1909.

"*The panic is an artificial aberration, and, so far as its uglier manifestations go, it is confined chiefly to a group of newspapers ranging from the 'Times' and the 'Observer,' to the 'Daily Mail,' the 'Evening News,' the 'Globe,' and the 'Mirror,' which are all controlled by a single capitalist.*"

"Daily News," December 16th, 1909.

"Daily News" condemns Mr. Blatchford's articles, describing them as "*his ravings about the German danger.*" It goes on: "He—Mr. Blatchford—does, we think, really believe that the hash of half a dozen past panics which he is daily serving up is very important indeed. He has nothing to say that has not been already said by the prophets of the Great War.

"*His facts are known; his fictions are stale. Mr. Blatchford is quite ignorant about Germany.*"

"Daily News," March 11th, 1910.

"The commercial and industrial interdependence of the two countries—England and Germany—as

well as their vast intellectual and moral indebtedness to each other, have only to be adequately realised for warmongering and scaremongering to be appreciated as the blind wickedness which it is."

"Daily News," December 23rd, 1910.

"The Borkum case should help us to realise that, while it is probably true that the agents of Germany and other countries are active in ferreting out our military and naval secrets, *the conclusion is not less probably false than that these activities indicate a settled plan or an intention or even a desire to invade England.* . . . We have had occasion recently to point out that this country's relations with Germany are on the brink of a new epoch, and one which will be for the welfare of both States. The Borkum episode . . . will not affect the progress of a change which has everything to be recommended and nothing to be discounted."

"Daily News," December 31st, 1910.

"The brightest feature of the international situation is the imminence of an understanding between this country and Germany."

"Daily News," January 22nd, 1911.

"The impregnable common sense of both peoples has prevailed so far, as we trust it always will prevail, against feverish sensation-mongering. The armaments remain. They continue to grow, but never has the policy changed, nor will it change, that secures to this country her vital need of sea power, and the time is riper now than at any previous moment in the history of this mad rivalry for a sane adjustment. Germany desires it—nay, vitally requires it—as much as Great Britain. . . . *There is nothing left for the war-scare experts to do but follow the example of the late Prophet Baxter, and move their exploded anticipations of Armageddon on by fifteen or twenty years.*"

"Daily News," May 15th, 1911.

"We know that some English mythologists have credited Germany with an appetite for annexing British colonies, and equally some Germans have tried to keep their countrymen awake at nights by telling them that we have piratical designs on German trade and shipping; but imaginings so remote from reality are not within the reckonings of serious statesmen. . . . *Let no one any longer be tempted to think of us as two countries between whom the ordinary desire to be mutually obliging does not exist.*"

"Daily News," December 15th, 1911.

"Our policy for the last six years has moved in the opposite direction (i.e., promoting cordial relations with Germany). To reach the goal universally demanded in this country, *the policy of the two*

European camps, which Sir Edward Grey has made his gospel, must be dropped, and we must revert to the traditional English policy which was good enough for Tory or Liberal until 1906. We shall, by cultivating friendship everywhere, be released from the fear of Germany which has unnerved the Foreign Office on so many occasions when British interests were threatened in Persia, Turkey, and Morocco. We shall, too, relieve the world of the nightmare of perpetual crises and tension, and the exhaustion of ever-increasing armaments."

"Daily News," January 6th, 1912.

"Daily News" representative interviews Lord Lonsdale on the Kaiser. Lord Lonsdale is reported to have said: "*I defy the greatest politician of the moment to prove me wrong when I say that the Germans have no earthly intention, and never had any earthly intention, of attacking England. That is not their object. . . . I am perfectly convinced that there is no greater ally, no human being more devoted to England, Englishmen, English sports, and to the English in general—so far as is consistent with the interests of his own nation—than the German Emperor."*

"Daily News," January 10th, 1912.

"*The key to Sir Edward Grey's policy is the fatal antagonism to Germany. There, and there alone, is the root of our humiliation and our impotence. The time has come to state, with a clearness which cannot be mistaken, that Sir Edward Grey as Foreign Secretary is impossible."*

"Daily News," January 13th, 1912.

"Daily News" leader says: "*What is the position after six years of Sir Edward Grey? The understanding with France has become the 'Triple Entente'; the 'Triple Entente' is pitted against the Triple Alliance; Europe is divided into opposing camps arming against one another with feverish haste, and incessantly intriguing against one another."*

"Daily News," January 25th, 1912.

"*Extravagance, appealing to panic, has become the one virtue in naval administration. Can it be said that for the larger expenditure we are at least getting a stronger feeling of security and a greater actual security? If we are to judge by the Press, which every day brings forth a new scare, the sense of security has suffered heavily. The only persons to whom our swollen naval estimates give peace of mind in all its fulness are the dealers in armaments. They are truly happy."*

"Daily News," February 5th, 1912.

"The German bogey has vanished, and even the

anti-German Press is silenced. Its occupation is gone. Germany and Great Britain are nearer to a friendly understanding than they have been for ten years. *We know that neither the Kaiser nor his people aim at aggression. It is for us on our side to give assurance that we are equally free from offensive designs."*

"Daily News," February 26, 1913.

"*Any lingering doubt that the conscriptionists have their eye on the Continent would be banished by the article of the 'Times' correspondent. The tail of it is all compact of our 'obligations'—obligations which do not exist, but which the conscriptionists are anxious to create—to act on the Continent with France and Russia against Germany. . . ."*

"Daily News," October 9th, 1913.

"*The peace of the world has been threatened for two decades by two dangers—Anglo-German tension and Franco-German tension. From intimacy of France and England these two dangers are united. Beginning with the Balkan War and its lessons, a decrease of Anglo-German tension and close association between the two countries is making itself felt."*

"Daily News," November 4th, 1913.

In an article by Sir Harry Johnson it was urged that we should cede Zanzibar to Germany: "*There remain no reasons, practical, sentimental, or strategic, why Zanzibar may not be transferred to the German Empire.*

"*The eventual transfer of Zanzibar to Germany is as inevitable as is a similar transfer to the same Power of Walfisch Bay, the natural port of German South-West Africa.*

"In every way the complete adjustment of British and German colonial ambitions and interests is to be desired, as a step towards that complete and perfect understanding between the two great nations which, I venture to predict, will be followed by a Franco-German understanding."

"Daily News," November 19th, 1913.

"The measure of the Navy's demands upon the public purse is now Mr. Churchill's fancy and Mr. Churchill's rhetoric. The only contribution made by the Government towards a lessening of the waste in armaments has been various proposals for restriction by international agreement."

"Daily News," November 26th, 1913.

"Mr. Churchill's forecast of another big increase in the Naval Estimates has strained the loyalty of the Liberal Party to the breaking point. That strain is not lessened by the repetition of an 'offer' to

Germany which is regarded as, at least, equivocal. On the other hand, it is gravely aggravated by the wholly reactionary and indefensible proposal to arm merchantmen. *This is a step back into paths of barbarism.*"

"Daily News," December 27th, 1913.

"The year is closing with a clearer European sky than we have seen for many years. The improvement in our relations with Germany has passed from the negative to a positive stage. And it is not only Anglo-German relations which have undergone a change for the better. There is a strong movement towards reconciliation between France and Germany."

"Daily News," February 4th, 1914.

"The swollen Navy Estimates—which, if our Jingoists have their way, will soon be paralleled by swollen Army Estimates—have had and are continuing to have a fourfold effect: they have prevented the abolition of taxes on consumption; they have led to heavier taxation; they have postponed or vetoed urgent reforms; and they have become a menace to the Constitution."

"Daily News," March 18th, 1914.

"Daily News" leader expresses the wish that the Government had abolished the capture of private property at sea, and continues: "We had hoped, also, that the mischievous arming of merchantmen would have been frankly abandoned. The scheme is merely laughable viewed as a defensive expedient, and it is deplorably reactionary from the point of view of its real purpose. *It is piracy, and nothing more.* While we set the example in these medieval directions, what hope is there for checking the 'rush into barbarism' under which all Europe is groaning?"

"Daily News," April 21st, 1914.

"It cannot be too emphatically stated that, so far as the dominant sentiment of this country is concerned, there is no intention to allow our friendship with France to be interpreted into hostility to any other country. If that were done it would mean that this country would be finally and irrevocably committed to Continental militarism, and that the aims of the conscriptionists would be accomplished. The division of Europe into two armed camps would be accomplished, and the reactionaries in France, already lifting their heads again for the first time since the Dreyfus overthrow, would receive an overwhelming impulse in reviving the policy of 'Revenge.' The conversion of the Entente into an alliance would, in a word, make war inevitable, and it would be a war in which we should have everything to lose and nothing to gain. Against such a menace the Liberal Party will set its face like a flint."

THE NATION

"The Speaker" (afterwards "The Nation"), October 27th, 1906.

"We have repeatedly expressed our opinion of the shoddy patriotism of the Blue Funk School, and have repeatedly shown that there is not the slightest element of reality in the German bogey, which so terrifies the little Nelsons of the Press."

"Anything more un-British than the attitude which has been taken up by the 'Navy League Journal,' etc., etc., and the 'Daily Mail' would be difficult to conceive."

"The Nation," February 29th, 1908.

"Germany and England never had a good material cause of quarrel; the provoking elements have been largely temper and jealousy at large. It is the writers, not the sailors, who have largely poisoned the Anglo-German situation."

"The Nation," March 14th, 1908.

"The perils of the situation are not material; they are moral. They reside in the levity and falseness of a section of the Press who continually stoke up the feeling that finds its material expression in new armaments, and the manner in which the Conservative Party, under Mr. Balfour's direction, is heading straight for war with Germany."

"The Nation," January 16th, 1909.

"England declares that Germany is aiming at hegemony. The answer is the tightening of a ring around her. Germany perceives that the ring is closing around her, and she attempts by more than one violent movement, partly in anger but more in fear, to break through it. The more she struggles to free herself from the circle, the more do our own Jingoists interpret her movements as a restless effort to bully Europe and disturb its peace."

"The Nation," February 6th, 1909.

"If the tension continues, the chances are that on the hazard of the next election we shall stake the future of European peace. A Tory Government would have behind it the Navy alarmist, the deliberate Jingo schools, and the pressure of classes which might see in war a means of competing with the commercial rivalry of Germany. If Liberalism cannot remove this problem, it is hardly likely that Toryism would even attempt or desire to solve it."

"The Nation," March 27th, 1909.

"The idea of a German invasion is suited to no world but that of the melodrama. . . . An Anglo-German War, if we were to base our forecast on th

realities of the situation, would seem almost equally improbable."

"The Nation," April 17th, 1909.

"... Therefore, in spite of German and British Jingoism, who quote each other's articles, feed each other's panics, and debit the cost to their respective Treasuries, there will be no such 'struggle' as the 'Spectator' imagines. On our side, the Liberal and Labour Parties, on the German side Social Democracy, with its twenty per cent. of soldiers in the German Army, will stop both it and the growth of European armaments."

"The Nation," July 3rd, 1909.

"In Germany, as with us, the shriekers are always the shirkers. The moral force of the War Party is broken when the war-makers proclaim themselves ready to smash their Governments rather than subscribe to War Budgets."

"The Nation," December 18th, 1909.

"It would seem as if Mr. Blatchford's rhetoric had answered itself. His facts in the half-dozen cases where they are even alleged fall into the same category of self-accusation."

"The Nation," January 1st, 1910.

"The suggestion which Mr. Blatchford puts so crudely and with such grotesque show of altruism, that it is our duty to undertake the defence of France, only approaches practical politics if we assume that Germany contemplates a wanton attack on a good neighbour. Such an adventure would obviously be a menace to Europe and an offence to our common civilisation. But this is an academic question. Germany has no interest, no motive, to tempt her to so crazy an adventure."

"The Nation," July 9th, 1910.

"A case for an understanding with Germany. What stops us from entering it? The French Alliance? France, eager for the Entente, drew back in alarm from the furious and insulting Jingoism of last year's 'scare,' and has long seen in our excessive anti-Germanism a danger to her own peace and European stability."

The Borkum Arrests

"The Nation," September 3rd, 1910.

"As soon as the arrests were made the 'Daily Mail' produced the first of a series of articles by a

correspondent, Mr. Maxwell. Mr. Maxwell's thesis is not perfectly clear to us. But it seems to be that as Emden is building a new dock and Borkum a double 'promenade' after the classic model of Yarmouth and Margate, and 'little barracks for artillerymen,' with the unfamiliar caution 'Verboten' written over them, and as he has also discovered a tiny branch railway a few miles to the south of the main-line from Cologne to Aix-la-Chapelle to Liège and Brussels, and there connecting the German and Belgian frontiers, Germany is in a fair way to annul the independence of Belgium and Holland, to annex the Dutch ports, and to use Flushing as a new pistol pointed to the heart of England."

Dutch Defences

"The Nation," December 31st, 1910.

"The Dutch must necessarily desire to protect themselves from any exploitation from either side. Their weakness might tempt either belligerent, and a Dutch correspondent explains the motive of the coast defences in this way in the 'Times.' The fortification of Flushing, in such a way as to command the channel of the Scheldt and the approach to Antwerp, can only be meant to prevent this country (which has, with France, a right to protect the neutrality of Belgium) if a belligerent Power should occupy its territory in time of war, from landing troops at Antwerp. It is this item in the Dutch scheme which lends colour to the suggestion that Holland is reluctantly acting under German pressure, and that she has ranged herself in some sense as a semi-attached auxiliary to the German Emperor. . . . For our part, we cannot bring ourselves to treat the danger seriously."

"The Nation," February 11th, 1911.

"Secret diplomacy has led inevitably to disingenuous armaments. The whole basis of such a position is anti-Democratic and anti-Liberal. If a convention with France exists, and, oral or written, it clearly does exist, the House of Commons, if it has any regard for its rights in the control of policy, should press for knowledge of the facts."

"The Nation," October 21st, 1911.

"What concerns us is that the system of alliances into which we have been drawn by the fear of Germany is the very source of whatever danger threatens us from Germany. Germany is embittered against us, because she finds us in her way. But we block her way to serve no interest of our own. We are serving the interest of others, and, if we confine ourselves to our own affairs, our power would appear to the Germans no longer either as an obstacle or as a menace."

"The Nation," November 25th, 1911. •

"On the one hand, we witness and abet the acquisition of a vast territory by military and diplomatic action of the most aggressive type. On the other, we roughly call a great Empire to task because one German vessel casts anchor in an obscure African port to which not a single European Power has any territorial right or pretension."

"The Nation," December 2nd, 1911.

"Under Sir Edward Grey's direction, Liberal statesmanship has diverged . . . and has developed only the exclusive and menacing point of our association with France. The Entente in his hands has not brought England and Germany together; it has torn them violently apart. It has produced the Europe of the two camps and has put the balancing sword in England's hand."

"The Nation," January 15th, 1912.

"Russia has not served us in our efforts to maintain a balance in Europe against the German Power, or if at one time she served us that time is ended. The whole policy of the balance has failed, and left us with the alternative of forming a military alliance with France or else of making terms with Germany."

"The Nation," May 25th, 1912.

"To the student of affairs who has understood something of the aims and thoughts of Real-Politik, it is a much more probable suspicion that in all these years the underlying thought of German policy has been to break down the fictitious barrier which excluded German enterprise from the use of French capital. It is not, fairly regarded, a dangerous or an anti-European aim."

"The Nation," June 1st, 1912.

"We desire the continuance of the most friendly and most confidential relations with France, but we see no reason why the military association, which arose with the Moroccan struggle, should survive its settlement. . . . Germany does not desire to coerce France for the pleasure of being brutal; she does not seek to break the Anglo-French combination from a mere lust of power, or from a love of mischief."

"The Nation," July 27th, 1912.

"There is no 'German peril,' though it is clear there is always to be a German scare. The German Fleet neither was, nor is, nor will be, in a condition to threaten these shores or to conduct an offensive naval war against this country."

"The Nation," October 19th, 1912.

Sir J. T. Brunner's letter finds "the central mischief of our foreign policy in the perversion of our

welcome friendship with France into a dangerous entanglement, which has spoiled our relations with Germany. *He would make it clear that our relations with France imply no misunderstanding or intention "as to military or naval action against any other Power."*

"The Nation," December 7th, 1912.

"Lord Roberts's scheme is in itself an insult to a nation that already offers to the State, in one form or another, the services of over a million men in arms. But it is more than anything else a plot for the destruction of Liberalism, and for the abolition of civil freedom, and as such it will be resisted and destroyed."

"The Nation," April 18th, 1914.

"Our own feud with Germany is no longer acute. We are in a position which invites constructive effort, and calls for the work of meditation."

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN

"Manchester Guardian, March 8th, 1906.

In a leader the "Manchester Guardian" questioned the need of a naval base at Rosyth: "The scheme of the late Government is suspect for several reasons. The Liberal Government will find it necessary to restrain by every means in its power the growing prejudice against Germany, and it cannot afford to give sanction to any scheme that seems to give it official body."

"Manchester Guardian," June 11th, 1906.

"The Entente Cordiale is not a union for peace, but a union for aggression."

"Manchester Guardian," August 1st, 1906.

"There is a section of the Press here and in France—in both countries, be it remarked—the Press of an Imperialistic minority which has been shattered at the recent elections, which seeks to convert the Entente Cordiale into an unfriendly alliance against Germany. Its motives are difficult to appreciate . . . it is a type which thinks in terms of hate. It is the instinctive and natural co-operation of these journals on either side of the Channel which is creating the legend of a sinister Kaiser and a menacing Germany."

"Manchester Guardian," November 16th, 1906.

" . . . If the Entente Cordiale is treated as the base of offensive operations against a third Power, and there is a noisy section of the English and

French Press which deliberately advocates this course, then it will be in the highest degree pernicious and a peril to the peace of Europe. . . ."

"Manchester Guardian," April 29th, 1907.

"There seems to be another little outbreak in Berlin and London of morbid rubbish about the inevitability of a war some day between England and Germany. Perhaps the immediate occasion this time was a cock-and-bull story circulated the other day about an alliance between England and Spain. An alliance between England and Monaco is about as likely, but the rumour was enough to set goose calling unto goose across the North Sea. The worst of it is that even an exchange of ugly names between the Yellow Presses of two countries has another aspect besides that of bad farce. In England and Germany alike there is a small party, mostly made up of very bitter enemies of internal improvement in its own country, which does seriously and continuously wish and strive to procure a war between the two countries, the peoples of which have not the slightest ill-will, nor cause of ill-will, against each other. England as well as Germany has her school of physical force Tories who think a hard foreign war now and then an excellent cleanser of a nation's blood from such impurities as the craving of the rural labourer for land and of the urban labourer for decent housing, whenever such appetites become so strong as to menace the quiet of him who, generally speaking, hath. This strain of deliberate malignity, helped by the mere sensation-monger's eagerness to have something exciting to sell, whether true or false, might really poison to some extent the relations of the two countries, unless the overwhelming majority of decent people and patriotic citizens in each put their heel upon such mischief whenever they notice it."

"Manchester Guardian," July 4th, 1907.

" . . . There is nothing in the relations between England and France in any way standing between cordial co-operation between England and Germany to preserve the 'Open Door,' whether in Morocco or Persia, or in any other part of the world. . . ."

"Manchester Guardian," October 11th, 1907.

"There have been signs recently of an approach of more cordial relations between our own and the German Governments, and the visit of the Emperor William to England ought, in the normal course, to stimulate this tendency. Those international fire-brands on this side of the North Sea, however, to whom friendship between England and Germany is the greatest of misfortunes, are now actively engaged in preventing such a consummation. The 'Times' lends itself to this work with the readiest of zeal."

"Manchester Guardian," March 3rd, 1908.

" . . . On its success in ultimately ending military and naval expenditure the future of Liberalism will largely depend. . . ."

"Manchester Guardian," May 29th, 1908.

" . . . The Englishman who would use France as a catspaw in his own quarrel, if he has one, with Germany is, whether he knows it or not, a treacherous friend. . . . *If our understanding with France is directed explicitly or implicitly against Germany, it brings not peace, but a sword; it is treachery to our friendship, and it will ultimately commit us, for very shame, either to the conscription recommended by the 'Temps,' or to the useless sacrifice, under some military convention or other, of one or two British army corps on the Continent of Europe. . . .*"

"Manchester Guardian," June 17th, 1908.

" . . . The Kaiser believes that strong armaments are the best guarantee of peace. In holding that view he does not stand alone; it is a heresy that he shares with men like President Roosevelt, M. Clemenceau, and a host of politicians in all countries, England included. *It is not a doctrine that is sympathetic to Liberal minds, but held as sincerely as it is by the Kaiser, and fortified by twenty years of action, it is a very different thing from Jingoism or bellicosity, and we do not think anything more unlikely, so long as William II. is Emperor, than that the breach of European peace should come from Germany.*"

"Manchester Guardian," July 4th, 1908.

"The best possible way of removing misunderstanding is to have an understanding. Can it seriously be maintained that whereas there is material for an understanding with so many countries, there is none for an understanding between England and Germany, the two Powers which are in most need of it? We do not believe it. It is true that there are no outstanding territorial subjects of contention, and that the discontents between the two countries are mainly psychological, which are with difficulty composed by settlement in writing. But it is abundantly clear that there are opportunities enough for misunderstanding. For the Governments to do nothing is to do the most dangerous thing of all—to leave the field in the possession of the hot-heads and mischief-makers.

"An understanding with Germany, then, is the first duty of a Liberal Government in foreign politics—the thing of all others which is most worth doing. It cannot be a settlement of territorial difficulties, because there are none to settle. But it might well be a commercial understanding, or an understanding on some questions of naval policy."

"Manchester Guardian," July 22nd, 1908.

" . . . Germany, though the most military of nations, is probably the least warlike. . . ."

"Manchester Guardian," August 15th, 1908.

"The attitude of England and Germany towards one another is to-day the hinge upon which the world's peace turns. *All our understandings and alliances with other Powers cannot guarantee the world's peace—rather they tend to imperil it—so long as Germany is excluded from them and the relations with us are marked by distrust and tension.* Foreign policy and domestic policy cannot be separated. If there is perpetual unrest, involving ruinous competition in armaments, social reform will be mutilated or wholly suspended. Mr. Lloyd George insists that an entente with Germany must be reached if the world's peace is to be preserved, and ourselves to be at liberty to make the lot of the English citizen tolerable."

"Manchester Guardian," August 21st, 1908.

"Now that the talk about our having to fight Germany is dying down, two or three things are seen to have been proved by it all. *The first is that we and Germany have nothing to fight about.* Everything whatever that has to do with war must have been mentioned in the last few days, except a *casus belli*.

. . . Our own wild men have not said that there is even the slightest pending dispute with Germany anywhere in the world. It was to be a war without a dispute. *And as we ourselves, being sane, do not insist on fighting wars without disputes, nothing was left but to suppose that Germans are insane, and do.* Accordingly we are asked to believe that Germany is about to attack our greatly superior Navy with her own greatly inferior Navy, because she thinks the proceeding good business. If a man can really believe that, and has not had his case tabulated in the recent Report on the Care and Control of the Feeble-Minded, the inquiry, one would think, cannot have been exhaustive. And yet it is not enough merely to dismiss such fancies as madness. For in Germany, too, they are common. There, as here, it is not a rare hallucination to imagine that England is at this moment preparing to fall, unprovoked, upon Germany, and destroy as much of her Navy as we can. . . .

"We have seen in England lately how much terror, how many solemn warnings, how much heroic straining of party ties, may be occasioned by one tall cock-and-bull story—the notorious myth of the 200,000 German soldiers hurried on to transports—or was it one transport?—and hurried off again, a manifest rehearsal of an invasion of England. Well, Germans have the myopic faculty, too, and for every German staff officer or cartographer whom our sen-

sational Press discovers sucking in British military secrets with both ears at City chop-houses and suburban barbers' shops, the Teutonic form of the modern genius for newspaper hysteria manages to produce some terrific counterpart. Thus the timid and credulous among Germans, and the timid and credulous among Englishmen, are like Viola and Aguecheek in the play, so fooled into 'a most hideous opinion of the rage, fury, and impetuosity' of each other that, for sheer panic, they are ready to 'kill one another by the look, like cockatrices.'

" . . . Neither the German Admiralty nor the German Treasury can really wish to observe experimentally the relative effects of an exchange of three English shots for two German shots. Neither Bradford nor Hamburg really wishes to be half ruined. Everything that is ballasted, that can use its eyes, that can put thought for thought in either country, hates the idea of a war between them. *And yet the blusterings, the cock-and-bull stories, the bandying of abuse, have only to go on long enough, and gradually one of the sane after another will be led away by the feeling that surely there must be something behind so much hullabaloo, or perhaps blackmailed into connivance at mischief by the mischievous person's common trick of impugning the patriotism of all who deprecate mischief-making.* We cannot, then, afford simply to leave blatancy and hysteria to die out of themselves, and the question is: what can be done to cause the political relations of England and Germany, on the whole, to correspond more to the wishes of sane and patriotic Englishmen and of the corresponding Germans, and less to the impulsive of the emotional perverses of the two countries?"

"Manchester Guardian," October 21st, 1908.

"There is some madness working somewhere, that so many Englishmen should misread the Kaiser's protestations of friendship to this country, repeated this week in the remarkable interview published by the 'Daily Telegraph.' He is being accused of a deliberate attempt to estrange England from France, and to make us false to our treaty obligations. *Here, in little compass, is the arch-heresy of our foreign politics—that we cannot be friends with France without being cross with Germany.* There is far more truth in the contrary proposition, that we cannot be true to France so long as we make our understanding with her the occasion for a misunderstanding with Germany. Worked on this basis the present Entente with France cannot possibly be permanent, because she stands to lose by it. *In any quarrel with Germany the dice are weighted against France, for while the Alliance would easily be supreme at sea, on land, where the struggle would be fought, our assistance is almost worthless.*

"The plain meaning of the whole interview is that the Kaiser has a genuine, impulsive regard for

England, and is sincerely anxious to be on good terms with us. It is always ungracious to peck out a heart because it is worn on a sleeve, and in politics it is usually folly. There is not so much friendliness in the world that any nation should refuse it when it is offered. Surely, when the Kaiser offers it, it is at any rate worth listing?"

"Manchester Guardian," April 26th, 1909.

(From a Berlin Correspondent, April 21st)

"The friends of Anglo-German friendship are in a difficult position. Scarcely is one 'question' removed when another arises, with unpleasant and alarming controversy in its train. You have your firebrands and we have ours, and while yours are declaring that in Germany we think and speak of nothing but an invasion of England, our alarmists are convinced that every political development the world over is directly connected with plans by Great Britain to isolate Germany.

"At the present time it is the news from Turkey that gives occasion for the most alarming reports. Of course, some English newspapers have declared that German influence is in some way supporting the movement pointed against the Young Turks. That is foolish, though there is no doubt that the Young Turks' success has not been welcome to the Conservative German Government. But even if some English newspapers are creating a German policy which has no existence in fact, there is no reason why the Germans should be guilty of similar foolishness and maintain that English money and English influence are responsible for the coup d'état of the Liberal Union and the priests, and discern behind it all an intrigue against Germany."

"Manchester Guardian," May 26th, 1909.

"... The difficulty between England and Germany is purely psychological. . . ."

"Manchester Guardian," June 12th, 1909.

"... Nine men out of ten who believe in the German scare are mere sentimentalists in politics. . . ."

"... There are Englishmen who like to play with their ideas of war; Germany does not play with it. . . ."

"... Does the understanding involve military co-operation with France under certain circumstances, and if so, under what circumstances? . . . In other words, was the Entente an agreement with France which was not in any way pointed against Germany, or did this country, in concluding it definitely, indicate that under certain circumstances it might be considered an ally of the Dual as against the Triple Alliance?"

"Manchester Guardian," June 24th, 1909.

"The plain fact is that an understanding with Russia is more or less a political luxury, whereas an understanding with Germany is an absolute necessity. There are many causes of the present unrest, but all, in the mind of the average German, are summed up in one suspicion—that our policy is directed towards the isolation of Germany in Europe.

"We call it 'maintaining the balance of power' in Europe."

"Manchester Guardian," December 20th, 1909.

"Ever since Mr. Blatchford offered to write scare articles on Germany for the 'Daily Mail,' he has displaced Mr. Garvin, of the 'Observer,' as the leader of Conservative policy. They are all content to follow him—Mr. Lyttelton, Lord Cromer, Lord Cawdor, Lord Milner, and even Mr. Garvin himself. Or is it the truth that Mr. Blatchford is following the peers, not the peers Mr. Blatchford? It is hard to say. On the one hand is the loudly proclaimed fact that Mr. Blatchford is writing simply as a patriot, without stipulation as to price; on the other hand is the fact that the present agitation is simply a reversion to the agitation last April. Inspiration in the Conservative Party is singularly unanimous and well drilled. Last April they were all anti-Germans and patriots, presently they all talked dukes, then they all tried beer as being more popular, then it was 'Protection,' and now it is patriotism again.

"But deliberately to rake the fires of hell for votes, as these people are doing, is an act of political depravity that no party extremity can excuse. Can these people really believe all that they pretend to believe about Germany?"

"There is another feature of this agitation which would make a patriot ashamed. If the Liberals were in opposition and believed in this German scare, what would be said of them if they seized the opportunity to publish extracts from the South African War Commission? But what the agitators are doing is infinitely more offensive. The whole agitation is based on the assumption that the Tory Party is the only party which has the will or the capacity to manage foreign affairs with prudence, to avoid war that is not necessary to our honour and safety, to prepare for war that may be, and to conduct with success a war that has become unavoidable. Such an assumption does not cease to be an insult because it has become a sort of convention with those who made it, or an insult more forgivable because it is so tragically and shamefully contradicted by recent history. We have searched the writings of the alarmists in vain for any new or relevant fact that would justify the revival of an agitation that failed so completely only a few months ago.

"Mr. Blatchford, more original than his imitators,

has succeeded in finding one new reason for alarm, though he kept us waiting for it till his sixth article. It is this: *'The problem of British defence is the defence of France.'* Think of it. We are to submit to Protection, to the overthrow of the House of Commons and the infliction of a deadly blow to popular liberties, to Conscription, and all for what? To defend the soil of France from invasion. Are there, then, no Frenchmen left that, at a time of crisis in English internal affairs such as we have not had for nearly eighty years, we must cease to think of our own country's happiness and declare France to be a British Protectorate?"

"Manchester Guardian," December 24th, 1909.

"We objected first to the underlying assumption that Liberals were less anxious for national safety than Conservatives, less willing to make any necessary sacrifices, and less capable of taking the right means. In the second place we objected to such questions as the maintenance of our national security and of our relations with friendly Powers being raised for base party uses. They were raised with the object of throwing dust in the eyes of the people, and of distracting attention from the domestic attack on their political liberties. In a word, except on the monstrous supposition that Liberals were indifferent to national safety, they were irrelevant, and irrelevancy in such a crisis is one of the worst and most dangerous of political offences."

"Manchester Guardian," January 29th, 1910.

"The commercial rivalry of England and Germany is the most fanciful and irrelevant of reasons for political quarrelling and war. . . . Germany wants a fleet, not to dispute our supremacy, but to protect her legitimate interests. . . . It is a great leap from the idea of a fleet adequate for defence against the strongest naval power, to the idea of a fleet designed for aggression and offence, and the whole history of German naval ambitions since 1900 contains not a single fact to warrant it. We believe the German Ambassador's declaration yesterday, that the German Navy does not aim at the supremacy of the seas, and is designed simply for the defence of legitimate German interests."

"Manchester Guardian, July 20th, 1910.

"The Jingo journalists, then, are frightening us with resurrected bogeys from the Napoleonic days. A hundred years ago the Napoleonic power was a menace to national independence; but now, even supposing that the naval power of Germany were destined to attain the same preponderance at sea as her armies on land, what use could she put it to? Not to destroy our independence; why, annexation itself, if Protectionist Jingoers are to be consistent with their own arguments, by bringing England

within the fiscal system of Germany, would increase our power to compete with her manufacturers and be a positive disadvantage to her. Or to annex our colonies? One Spanish war ruined Napoleon, and this would credit Germany with the insanity of wanting a dozen. Or to enforce some object of her foreign policy which would injure England? She might insist on the principle of the 'open door,' or she might build a railway to Bagdad; or she might succeed to the old position of Russia in relation to Turkey; but not one of these results would injure us. It is one of the paradoxes of our policy towards Germany that we have actually been quarrelling with Germany for asserting principles of policy which were naturally ours but which we unnaturally deserted."

"Manchester Guardian," August 30th, 1910.

" . . . An attempt has been made to turn the arrests at Emden to purposes of political mischief. The very fact that presumably innocent men were suspected, it is said, shows that Germany has something to conceal. And then follows the counter-charge of attempted political assassination by means of a pistol that is to be presented at our heads through Holland. The evidence of the plot is woefully scanty, but is perhaps worth examining, for national sanity is an element of national strength, and the accusations against Germany of having designs on the Low Countries is, in one form or another, constantly being made. Borkum is an island lying off the entrance to the Dollart, an arm of the sea which divides Germany from Holland. It is a sea-side resort much visited from Emden, the German town at the head of the Dollart. The known facts are that a mole is being constructed at Borkum to form a safe anchorage behind it; that defensive works are in preparation all along the sand dunes between it and Emden, and that at Emden large sums of money have been spent in making a new harbour.

"These works, it is suggested, are designed against the independence or, at any rate, the neutrality of Holland in war-time; and by way of additional evidence reference is made to a letter quoted by a diplomatist in the Dutch Parliament, and said to have been written by the German Emperor to Queen Wilhelmina, urging Holland to strengthen her defences against possible attacks by Great Britain, and hinting that unless Holland did so he would be compelled to take measures of his own. The fortifications at Emden, presumably, are the 'measure of his own.' The belief that these facts are meant as a menace to Holland depends entirely on the supposition that the German Emperor's fears of an attack on Germany from the side of Holland are so absurd to oneself, but apart from military reasons altogether, Germany has some pretty obvious motives

for wishing to develop Emden as a port. Both Holland and Belgium derive a great part of their wealth from German trade. What is more natural than that Germany should seek to divert the traffic of Mülhausen, Westphalia, and the Rhine provinces from Dutch to German ports? In so far as she could succeed in doing so she would remove the temptation in war-time to tamper with the neutrality of Antwerp and Rotterdam, and so would strengthen the independence of the Low Countries. There is no necessary proof in all this of a design on their political independence. On the contrary, it is arguable that the very attempt to make Germany independent of them invalidates the reasons usually given for supposing that she would desire to annex them.

But to return to the naval arguments, is it so very inconceivable that, in the event of a war between Germany and England, an attack might be delivered on Germany from the side of Holland? An interesting answer to that question is offered in a book written by 'A French Staff Officer' on 'The English Invasion of Germany,' a sequel to a pamphlet in which the same writer argues against the possibility of a German invasion of England. In his new pamphlet he argues that, though the fears of a German invasion of England are chimerical, an English invasion of Germany, directed according to his plans, might have some prospect of success. And on page 48 he singles out Borkum and Emden as the weakest points in the German defences.

"As a description of English designs the whole passage may well be dismissed as absurd. But as an analysis of a strategical problem it is interesting, and it may explain a certain German expenditure in fortifying a port that Germans are anxious to develop for commercial reasons. A rational inference from the works at Borkum and Emden is that Germany is anxious to strengthen herself at a strategically weak point. We may well regret for her taxpayers' sake that her rulers should think this expenditure necessary, and for our sake, too, we must regret that our policy should incur suspicions which we feel to be unwarranted. *But the best practical thing we can do in such a case is to place our own policy as clear above sane suspicion as is humanly possible, and not to repay fantastic German suspicions of us with equally fantastic suspicions of Germany.*"

"Manchester Guardian," January 31st, 1911.

"When public opinion is set on war, no Government, it is said, can withstand it. It ought to be possible for public opinion in favour of peace to be just as powerful. And so it might be if it were properly informed and educated. *But the war passion grows almost of itself; it feeds on ignorance and prejudice, qualities with which we are all equipped at starting.* To remove these is the proper work of

peace societies, which will find an equally wide field of labour in Germany and England. In neither country are the great masses of people hostile to each other, but they have only a partial knowledge of the facts; and, even if their knowledge were greater, their power of making their influence felt is at present only small."

The Kaiser's Visit

"Manchester Guardian," May 15th, 1911.

"The occasion of the visit is interesting, because it reminds one of a former visit at the time of Queen Victoria's funeral. His noble bearing at that time won the admiration of the London crowds, and there is no reason to doubt the sincerity of his wish that his country should be on friendly terms with England now, at the unveiling of Victoria's memorial, than there was at her funeral. The coolness towards Germany here is of less than ten years' date, and a growth so recent cannot obliterate the memories of a century's sympathy and co-operation. *Even the faults of the Kaiser, we think, are on our side. In German policy there is often an affection of coldness, bluntness, and even cynicism; but the Kaiser, as his visit to England shows, now, is a man of quick sympathy and lively sentiment.*

"And therefore we welcome the Kaiser to-day, not only as a fine figure of a king, but also because he brings to England the chance of doing a good turn to the peace of the world."

"Manchester Guardian," October 10th, 1911.

"Now that the crisis between France and Germany is to all appearance past, a very serious question remains to be asked. *Why was it everywhere assumed during the negotiations that if war had broken out we should have taken part in it?* This assumption came out quite plainly even in a speech so clear of offence as that of Mr. Churchill a week ago. He need not have mentioned the strength of our Navy at all in connection with the negotiations about Morocco unless he believed that failure in them would have brought England as well as France to the brink of war with Germany. And this is taken for granted, as though it were some axiom of the general European situation. Was ever so tremendous an assumption made with so little apparent ground and with so little attempt, we do not say to justify, but even to explain it? *Grant, what is certainly not true, that a fortified German naval base at Agadir would have justified us in going to war.* It would only be one reason the more for not allowing so deadly an issue to depend solely on negotiations conducted by France."

"Manchester Guardian," December 20th, 1911.

"Now that the Morocco trouble is over, what obligation remains? What should prevent England

and Germany from concluding a friendship parallel with that between us and France? . . . The one fact that emerges is that Alsace-Lorraine prevents real friendship between France and Germany, and that while that question remains we cannot be really friends with Germany without risking our friendship with France. It comes to this, then, that we are not free to form friendship because of a crime committed forty years ago by Germany. This will never do. Nearly every Englishman sympathises with France in the loss of the two provinces, but that fact is ceasing to be the pivot even of French policy; and it would be ridiculous to make it the pivot of our own.

"There must be reciprocity in all friendships; and while the friendship of France is well worth having for its own sake, we must not be asked to undertake great risks on its behalf without some show of compensating advantages. But of these there is no sign. We are sometimes asked to forgo the freedom of forming new friendships, and to be prepared to take the side of the Dual Alliance in the event of war, but no one has ever suggested that France and Russia would be prepared to take our side in any and every dispute we might have with Germany. The conditions are not equal. We are already heavy losers by the quarrel with Germany."

"Manchester Guardian," January 6th, 1912

"The obstacles to a cordial friendship between France and Germany, if they exist at all, are . . . very small."

"Manchester Guardian," June 13th, 1912.

" . . . A Mediterranean naval alliance would be indistinguishable to the eyes of other nations from a general alliance. We should become the third member of a new Triple Alliance. That is the chief danger in our politics. . . . The cause of peace for the next generation is bound up with the defeat of the project of alliance, and there is no interest so great that it must not be subordinated to that end."

"Manchester Guardian," September 13th, 1912.

In a leader the "Guardian" suggested the "Impeachment" of the Ministers who were responsible for bringing into being the naval Triple Alliance. This was when the French Navy went to Toulouse.

"Manchester Guardian," October 28th, 1912.

" . . . The agitation against Germany in this country is wholly sentimental. Lord Roberts is perhaps the greatest sentimentalist of them all."

"Manchester Guardian," Jan. 14th, 1913.

" . . . And, with all his desire for a strong fleet, he is probably the best friend that England has among

the rulers of Europe. . . . The Kaiser, most Englishmen feel, even when they have least sympathy with his opinions, is a man whose friendship is to be trusted, incapable of treachery, and warm in his affections.

"Manchester Guardian," Jan. 28th, 1913.

" . . . The Kaiser is none the less a peacemaker, and what is more, he has worked for good relations with England at times when it would have been easier for him to let things drift. Happily, the prospects of friendship are now brighter, and no small share for the honour for this improvement must be given to the Kaiser and his perfectly genuine desire to maintain the old tradition of friendship with England. . . ."

DAILY GRAPHIC.

In the pages of the "Daily Graphic" is to be found the sad spectacle of a responsible Conservative paper covering the Kaiser and the Crown Prince with the most fulsome flattery. The following extracts read as if they were inspired by the German Foreign Office, so abject is the tone in which they approach the Kaiser. It is also to be noticed that the vaunted German culture is in these selections not only introduced to the British Public, but it is also held up as the predominant trait of the German Royal Family and admired to a degree which late events have shown to be somewhat unwarranted.

Lord Tweedmouth and the Kaiser

"Daily Graphic," March 7th, 1908.

"For our part we do not believe that the German Emperor could be guilty of so treacherous a machination against this country, apart from the bucolic simplicity and gaucherie of the methods employed. The German Emperor has been done a very grave injustice." The article proceeds: "His Majesty—i.e., the Kaiser—is most anxious to establish a friendly and durable understanding with this country, and we believe we are correct in saying that he recognises that some arrangement in regard to the naval policies of the two Governments would powerfully serve this end."

"The Daily Graphic," March 10th, 1908.

" . . . It must, we think, be recognised that a wrong has been done the German Emperor for which some reparation should be made. There can be no question that the charge preferred against his Majesty was one of the utmost gravity. It was a charge amounting to dishonourable and, indeed, treacherous conduct, and we feel sure that those who made it will see instinctively that it ought to be frankly and unreservedly withdrawn.

"Daily Graphic," March 25th, 1903.

"We are glad to have Prince Bülow's emphatic assurance that the German naval programme has only a defensive end in view, and that the German people 'wish to live in quiet and peace with England.' If this assurance is as sincere as we believe it to be, there ought to be no difficulty in discovering for it a corollary which would go a long way towards ending 'the reckless and malicious polemic' by which the cordiality of Anglo-German relations is now menaced. We in this country do not dispute Germany's right to an adequate fleet for defensive purposes; Germany, Prince Bülow tells us, has no wish to challenge our two-power standard. Surely here are the elements of a definite naval understanding?"

"Daily Graphic," May 28th, 1908.

"There seems to be an idea in some quarters—chiefly journalistic—that this strengthening process may be best secured by a formal treaty of alliance (with France), with its due complement of military and naval conventions. We are afraid this suggestion is not one which will commend itself to the best intelligence of either country. In the first place, a formal alliance is not necessary. There is no enemy in view, even distantly or hypothetically, and practical statesmen do not waste their time in providing against imaginary perils."

"Daily Graphic, June 16th, 1908.

"Personally, we believe the Emperor to be a good friend of this country. The evidence of it is not difficult to find if we approach the question of Anglo-German relations in a spirit of fairness and impartiality. . . . But the German Emperor has not only been a friend of this country, he has also been a mainstay of European peace. . . . With it all the Emperor is a great Sovereign, a splendid type of German culture and patriotism, and a towering personality on the world's stage. He has the respect of the whole world, and we are confident that he will leave nothing undone to retain it."

"Daily Graphic," July 15th, 1908.

"German newspapers are making hugely merry over the attack of 'Spionitis' from which a section of our gullible public are just now suffering. . . . Were the affliction confirmed to our yellow newspapers and navy-blue reviews we should feel disposed to laugh with our Teuton friends; but it has spread extensively, and one cannot enter a drawing-room or join a dinner-party without hearing the most fearsome stories of the legion of spies the Kaiser is naïvely alleged to have let loose on this once happy land. It is, of course, very foolish, but it is also not a little disturbing. It shows that the German bogey is getting badly on our nerves. We are not sure that it does not point to a certain deterioration of national character."

"Daily Graphic," November 2nd, 1903.

In a leader on this day the "Daily Graphic" refers to the "constitutional correctitude, which his critics are too fond of denying him," of the German Emperor.

This statement, in view of the Kaiser's subsequent references to "scraps of paper," is interesting.

"Daily Graphic," November 11th, 1903.

"In both countries (i.e., England and Germany) there is a small knot of assiduous mischief-makers, and a very large amount of exaggerated sensitiveness, but the bulk of the two nations, we are confident, are sincerely anxious for peace, and there is no intelligent Englishman who has not the sincerest appreciation for the great qualities of the German people and for the fine character, and especially the *English sympathies*, of their Kaiser."

"Daily Graphic," January 27th, 1909.

"He (i.e., the Kaiser) has peculiar claims on the goodwill of this country. . . . The Kaiser is pre-eminently a MAN—a man of rare character, of exceptional culture, and of phenomenal industry and public spirit. . . . No one has yet been able to charge him with a slip or a blunder which was not redeemed by a high motive. In both his private and his public life he is a pattern to his countrymen. . . . Englishmen may reflect to-day with especial pleasure on the fact that throughout his reign the Emperor has been a staunch friend of their country. There are mischievous people who attempt sometimes to throw doubt on the genuineness of his attachment to us, and there are others, in Germany, who question its wisdom and its patriotism. When, however, we remember how he has persevered in it even at the risk of his popularity . . . it is difficult not to admit that both its genuineness and its wisdom have been abundantly vindicated."

"Daily Graphic," May 26th, 1910.

"Indeed, the Kaiser has now publicly announced that, in conversation with M. Pichon while in London, he expressed his confidence in the maintenance of European peace, and his firm intention to do all in his power to contribute to its continuance. That declaration is thoroughly in accord with the Kaiser's whole reign. . . . More than that, the Kaiser has frequently given evidence of his special regard for the Sovereigns and the people of this country, and we should be churlish indeed if we did not reciprocate the spirit of goodwill which he displays."

Czar and Kaiser.

"Daily Graphic," November 7th, 1910.

"There are foolish people in London and Paris to whom these friendly meetings are as gall and wormwood. They seem to think that because Germany is a red rag to them, it ought to be the same to their

partner in the Triple Entente. Russian statesmanship is not always wise, but its attitude on this question must commend itself to all prudent men. It has no reason for quarrelling with Germany; it has nothing to gain by espousing the sore memories of France or the grotesque bogies of our own Teutophobes, and it does not interpret the Triple Entente as necessarily anti-German."

"Daily Graphic," April 12th, 1911.

"The first requisite of a great prince is to be a good sportsman. This is a truth which Machiavelli ignored, but it is none the less one of the fundamentals of a wholesome politics. No one has recognised it more fully than the German Emperor, and we are sure that it must be a gratification to him to know that in this respect his son is worthy of his sire. But the sporting instinct, with its eternal monition to 'play the game,' is not only a sound basis for politics in general, it is also a peculiarly fruitful element in that strengthening of Anglo-German sympathies which the best men in both countries are so anxious to promote. For this reason we are glad to have become better acquainted with the German Crown Prince, and we are gratified to know that our feelings in this respect are so heartily reciprocated by him."

The Kaiser.

"Daily Graphic," May 15th, 1911.

"... Whenever he comes to us he comes as an old friend of tried attachment and of perennial charm."

"Daily Graphic," August 29th, 1912.

"The Emperor William is pre-eminently human. It is for that reason that, in spite of the prognostical bogies of the politicians, we all reserve a warm corner in our hearts for his brilliant and wayward personality. In nothing has he proved himself more human, more in touch with the average inhabitant of this subfluvial hemisphere, than in his recent indisposition. Colds in the head and stiff necks are just now the common lot, and hence the sympathy with the Kaiser has been as sincere as far-reaching. We are truly gratified to know that the first gleam of sunshine yesterday found his Majesty able to go out — to walk vigorously and climb hills without effort. . . . The worst of these visitations is that they always come at the most inconvenient moments. This is as true of the Kaiser as of the man in the street. For the first time for twenty-five years he has been prevented from attending the great German military manoeuvres, and we can well understand how grievously disappointed he must feel."

"Daily Graphic," December 31st, 1912.

"The year opened with Anglo-German relations at their worst. It is closing with quite a pleasant, if not a cordial, relationship between the two Powers."

Kaiser celebrates King George's visit to him on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter by releasing the three British officers imprisoned in Germany for espionage.

"Daily Graphic," May 20th, 1913.

"It is not only a fine act of clemency, but also an essentially Royal message of good feeling to the compatriots of the released officers. The meaning of it will be misunderstood by no one. . . . These are the acts of a generous heart, and it is encouraging to think that this heart, so rich in pure and opportune impulses, is one of the most powerful factors in those international problems which involve so much of the differences of mankind."

"Daily Graphic," June 16th, 1913.

"Never, assuredly, was a national homage more richly deserved. The many-sided character of the Kaiser, his multifarious and inexhaustible activities, and the almost aggressive independence of his policy and opinions have necessarily given rise to a diversity of appreciations, but not the most unsparing of his critics can or will gainsay the amazing range of his intellectual equipment, the loftiness of his moral character, the purity and strenuousness of his life, the nobility of his patriotism, and the earnestness of his devotion to his kingly office, and through it to the welfare of his people. . . . His twenty-five years' reign is an unbroken story of growing strength, culture, and prosperity, and there is scarcely a development of the national life in which the Kaiser's versatile inspiration may not be traced. . . . He is at once War-Lord and Arch-Pacifist, an Apostle of Divine Right, and a shrewd and capable promoter of technical efficiency."

"... All in all, he is a fascinating and exemplary figure in this otherwise drab world of ours. Far beyond the confines of the great Empire which now does him so much deserved honour the hope will re-echo that he may long be spared in health and happiness to garner still further of the love of his people and of the respect and confidence of other nations."

"Daily Graphic," June 23rd, 1914.

"It is desirable that it should be made clear that the present relations of the two countries are excellent, that their respective sovereigns and statesmen desire that they should remain so, and that even in the field of their most strenuous rivalry a genuine sentiment of mutual admiration and of professional camaraderie unites them. Moreover, is not the German Emperor a British admiral, and one of whom all British sailors may well be proud? We in this country are indeed delighted with this and every opportunity of sending our greetings to his Majesty, not merely as a devoted sailor, or even as the sovereign of a great Empire with which we are desirous of dwelling in unity, but as a fine example of public spirit and sincerity in every walk of life."

The "Daily News" in July and August, 1914.

Singular interest attaches to the expressions of the "Daily News" (the organ of Mr. Cadbury and the Little England Party) immediately antecedent to the outbreak of the great war.

"Germany's Weakness"

An extract from the "Daily News" of July 29th is illuminative as an example of its entire ignorance of European conditions :

"Evidently the working part is Germany, and if that part cannot run the machine is locked.

"As things stand, Austria cannot guarantee her ally fourteen army corps in Galicia, and Russia's railway facilities have been growing year by year.

"In seventeen days from the order to mobilise Austria will have put all she can spare on the Galician frontier. In twenty days a superior force, and in twenty-three days a very greatly superior force, will be assembled on the Russian side of the border. This gives Germany, who cannot enter France in full force till the twelfth day, just twelve to fifteen days in which to beat the French decisively and hurry back to the east, which would hardly seem to be a 'business proposition,' even if modern citizen soldiers were wooden pawns.

"If, through Austria's preoccupation in the south, Germany is obliged to leave anything like an adequate force of her own in the east, she cannot attack France to any profit, less than ever so if Italy does not hold up the three French army corps she is expected to look after, and if Germany has further to detach any large force to keep in check a Belgian or Anglo-Belgian army.

"Germany is too weak, without Austria's full aid and something from Italy into the bargain, to make 'war on two fronts,' if the people on those two fronts want to make war upon her. All she can do (and this she could do with profit to all concerned) is to be so far ready for war that Russia could not employ more than a fraction of her forces against Austria. And as the Russian people are on this occasion incensed against Austria only, and that in the part of Austria's dominions furthest from the German frontier—as, in fact, Russia's concrete hostility is directed to the south-east, and only her abstract hostile intentions to the north—Germany would surely serve her ally well in preventing her ally's opponent from giving effect to an unlimited hostility with anything more than limited means.

The Value of Readiness

"This prevention can be achieved by readiness—simple readiness unaccompanied by offensive action, for which, in fact, Germany has not the available force.

"Russia, for her part, will have done all that is necessary on behalf of Servia when she has neutralised a full half of the Austrian Army, and

she will have secured France definitely from the sudden blow by detaining eight Prussian army corps in the east.

"France, for her part, will satisfy the conditions of her alliance by a state of readiness such that Germany cannot weaken herself in the wish to be strong in the east. Equilibrium between those Powers and in those areas that are only 'affected' without being interested, and military action only in the areas where the quarrel is real and earnest by the forces immediately concerned in that quarrel—such, it seems at the moment of writing, would be a militarily reasonable issue of the present tension.

"The way to localise the war, in the military sense, is to produce equilibrium and deadlock everywhere else."

A Further Example, July 30th.

"Socialism in Germany only awaits such a moment as this to overthrow the despotism that holds it under its iron heel, and the initiative on the part of Russia would assuredly bring the Government of the Tsar face to face with a rising in Poland on such a scale as would threaten the existence of the Empire."

On August 1st the "Daily News" prophesied famine throughout England within a few days of the outbreak of war :

Leading article, August 1st.

Keep the Peace

No man living has witnessed such a day as yesterday. It began with the enforced closing of the London Stock Exchange, an event without precedent in the history of this country. This was followed by the raising of the Bank rate from four to eight per cent., a movement without parallel. At midday came the news that the German Government had proclaimed a state of war, which means the handing over of administration to the military power. Simultaneously came the news that Holland was mobilising, and a little later that Belgium, too, was mobilising in defence of their neutrality. In the afternoon the Premier announced that he had heard from Germany that Russia had ordered a general mobilisation of Army and Fleet. The German proclamation of a state of war is an answer to Russia, and if the Russian mobilisation is persisted in Germany, too, will mobilise. At night came a demand from the bankers, for the present refused, that cash payments should be suspended.

Against all this the one comforting item of news is the resumption of negotiations between Russia and Austria, and with it some hope that war may be avoided. Europe is ringing with the tramp of armed millions, and the whole fabric of money and of credit throughout the world has collapsed. And as yet it is only the wind and rumour of war, not war itself.

In the City all men, even those who a few weeks ago were inclined to look upon war as rather a jolly adventure, now that it has breathed upon them are shaken with the horror of it. The ruin has fallen upon them first, because they are the first line of defence in commerce. But do the mass of Englishmen, the tradesman, the workman, the manufacturer, understand how swiftly ruin sweeps across industry under the threat or the impact of war? With credit gone, business must come to a standstill; mills, factories, workshops must shut down; and if war follows upon the threat of war, food will go up to famine prices. *Within a few days of England launching into this struggle the streets of every English town will be filled with starving men, women, and children, who either have no money because there is no work or whose wages under the blast of famine can no longer keep body and soul together.* In this modern world the devastation which war registers on the battlefield is as nothing to the devastation which it registers in every centre of industrial activity. The soldier at least has his rations, but starvation will come to the homes of millions of working men. It is that prospect to which a manifest conspiracy between certain forces and the Yellow Press is inviting the English people. *We are being told that our Government is bound in honour to bring all this horror and misery upon the English people, and to risk the safety of the Empire. That is false,* because we have the explicit and repeated assurance of the Government that we are free of all ties, pledges, and obligations to go to war in support of Russia or France. We are being told that we must launch into the struggle to maintain the balance of power. If the balance of power be measured by the number of armed men, then the balance is with France and Russia and against Germany and Austria. Yet it is precisely to the side of Russia and France that these jingoes, who would sacrifice the people of these islands to the balance of power, wished to add the force of England. Apply another test. Suppose we follow the counsel of the jingoes, and join in with France and Russia. Two consequences may follow—either the

Russo-Franco-British combination wins or it is defeated. If it is defeated then not only will hosts of English lives have been sacrificed and millions of English homes ruined, but we shall have smashed the Empire. If the Russo-Franco-British combination were to win, then we should gain nothing. Russia and France would partition Germany, and Russia would dominate Europe. The balance of power would be irretrievably, eternally overthrown to make Russia dictator, a Russia, which, unlike Germany, cannot be placid by European policy between the hammer and the anvil of hostile Powers on either flank. Who can doubt that after we had helped Russia to destroy Germany and planted her firmly in the seat of supremacy she would turn against us and seize Persia and India? This is the madness and the infamy to which those who talk of our "honour" and the sacred cause of the balance of power are inviting us. Gambling is one thing, but a throw of the dice when nothing can be won and everything must be lost is insanity.

What is the duty of the Government? It is its duty not only to keep out of the war should war come, but to announce here and now its rigorous neutrality. That would be the greatest contribution it could make to the preservation of peace, for it is the hope of our support in arms which is encouraging Russia to draw the sword. Why does not Mr. Asquith or Sir Edward Grey make that simple announcement of our neutrality? We do not profess to understand, but we do know that their tardiness and hesitation are not only encouraging Russia to appeal to the sword, but are also stimulating our own jingoes in their campaign. It is quite clear that the pressure on the Government of those obscure forces which make for war is heavy, and growing heavier, and that unless the friends of peace rally and concentrate the Government may slide down the slope of disaster. The crisis is so urgent that words cannot express it. Not a moment can be lost. The friends of peace in Parliament must move at once, and move openly. The full force of public opinion must be brought to bear. Upon those who control organised labour the responsibility in this hour is heaviest because their power is greatest. The time has come when from every factory, mill, and workshop should come the command to our rulers to keep the peace. It is now that they must strike for their homes. A day's delay, and the blunder and the crime may be achieved, and misery and ruin be the lot of millions.

THE "DAILY NEWS," PLEA FOR GERMAN "CULTURE" (August 1st 1914.)

WHY WE MUST NOT FIGHT.

ENGLAND AND THE CRISIS.

By A. G. G.

The greatest calamity in history is upon us—a calamity so vast that our senses are numbed with horror. We hardly dare look into the pit that yawns at our feet, and yet any hour, any minute may plunge us in beyond all hope of return. At this moment our fate is being sealed by hands that we know not, by motives alien to all our interests, by influences that if we knew we should certainly repudiate. Every step at this hour may be irrevocable. The avalanche trembles on the brink and a touch may send it shattering into the abyss.

The peace of every land, the happiness of every home in Europe, the very bread by which we live, hang at this moment upon the will of one man, the Tsar of Russia. It is he whose hand is on the avalanche. It is he who with one stroke of the pen, one word of the mouth, one motion of the head, can plunge Europe in a sea of blood and bury all the achievements of our civilisation in anarchy. The whole Continent is trembling with the tread of armed men. From the Neva to the Rhone, the legions are in motion. A friend of mine came through Prussia two days ago. At the stations as he passed he saw the platforms lined with men in private clothes, awaiting their despatch to an unknown doom on an unknown field—men who have no share in this quarrel of the dynasts, who do not know what it is about, who will slay or be slain without hate and without understanding. And another tells me that as he lay at Dijon three nights ago he heard the tramp of men and the rumbling of artillery all through the dark hours, and that when he came down in the morning there was not a waiter in the hotel. They, too, had gone in the dark to meet their doom.

Waiting on England

And at St. Petersburg there sits the man who has everyone of these lives and millions more at his mercy, and who at one word can let hell loose upon the face of Europe. Is he a man we can trust with this momentous power? A weak man, superstitious, under the influence now of inhuman philosophers like Pobiedonostseff or Meshkershtsky, now of mystics and charlatans like Philippe and Rasputin, who decorates his Black Hundreds on the morrow of their masacres and holds half Europe in the grip

of a mediæval despotism—is he the man whom the free peoples of France and England can trust with their destiny? Is he the man for whom we are going to shed our blood and our treasure? Is Russia the type of civilisation that we are prepared to bleed ourselves white to make triumphant over Europe and over Asia?

The question is for us. For though the Tsar has his hand on the avalanche it is we who have our hand on him. It is we who in the last analysis must say whether Europe is to be deluged with blood. Do you doubt it? Turn to your paper this (Friday) morning. There you will see a message from St. Petersburg signed by Reuter. It begins:

"The situation shows, so far, no change in the direction of peace. The sailing of the British Fleet from Portland has created an immense impression, and, coupled with Japan's assurance, has more than confirmed Russia's determination to stand to her guns."

In that flash we see the situation. We see the Tsar with his hand on the avalanche looking towards England for the one assurance that he needs. Let England say "No, you touch it at your own risk and your own peril," and his hand will drop. Let England falter, temporise, equivocate, and he will plunge us into ruin with the rest.

The Campaign of the Warmongers

We are told that we must be quiet, that we may encourage Germany by making her believe that she has not to reckon with us. But the move is not with Germany. The move is with Russia. It is she whom we encourage or discourage by every word that is said and every action that is done. It is she who has the issues of war and peace in her hands. It is she whom the sailing of our Fleet from Portland has "confirmed in her determination to stand to her guns." Quiet? But who is keeping the "Times" and the "Daily Mail" and the rest of the papers which by years of anti-German propaganda have been paving the way to this stupendous catastrophe—who is keeping them quiet? Nay, who is inspiring them? Who is authorising them to tell Russia that she may start the avalanche with the assurance that we shall be in the abyss with her? They talk of our "obligations to our friends." We

have no obligations except the obligation to preserve this country from any share in the crime that threatens to overwhelm Europe. Again and again we have had the assurances of the Prime Minister and Sir Edward Grey that we are free agents, that our hands are not tied. If that is so, why are these mischievous declarations about our complicity allowed to pass? Every one of them is a new incitement to Russia, a fresh match applied to the powder magazines of Europe. They are reproduced in Russia to feed the flame of popular passion and to nerve the Tsar to the fatal act.

The Assassinations

If we are free—and we know that we are free—what ground is there for involving ourselves in this unspeakable calamity? On the immediate cause of the quarrel we can have no sympathy with Serbia. The assassination of the Crown Prince and his wife was a brutal and cold-blooded crime, the fruit of a conspiracy laid with infinite care and deliberation, and wholly inspired by Serbia. It was a plot so complete, so official, as it were, that there was no possibility of the victims escaping. They were literally enveloped by death from the moment they entered Serajevo. The crime was only the culmination of a long train of events, all of which aimed at raising rebellion among the Slavs of Austria-Hungary, and its immediate purpose was to destroy the one life which seemed necessary to save Austria from disruption on the old Emperor's death. We need not attempt to justify the terms of the ultimatum, but no one denies the provocation, no one suggests that, if the two countries could be isolated, Austria would not be justified in exacting severe terms from the criminal.

The War Press

Why is a European war threatened to save Serbia from punishment? Because Serbia is the instrument of Russia. It was in Belgrade that that most mischievous of Russian diplomatists, M. Hartweg, carried on his machinations throughout the Balkan War. It is through Belgrade that Russia hopes to establish her domination of the Balkan Peninsula. Have we any interest in helping her? Will it please the miners of Northumberland and the cotton operatives of Lancashire to know that Europe has waded through blood in order to give Russia the hegemony of the Slav world? Is her rule so beneficent that we can go to war to help her to extend it? I am old enough to remember—it does not seem very long ago—when the music-halls of London were ringing with

"We don't want to fight,
But, by Jingo, if we do,
We've got the ships, we've got the men,

We've got the money, too!
We've fought the bear before,
And while we're Britons true,
The Russians shall not have Con-stanti-no-ple."

I hated the jingle then, as I hate it now, because it was a detestable appeal to ignorance and passion. But behind that appeal to make war on Russia were all the same vicious influences that are to-day working to achieve for Russia that very supremacy in the Balkans, that path to Constantinople, which they denied her in 1878. Let us recall that fact when we hear the patriotic gramophones of Lord Northcliffe shouting for war—as they always shout for war. Let the public remember that, with all its affectation of gravity, the voice of the "Times" is the same voice as that which speaks in the "Daily Mail," the "Evening News," and all the rest of the rabble of jingo journalism. It is only the accent which is a little more polite. We saw how the system works yesterday. In the "Times," in the morning, Lord Northcliffe published an article carefully designed to encourage Russia to believe that she may rely on us to back her. In the evening he reproduced it in his "Evening News" for the mob as the voice of the august "Times." It is thus that he gives the air of public clamour when he alone is speaking through his myriad gramophones.

Germany or Russia

If, then, we have neither sympathy with Serbia in the quarrel, nor a traditional interest in the aims of her master in the Balkans, why should we go to war? Is it because we wish the Russian civilisation to overwhelm the German civilisation? There is not a thinking being in this land who, competent to form a judgment, would not repudiate such a monstrous thought. If we crush Germany in the dust, and make Russia the dictator of Europe and Asia, it will be the greatest disaster that has ever befallen Western culture and civilisation. It will be a reaction to barbarism—the triumph of blind superstition over the most enlightened intellectual life of the modern world.

The Wrong Horse

And if it is a question of political supremacy, of that vague gibberish that is talked about "the balance of power," can we doubt where our interest lies? For years, under the industrious propaganda of Lord Northcliffe, Mr. Strachey, Mr. Maxse, and the militarists, this country has been preached into an anti-German frame of mind and takes no accounts of facts. Where in the wide world do our interests clash with those of Germany? Nowhere. With Russia we have potential conflicts over the whole of South-Eastern Europe and Southern Asia. I have

recalled the doggerel of forty years ago. It was typical. The whole of the latter half of last century was dominated by our fear of Russia's designs upon our Indian Empire. Are those designs dead? No; if ever they had reality, they are as real to-day as ever they were and much more practicable. The insane policy that has driven us into enmity with Germany has led us to sanction Russia's annexation of Northern Persia and to listen to a scheme for a Russian railway to the very gates of India—a scheme the mere hint of which would have driven the jingoes to frenzy twenty years ago. We may help to trample Germany in the dust and exalt Russia, but if we do so we shall not buy off one fragment of Russia's aims in the future.

And what if, as the outcome of Armageddon, she makes terms with Germany and divides the sway of Europe? What, then, will the Indian Empire be worth? This is no wild dream. All things are possible if once we are involved in this horror. Remember the swift change in the Balkans that turned the swords of the allies at each others' throats almost in a night.

The Menace at Home.

And what price shall we pay at home? The fabric of our finance is shaken. Industry will be paralysed. Famine will be in our midst. The whole of our hopes of social reform and the betterment of the people will go like a dream in the night—swallowed up in the nightmare of a hideous reality. Does the Tsar, sitting with his hand on the avalanche, think of that? Do the preachers of anti-Germanism think of that? These are the same people who have fought with every weapon in their power against our efforts to make the lot of the common people of this land a little better, and to lay more firmly the foundations of a free people. Are all these efforts to collapse in ruin? Are we to share the universal anarchy?

For it is anarchy as well as war to which Europe is rushing. No man can tell what will emerge when the whole fabric of society has been shattered. But one thing will not emerge. The dynasts will go with the horror that they have created. The people failed in 1848, but they will not fail in 1914. Whatever miseries they have to face in the future they may be trusted to sweep the curse of despotism off the face of Europe.

No Weakness.

We are told that the day of our "splendid isolation" is over—that we must have "friends," and therefore enemies. It is false. Its falsity is proved by the very situation with which we are faced. It is because England is free that Europe hesitates. It is our neutrality which is the only protection that Europe has against the hideous ruin and combustion

on the brink of which it trembles. Let us announce that neutrality to the world. It is the one hope. There is no other. Let us make it clear that unless and until British interests are attacked we will have no part in this world insanity, that we will not shed a drop of English blood for Tsar or Serbia, that our one obligation is the interests of peace and this land, and that we refuse to recognise any other. We can save Europe from war even at this last moment. But we can only save it by telling the Tsar that he must fight his own battles and take the consequence of his own action.

If the British Government does this it will do the greatest service to humanity in history. If it does not do it it will have brought the greatest curse to humanity in history. The youngest of us will not live to see the end of its crime.

"MONSTROUS IMMORALITY"

"Daily News," August 3rd.

"Let us speak plainly. There are, clear to the eyes of every one of us, certain influences at work to drive us into the war. There must be no inventing of pretexts for falling upon Germany. That would be, not only a monstrous act of immorality, but a monstrous blow at the welfare of this country. This country must preserve her neutrality. Any other policy would be treason to Liberal principle."

HORRIBLE COMMERCIALISM

War between Great Britain and Germany was declared as from the night of August 4th.

The following are extracts from the leading article of Mr. Cadbury's "Daily News" of the same morning.

The italics are not those of the "Daily News." They are inserted here to add point to the argument of Mr. Cadbury's self-proclaimed organ of "humanitarianism" that the proper part of Great Britain in Germany's violation of small and innocent Belgium and unprovocative France was to stand aside and make capital out of the agonies of those countries by "capturing the bulk of their trade."

"If we are not yet at war with Germany, war is a matter of hours, and the Government has taken measures in anticipation of conflict. The Fleet has been mobilised and the Army is mobilising, and if no undertaking has been given to despatch the expeditionary force across the seas it is only because the Government is considering the general requirements of the defence of the Empire. Sir Edward Grey suggested that so far as the economic consequence to this country is concerned, there is no appreciable difference between the loss we should suffer if we remained neutral and the loss we shall suffer by entering into the war. Sir Edward is not well versed in economics, and we fear he has gravely

misapprehended this matter. *If we remained neutral we should be, from the commercial point of view, in precisely the same position as the United States. We should be able to trade with all the belligerents (so far as the war allows of trade with them); we should be able to capture the bulk of their trade in neutral markets; we should keep our expenditure down; we should keep out of debt; we should have healthy finances.*

"Sir Edward Grey contends that we are bound to make a violation of the neutrality of Belgium by Germany a casus belli. We shall not ask whether he would have treated a similar violation by France as a casus belli, but we shall point out that Sir Edward did not assert that we are bound by treaty to defend Belgium's neutrality by force of arms. It is worth noting that all the Belgian Government asked of us was diplomatic intervention. If we are under no treaty obligation in the matter of Belgium, then *there is no question here of our honour.* The real argument put forward, by Sir Edward Grey in this question was that of our interests. He declared that our vital interests are bound up with the neutrality of Belgium, and he drew a picture of all the neutral States of Northern Europe—Belgium, Holland, Denmark—being absorbed by Germany. *The picture does not persuade, because we see no*

probability of its ever representing the facts, and while Sir Edward asserted our interest in Belgian neutrality he did not prove it, and with infinite regret we must confess ourselves unconvinced."

Here, in the same article, are the "Daily News'" singularly inaccurate forecasts of the condition of England within a few weeks of the beginning of the war.

"Already the financial system of Britain, as well as of the rest of the world, has collapsed. The immediate ruin that has fallen upon the commercial world is incalculable. In a few days that ruin will be reflected in industry, and every week that passes will increase the gravity of the situation. The measures taken yesterday by the Government are wise and necessary and they will doubtless be extended. But financial expedients alone will not meet the case. The food question must be taken in hand at once. Already prices are bounding up, and the poor will be ground between the upper and the nether millstone—between unemployment on the one hand and the high cost of the necessaries of life on the other. It needs no gift of imagination to conceive what the situation will be in industrial Britain in a few weeks' time unless the most drastic steps are taken to cope with it. Our towns will be crowded with the workless and the starving."

Extracts from the German and Austrian Press

German Modesty.

November 11th, 1909.

It would do good to Englishmen to imitate some German manners, and at least they can learn as much of us as we of them—above all, more modesty.—“*Taegliche Rundschau*,” Berlin.

“The Final Struggle.”

October 4th, 1898.

May we never forget that England in Africa, and everywhere else, is our opponent; and may God preserve us from the insanity of being entangled through hypocritical assurances of future benefits in the final decisive struggle between Britain and Russia! Were the English at last freed from the overwhelming pressure of Russia, they would immediately turn against their helper.—“*Hamburger Nachrichten*.”

What England Really Fears.

November 16th, 1898.

It is not the Fashoda question or the Egyptian difficulty which is causing England's naval and military activity. Neither is the situation in the Far East nor Near East nor South Africa responsible for all the fuss. England has a bad conscience and is afraid of the Czar's disarmament conference and of the questions which it may raise. It is against this abstract enemy that Albion is arming herself.—“*Wiener Tageblatt*.”

The Smiling British Lion.

The British Lion was so pleased with the success he achieved with his threatening gestures in the little quarrel with France that he resolved to continue a little longer lashing the earth with his tail and giving forth fearful roars, simply to set European diplomacy in terror. It is true this terror existed only in the phantasy of writers in Chauvinistic English newspapers, whose heads were affected as with the smoke of an opium pipe by the victory of Sirdar Kitchener over a few bands of badly armed dervishes.—“*Die Post*,” Berlin.

English and American Braggarts.

November 24th, 1898.

The Anglo-Saxons are a boastful race. The Americans are jubilant because their modern, well-equipped, fully manned battleships blew into eternity a much smaller force of Spanish cruisers, sans ammunition, sans coal, sans everything. The English free-lance Kitchener has now swept a few thousand badly armed, worse-led negroes off the face of the

earth and his countrymen are overjoyed at his victory. But it would be quite a different thing if Tommy Atkins were pitted against European enemies.—“*Reichswehr*,” Vienna.

A Puerile Utopia.

December 20th, 1898.

The idea of rapprochement between France and Germany is a puerile Utopia; for Germany would never dream of restoring France Alsace-Lorraine, and France would not think of forgoing her claims to the two annexed provinces.—“*Hamburger Nachrichten*.”

Advice to England.

March 3rd, 1899.

The increase of expenditure for military purposes in England indicates that the weakness of the English Army is realised. But such measures as these are inadequate. England, to maintain her position, will have to resort to conscription throughout her Empire with its hundreds of millions of inhabitants. Such an army would be irresistible.—“*Allgemeine Zeitung*.”

No Friendship

April 20th, 1899.

We cannot imagine how Germany can continue on friendly terms with Great Britain after the attitude of the latter in the Samoan question. We have frequently predicted the speedy dissolution of the never very strong bond between England and Germany, and our prediction seems likely to be fulfilled even sooner than we expected.—“*Deutsche Zeitung*,” Vienna.

What a Prospect!

September 23rd, 1899.

In case of defeat, England receives her death-stroke in Africa. What a prospect for Germany! The United States of South Africa, founded upon the broken-up British Empire, will be her natural arch-enemy, and Germany's natural ally. Then at last the German race, too, will occupy one of the foreign continents.—“*Deutsche Zeitung*.”

Criticism Made in Germany.

November 13th, 1899.

The English land army is not only numerically weak, but it is also far behind the armies of other Powers in absolute war value.

The times in which Napoleon could say “English infantry is the best in the world” have disappeared in the face of the entirely different tactical demands of modern fighting on infantry. It is universally

acknowledged that the great bravery of the British officers and men cannot compensate for this, so to say, strategical deficiency. The fact that the present organisation of British defensive forces is not equal to the serious military demands of the perhaps near future is not readily acknowledged on the other side of the Channel, as important questions of interior politics are connected with it. Impartial criticism must lead to the conclusion that England's military forces are no longer equal to the demands made on them by the foreign policy which she pursues.—"National Zeitung," Berlin.

Impotent England.

January 24th, 1900.

Despite her wealth, despite her Fleet, England is not able to go to war with a Great Power. That much has been proven, and even if the Boers should be vanquished—which is not at all certain—this impression will remain.—"Vossische Zeitung."

Our Many Enemies.

February 6th, 1900.

The danger of foreign intervention increases every day for England. Great Britain may at any moment find herself involved in half a dozen different disputes in various parts of the world. Great Britain's enemies are many, and they will not miss this big opportunity of wounding their big adversary. How will Albion overcome this difficulty? Will she be able to overcome it at all? We doubt it.—"Tageblatt," Vienna.

"An Empire of Dreams."

It is one of the most astonishing things of this remarkable war that England, even in respect of arms, is behind her adversaries. Even now there is no doubt that the two Republics will obtain full independence, and it is quite as certain that England will have to make territorial concessions. The Anglo-African Empire from the Cape to the Nile Delta has become an Empire of Dreams.—"Kreuz Zeitung," Berlin.

The English "Pirates."

March 21st, 1900.

The Boers in their desperate fight against the English "pirates" are enjoying the fullest sympathy of the nations, but need not expect the least attempt of intervention from the Governments of the Powers. The dynastic relations between the European Courts have proved stronger than the likings or dislikings of the people.—"Staatsburger Zeitung," Berlin.

Successful Imperialism.

March 23rd, 1900.

The world is face to face with the successful trial of British Imperialism. It is astonishing how deep are the roots of this feeling. Perhaps the chief importance of the war lies in the fact that it has drawn the mother country and the colonies closer together. It is quite certain that England in future wars can reckon on Colonial assistance. England will come out of the war vastly stronger than when she began, with increased military prestige, and, what is more important than all, united in all her parts in the defence of her interests.—"Kreuz Zeitung," Berlin.

Germany's Friends.

November 27th, 1900.

It is to be feared that the friendly relations which Germany maintains with all the Powers will not last long unless governing circles in Berlin separate themselves in time from England.—"Gazette Allemande," Vienna.

"No Anglo-German Alliance."

March 14th, 1901.

An offensive and defensive alliance between the German and British Empires continues to belong to the realms of imagination. There is no occasion for any such alliance. Neither Germans nor Englishmen desire it. Each State has too many interests which are peculiar to itself, and which cannot, and will not, be espoused by the other.—"Vossische Zeitung," Berlin.

Candid Admission.

April 12th, 1901.

Throughout the period of our existence as a State, we have not met with much love or friendship from our British cousin. When we were small, he would have liked to have made us smaller, and when we showed signs of growing great, he would have fain tripped us up. It is only now, when we really are great, that he begins to treat us in a more friendly way. The widespread desire to give our cousin across the Channel as good as we got is, humanly speaking, the more intelligible in view of the fact that, in addition to the dregs of this historic bitterness, a good deal of envy has accumulated—envy excited by the spectacle of British prosperity.—"Koelnische Zeitung."

The British Navy.

July 12th, 1901.

There appears to be no doubt that the condition of the British Navy is as rotten as that of the British Army when the South African War broke out.—"Tageblatt," Vienna.

"Britain's Achilles' Heel."

October 15th, 1901.

Great Britain is hedged in with difficulties in South Africa, Manchuria, America, Afghanistan, and Ireland. South Africa has proved the vulnerable heel of Achilles through which the whole organism of the British Empire has been weakened.—"Vossische Zeitung," Berlin.

Alarming Forecasts.

November 2nd, 1901.

Russia's expansion in Central Asia is logical and inevitable. Sooner or later England will have to fight for her hold on India. Persia is ear-marked for Russia.—"Kreuz Zeitung," Berlin.

A Shock to "Kultur."

November 8th, 1901.

Germans are enraged against England because of the way the South African War is being conducted.

The English conduct of this war has placed England outside the circle of civilised nations.—"Tageblatt," Berlin.

The Horror of the Huns.

November 9th, 1901.

Among all the horror of the English methods of warfare, the slow massacre of children is the most terrible; and official Europe looks on unconcernedly at these vile doings of the English hangman.—"Volkszeitung," Berlin.

November 13th, 1901.

The English troops in South Africa are committing the same crime as the Boxers were guilty of in China. But with this difference: that the Boxers killed their sacrifices sooner, whereas the Englishmen slowly put their prisoners to death by hunger and thirst.—"Volkszeitung," Berlin.

Germany as Suzerain.

November 12th, 1901.

Mr. Chamberlain, forgetting that England, thanks to Mr. Chamberlain's South African blunder and crime, is now virtually under the moral suzerainty of the Emperor William, deems it wise to insult the German Army and German officers. "Those whom the gods wish to destroy," etc. England hasn't a friend; it is so splendidly isolated that English journals are now actually coquetting with Russia, its hereditary enemy.—"Handelsblad," Amsterdam.

Lord Kitchener's Weakness.

November 14th, 1901.

Lord Kitchener's telegrams have called forth, even in England, endless scorn. Some newspapers go so far as to conclude that the Commander-in-Chief in South Africa is weak in the head.—"Vorwaerts," Berlin.

Typical German Slanders.

November 18th, 1901.

In spite of the great Boer losses of able-bodied men, in spite of the terrible mortality of the children in those horrid concentration camps, another generation is growing up, imbibing with the mother's milk irreconcilable hatred against England. It will still be stronger in numbers than the rabble of British immigrants. As long as Kitchener's hangman's talent does not rise to the resolution of murdering the Boer women "en masse," England neither will drive the Boer people off the earth nor entirely subjugate it.—"Staatsburger-Zeitung," Berlin.

After the war of the English against the Boers has lasted for twenty-five months Great Britain is playing a mournful, ay, miserable part in South Africa. Kitchener rages in the most shameful way against women and children; and European diplomacy coldly looks upon this work of the hangman.—"Volkszeitung," Berlin.

Anglo-German Difficulties.

November 18th, 1901.

To-day nobody will deny that between 1885 and 1901 there have been many psychological moments when friction of a serious nature has existed between England and Germany. Zanzibar, Uganda, Heligoland, South Africa, Samoa, the capture of the German East African liners, China, are instances in point. Certainly nobody will dispute that extraordinary tact has been necessary in some of these situations safely to steer Anglo-German relations through the surf.—"Der Reichsbote," Berlin.

An Average Sample.

November 21st, 1901.

Mr. Chamberlain is a "pious" man—this man with the flat, brutal face, and the eyeglass stuck in his eye; he a tender, honourable soul, he whom history will name with Attila and Genghis Khan, he who sweeps like a plague over the prosperous land of the Boers and leaves dying whomsoever he may touch with the hem of his garment. The houses lie in ashes—will he scatter them to the winds, as was said of Jerusalem? The cattle are slain—will he poison the wells with their bodies? The women and children are dying by thousands—will he hasten death with powder and shot? Certainly not, for that would be merciful. Will he torture the prisoners with red-hot

irons? What cruelty has not taken place? What blackguardism which shocked witnesses do not relate? When a plague sweeps over a land it spares one and forgets another in a merciful way—such mercy is not known by Mr. Chamberlain. But he went to Edinburgh, and has declared that for all that is still to come England finds a pattern and precedent in the behaviour of the nations which now denounce its proceedings as barbarism and cruelty. England's doings will never equal what these nations did in Poland the Caucasus, Bosnia, Tonquin, and the war of 1870. We are justified in protesting against the accusation which Mr. Chamberlain hurls against us Germans, and we do this in a plain and clear way by calling him an infamous liar.—"Zeitung," Detmold.

In Defence of Calumny.

February 6th, 1902.

The movement among the Germans resident in London to enter a public protest against the German calumnies on the British Army in South Africa failed because most right-thinking Germans were determined to prevent such an agitation, and they succeeded.—"Rheinische Westfaelische Zeitung."

German Exultation.

June 3rd, 1902.

Peace, whatever the terms may be, signifies a moral victory for the Boers, whose heroic efforts have filled every German with feelings of exultant pride.—"Lokalanzeiger," Berlin.

"A Powerful Deterrent."

The fearful suffering and the loss of blood and treasure in the war will be a powerful deterrent to any country which may, in future, be about to embark light-heartedly upon a war.—"Tageblatt," Berlin.

England's Surprises.

August 18th, 1902.

Germany has learned at last to conduct her politics on business principles; she has prepared herself for all contingencies, whereas England in recent years has allowed herself to be surprised by developments. In a word, the German Michael has waked from his sleep, whereas John Bull seems to have sunk into a sleep.—"Nachrichten," Hamburg.

"Rotten England."

August 27th, 1902.

English society is rotten, corrupt, and immoral to the core. English agriculture is ruined. English trade will soon be ruined. The administration of the Government is hopelessly corrupt and inefficient. England's affairs are conducted by a handful of

empty-headed aristocrats. The House of Commons is an assembly of financiers, company promoters and other men "on the make." The English army is worthless. Great Britain's Naval Power is all empty babble.—"Pester Lloyd," Budapest.

Anglo-German Bitterness.

August 29th, 1902.

Germans are embittered by the acts of England, and a long time must elapse before good relations can again be established, and the temper of large sections of the German people mollified. Distrust of England has become general in Germany, and will not disappear until England displays a change of character.—"Kreuz Zeitung," Berlin.

"Fierce Hatred."

November 18th, 1902.

In Germany there is a fierce hatred of England, and the Emperor William risked the whole heritage of popularity of his House and deeply wounded the feelings of his people when he shook hands with his uncle, sat at table with his dragoons, and finally carried on a long conversation with Mr. Chamberlain at Sandringham.—"Die Zeit," Berlin.

The Rich Spoil of America.

December 30th, 1902.

Germany will have to consider in good earnest the possibility of a conflict. Should Germany, Austria, Italy, France, and Russia jointly decide upon radically solving the American question, England will also be one of the party. And there will be rich spoils; the forty-five States and the six territories would afford abundant compensation for the costly armaments. The Powers will not be at a loss to partition the United States and treat it as a territory of colonisation.—"Ostdeutsche Rundschau," Vienna.

German World-Power.

January 9th, 1903.

The union of all the Germans of Europe into one great consolidated national force will bring about the German world-empire of the future. Should this idea become the public opinion of our entire nation, and should the power of the empire become equivalent to the power of the Germans, wherever they be, then we shall not need to be anxious about our future, then no such defeat will be recorded again as that suffered by pan-Germanism in South Africa.—"Unverfälschte Deutsche Worte," Vienna.

Britain and Germany.

January 19th, 1903.

People in London should make it clear to themselves that in case of a diminution of the sympathies between the German and the English peoples, it is not Germans who will suffer.—"Allgemeine Zeitung," Munich.

England's Starvation.

February 19th, 1903.

Emperor William, in trying to demonstrate that the German Fleet is hopelessly behind the British Fleet, did not take into calculation the greatest danger to England's security—i.e., the menace to the highways of English commerce. For, should it once come to a serious contest, England might be defeated not by naval disasters, but by the bloodless war of being starved into surrender.—"Die Zeit," Vienna.

The Whale Ashore.

March 7th, 1903.

"In the same proportion as England is powerful on the sea, she is powerless on the land."—"Arbeiter Zeitung," Vienna.

Humble England.

May 2nd, 1903.

England is too humble in its attitude towards the Russian bear to join the United States in making a direct representation to Russia against Russia's Manchurian policy. The British lion displays its teeth ferociously towards the poor Chinese, but towards Russia it is as humble as a domesticated animal.—"Vossische Zeitung," Berlin.

German View of British Policy.

July 13th, 1903.

A clue to British foreign policy, and the only clue, is isolation of the German Empire. British diplomacy insinuates into the ear of the other Powers that "the German Empire is great solely because of the mutual dissensions of the remaining countries, and these dissensions must be done away with." Suiting the action to the word, British statesmen began a series of negotiations with the other Powers.—"Deutsche Monatschrift," Berlin.

Alarms.

September 9th, 1903.

In the recent exchange of visits between the rulers of France and England there is the germ of an English-French-Russian alliance against Germany, an outlook that calls for the utmost vigilance.—"Monitor," Dresden.

Russia Paralysed.

February 15th, 1904.

The arm of Russia is paralysed to an extent which prevents it from striking a blow in Europe. The first fiddle in the European Concert, which has hitherto unquestionably been played by Russia, will now pass to the German Empire.—"Kölnische Volkszeitung."

"But——"

February 15th, 1904.

The English autumn manœuvres have naturally resulted in a complete defeat of the enemy. General French has, after a few small successes, retreated in full flight, and is now in danger of being surrounded and captured with his whole army at Clapton-on-Sea [sic]. The great decisive battle is still to come, but will, of course, prove that an invasion of England would not be attended with the slightest success. But in real war . . . —"General Anzeiger," Düsseldorf.

A Displeasing Peace.

May 21st, 1904.

Peace between England and France is no concern of ours. In fact, a few points of friction would materially help to neutralise the forces of these Powers, neither of whom is our special friend.—"Deutsche Tageszeitung," Berlin.

Germany and Russia.

August 17th, 1904.

Any close friendship with England would mean another estrangement between Germany and Russia, and we have a far greater interest in maintaining good relations with Russia than we have in maintaining good relations with Great Britain.—"Deutsche Tageszeitung," Berlin.

What England Fears.

October 3rd, 1904.

The "entente cordiale" was welcomed by England because it was supposed to help to isolate Germany. But with Russia as our friend we are safe from the east, and if she can emerge with honour and some success from the present war her influence in China would be on Germany's side. This is what England fears, and, therefore, she hails slander and abuse upon us. Perhaps it helps, perhaps not.—"Kurier," Nuremberg.

The Failure of German Policy.

November 19th, 1904.

Germany means to have no difference with Russia—that is the decisive feature of German policy.—"Tageblatt," Vienna.

"Insurmountable."

December 3rd, 1904.

The opposition between the Russians and the English, between the nature and the policy of the two nations, as well as between their respective economic interests and their respective Asiatic ambitions, is, in a word, insurmountable.—"National Zeitung," Berlin.

Next to Russia.

December 8th, 1904.

Next to Russia it is we who stand in England's way. England fears Russia in India, and Germany threatens her commerce—the root of English might. Therefore, she seeks to retard our progress. This bitterness in England will certainly discharge itself against us, as in former times it discharged itself against Spain, Holland, France, and Denmark. Therefore, may we never delude ourselves into false safety!—"Augsburger Abendzeitung."

The Wicked English Press.

December 14th, 1904.

Graf von Buelow has taken the trouble to make a speech in order to dispel English mistrust of Germany. Will it do any good? The majority of English journals, for certain reasons, and with cold-blooded systematic persistence, are working to bring about a breach between England and Germany.—"Augsburger Abendzeitung."

John Bull's Transformation.

December 14th, 1904.

Within the last thirty years the once so peaceful John Bull has changed into, if not an evil, at least a very suspicious neighbour. Formerly he was so certain of his commercial monopoly, secured by a tremendous fleet of warships, that he had only a smile of disdain for those who sought to secure for themselves "a place in the sunshine." Things have changed since. Germany's growing sea-power and competition have created discontent among the English people.—"Vossische Zeitung," Berlin.

Britain's Envied Supremacy.

December 19th, 1904.

The British Admiralty's new scheme emphasises in an almost overbearing manner the claim of Great Britain to predominate over all the seas. It constitutes an additional reason for a speedy increase in the German Navy.—"Neueste Nachrichten," Berlin.

Cheerful German Speculations.

January 2nd, 1905.

In the event of war with Germany, England has made herself everywhere hated by her policy, so

that our diplomats would be absolutely incapable if they could not work up a coalition against her. England's Fleet, on which her entire safety depends, would be insufficient to fight a coalition and defend her commerce—apart from the point that England's fleet is undermanned.—"Augsburger Abendzeitung."

The Hate-filled Rival.

January 10th, 1905.

No State can allow a neighbour to keep a force fitted out for war on the frontier. But what are we doing against the "permanent war-footing" of our hate-filled rival, England, whose fleet is "always ready to strike a blow"? Why, we wait! And our diplomats console us that "the reasonable people" in England would never allow such a war. As if the English had ever shrunk in the least from a war with any dangerous commercial rival!—"Augsburger Abendzeitung."

Something to Look in the Face.

January 18th, 1905.

The rise of German sea power changed the fundamental conditions of British existence. This is the fact we, as well as the British, must look coldly and calmly in the face.—"Preussische Jahrbucher," Berlin.

Foretelling Russia's Fate.

March 25th, 1905.

Whatever Russia may do now, the distance of the theatre of war from the European basis always remains, and for that reason her fate is already sealed.—"Neue Freie Presse," Vienna.

"Irony of History."

April 3rd, 1905.

The Kaiser's aim is to keep the sword sharp and bright, but he throws it into the scale of peace. He can drive through his capital without fear of bombs, and his political decisions are not wrung from him by fright. Contemporary history has never been more ironical than when it gave the Kaiser the surname of "War Lord," and to the Tsar the title of "Peace Emperor."—"Sonn-und Mon-tag Zeitung," Vienna.

German Prophecy.

April 19th, 1905.

We are of opinion that if ever the day should come—we seek it not—when our Navy will have to show of what it is capable, the world will experience the same surprise it had in the case of our Army.—"Kreuz Zeitung," Berlin.

The Hegemony of the Sea.

May 3rd, 1905.

Voices have been heard in England that the German Navy must be exterminated while it is yet

small; but such people should be reminded that this German Navy is quite powerful enough so to damage the British as to cause the hegemony of the sea to pass to the United States or France. And English commerce would also lose its dominant position in such a struggle.—“Reichsbote,” Berlin.

France's Goodwill.

May 5th, 1905.

Germany and France have more mutual than antagonistic interests, while English interests are generally opposed to those of France. A well-directed French policy would certainly seek a rapprochement with Germany. Sooner or later political complications will lead to it any way, no matter how hard England is trying to prevent this danger.—“Braunschweiger Landeszeitung.”

Only a Question of Time.

June 16th, 1905.

The breaking away from the Motherland of all the existing English possessions in South Africa is only a question of time.—“Deutsche Volkstimm.”

Nothing but Confidence.

July 21st, 1905.

The threats of a simultaneous war with France and England, which are so openly made in the Press of the latter country, need cause no alarm in Germany. Certainly the combined fleets of England and France can checkmate the German Navy, and temporarily paralyse our trade. But not at sea, but on land, will this war be finally decided. And in that respect Germany need not have the slightest fear.—“Vossische Zeitung,” Berlin.

Germany's Trip to the Orient.

August 2nd, 1905.

England's vulnerable heel is in India. Even if the German Fleet were destroyed, England must have to fight the combined German and Russian armies to the south of the Himalayas.—“Taegliche Rundschau.”

Virulence Everywhere.

August 7th, 1905.

Anti-English feeling in Berlin, in the form in which it manifested itself during the Boer War, has burst out once more into a blaze. The announcement of the British naval demonstration in the Baltic and the attending comments of the pan-German and anti-Semitic Press are the cause of it. In competent financial and commercial circles this animosity against England is but little, if at all, in evidence, but its virulence among the younger members of the educated classes, among the officials and teachers, and among the junior officers and others, more than compensates for its absence elsewhere. In every

place where a number of people come together, the bitterest language is used with regard to England.—“Volkszeitung,” Cologne.

Our Naval Supremacy.

September 4th, 1905.

England's exclusive supremacy on the sea is for all countries with oversea foreign trade a grave insecurity, a sword of Damocles which may fall at any moment.—“Kreuz Zeitung,” Berlin.

“‘Entente,’ perhaps, but ‘Cordiale,’ No !”

September 6th, 1905.

We expect that after Englishmen and Frenchmen get nearer to each other, the latter will drop much of their young admiration of England. There may be communion of interests in the near future—“entente,” perhaps, but “cordiale,” no ! Such is only possible for any length of time in a case of a mutual hatred or a communion of ideas. The former is said not to exist; the latter will never come about.—“Neue Züricher Zeitung.”

England's Doom.

October 7th, 1905.

Nothing is left to the English but their maritime predominance. But that is being cut into on both sides. On the one hand, England is too small a country, its inhabitants too small a people, to support the burden of sea power in the future. On the other hand, several rivals now surpassing England in territory, population, and wealth are bending themselves to assert their equality, if not, indeed, their superiority, at the expense of the English suzerainty at sea, and ultimately by its overthrow.—“Kreuz Zeitung,” Berlin.

German Hopes.

October 10th, 1905.

British naval supremacy under all circumstances is doomed. If the United States were not actually allied to Germany in case of war, Washington would interfere to protect that Power from the worst consequences of defeat. The English supremacy at sea can now only last as long as it is not disputed.—“Kreuz Zeitung,” Berlin.

A Monstrous Doctrine.

October 21st, 1905.

Germany has the right to address to France this question: in case we should be involved in a conflict with England, are you going to be England's ally, and consequently our enemy; or are you going to preserve an honest neutrality? To raise this question is not to interfere with the independence of French policy. Germany is bound to ask this question in her own most vital interests.—“Frankfurter Zeitung.”

Poor Old England.

November 6th, 1905.

England has reached the high-water mark of commercial, economic, and military activity. People in England are aware of England's decadence.—"Neue Militarisch-Politische Korrespondenz," Berlin.

A Gloomy Reflection.

April 26th, 1906.

The isolation of Germany must, indeed, have gone far when rumours of an alliance between England, France, Russia, and Italy can appear with such growing frequency and increasing emphasis.—"Zeitung," Hamburg.

Teutonic Irony.

May 7th, 1906.

Are not England, France, and Russia irresistible when united? And can they not force their will upon the west of Europe, and especially on Germany, who dares now at every division of the good things of this world to utter her little word, too?—"Zeitung," Hamburg.

England and Russia.

May 26th, 1906.

England and Russia are settling their differences at Germany's cost, since the conclusion of an Anglo-Russian agreement will render the isolation of Germany complete.—"Das Reich," Berlin.

"The Little Cousin."

May 25th, 1906.

John Bull was very kindly disposed towards us so long as we were the little cousin who revered him almost to idolatry. Now that we have had enough of life in crannies and corners, and are contending valiantly for a place in the sun, tension is produced.—"Der Tag," Berlin.

When Germany Would Agree.

June 5th, 1906.

If England ever made a proposal regarding disarmament, Germany could only reply by accepting the principle of a limitation of naval expansion on the basis of an equality of the fleets of all the Great Powers. Germany might well agree to the cessation of naval expansion when the German Navy was as powerful as the British.—"Taegliche Rundschau," Berlin.

How to Fight Britain.

July 25th, 1906.

In case of an Anglo-German war, our best defence would be to sow thousands of submarine mines on our coasts and in the Straits of the Baltic, which

would thus become untenable to the enemy. We must not take any notice of the antiquated idea of a territorial zone limited to a few miles from the shore; that is a fiction only supported by England in her interests.—"Ueberall," Berlin.

"One Soul and One Body."

August 4th, 1906.

In former days, when England was comparatively less strong and France was more powerful, these two nations feared and hated each other. Then England tried to pitch Prussia against France; now it is the other way round. Both France and England fear Germany, and for this reason are as one soul and one body.—"Bismarck Bund," Berlin.

The "Furor Teutonicus."

April 26th, 1907.

If England attempts to boycott Germany by hampering our freedom of navigation in the Mediterranean, it would be the signal for a world-war; but as that could be done only with the sanction of France, it is altogether unlikely. The French do not desire another taste of the furor Teutonicus. Germany awaits unconcernedly the result of England's wholesale entente machinations, because history will certainly say, with regard to King Edward's latest achievement, "Too many cooks spoil the broth."—"Berliner Zeitung."

Isolated and Surprised.

July 16th, 1907.

King Edward appears to be a very clever diplomatist. Germany is gradually becoming surrounded by a syndicate of anti-German Powers, organised by the British monarch. Perhaps more surprises are in store for the German Empire.—"Gegenwart," Berlin.

Making Arrangements.

June, 1908.

The policy of encircling Germany is at present the keynote of the entire international situation. We must recognise this, so that we can calmly gauge the weakness of the circle and make our arrangements.—"Dresden Nachrichten."

Germany's Strength.

June, 1908.

Britain wants no war; she only wants to checkmate Germany in order to lame a troublesome rival. Germany, in any circumstances, is strong enough to, even without her allies, maintain her position.—"Rheinische Westfälische Zeitung" (organ of the industrial interests).

"A Lost Paradise."

June, 1908.

Has the moment arrived for dropping the mask from the real meaning of England's ententes? The next few weeks must show. All around we are hedged in by alliances which actually deprive us of light and air. England has perfected a mutual plan of operations with France, upon which English generals have worked more zealously than French. A Franco-Russian plan of operation has long existed, and was recently scrutinised by the British War Office. England, France, and Russia have attained their object. Whether the world shall return to repose depends upon us, although for Germans the world now resembles a lost Paradise.—"Morgen," Berlin.

The Kaiser's Work.

January 29th, 1909.

One thing everybody in this country recognises. It is the Kaiser who has rid us of the idea that the sea is Germany's natural boundary.—"Tageblatt," Berlin.

The Dreadnought Policy.

October 21st, 1909.

The real underlying reason why England initiated the Dreadnought policy was to intimidate other navies then in process of development, especially Germany. These were to be given to understand that they could not keep the pace, Germany least of all. This reckoning has failed.—"Deutsche Tageszeitung," Berlin.

Our Naval Weakness.

October 26th, 1909.

England possesses a fleet strong enough to be matched against any two others in the world. The fleet's weaknesses, however, are the doubtful quality of the guns and the unreliability of the personnel. Moreover, the more ships England builds, the more recruits are lacking, and desertion is another evil which has to be reckoned with.—General Liebert, in "Der Tag," Berlin.

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LE GÉNÉRALISSIME JOFFRE

Le général Joffre est Roussillonnais de vieille souche. Ses parents étaient propriétaires viticulteurs à Rivesaltes (Pyrénées-Orientales), où Joseph-Jacques-Césaire naquit le 12 janvier 1852, troisième d'une lignée qui devait compter onze enfants.

L'élève Joffre, au collège de Perpignan, se fit remarquer par son assiduité studieuse. Il obtint au Concours général les premiers prix de mathématiques, de géométrie descriptive et de dessin. Il était bachelier ès sciences à seize ans et entra à dix-sept ans à l'École polytechnique, le quatorzième de sa promotion. Ce rang lui paraissait, d'ailleurs, insuffisant. « L'allemand, disait-il, m'a été fatal. » Le futur généralissime devait prendre sa revanche.

La guerre de 1870 éclate. Les polytechniciens sont employés à diriger les travaux de défense de Paris. Joffre rentre ensuite à Polytechnique et en sort en 1872 pour suivre les cours de l'École d'application de Fontainebleau. Il est capitaine à vingt-trois ans, s'occupe encore en 1876 des travaux de la défense de Paris, puis sert dans l'arme du génie à Pontarlier, à Montpellier, où il reste quatorze ans, et enfin à Mont-Louis.

En 1885, il fait partie de l'expédition de Formose comme adjoint à l'amiral Courbet qui l'emmène avec lui aux îles Pescadores. Il dirige les opérations du siège de Badinh où s'était réfugié le gouvernement insurrectionnel de l'Annam.

Il rentre en France en 1888 pour être attaché au service du général Mensier, directeur du génie au ministère de la Guerre.

Chef de bataillon en 1889, il est major du 5^e génie à Versailles, puis est désigné en 1891

pour professer à l'École d'application de Fontainebleau le cours de fortifications.

En 1892, il est mis à la disposition du ministère des Colonies et va venger au Soudan le massacre de la colonne Bonnier. Il eut l'honneur de planter à Tombouctou le drapeau de la civilisation. A cette occasion, il fut nommé lieutenant-colonel et la ville de Perpignan, à son retour, en 1892, organisa une réception en son honneur.

Nommé secrétaire de la Commission des inventions, il fut promu colonel et maintenu à ce poste où il rendit les plus grands services.

Cette année-là, le colonel Joffre reparut à Rivesaltes pour prendre place au banquet familial des noces d'or célébrées par ses parents.

Général de brigade en 1901, il fut placé à la tête de la 19^e brigade d'artillerie à Vincennes et nommé membre du Comité technique du génie, puis directeur du génie au ministère de la Guerre.

Général de division en 1905, il commanda la 6^e division d'infanterie à Paris, puis le 2^e corps d'armée à Amiens.

Membre du Conseil supérieur de la guerre et enfin chef d'état-major général de l'armée en 1912, le général Joffre, en cette qualité, dirigea les grandes manœuvres de septembre 1913 avec une sûreté de coup d'œil et une fermeté de décision qui firent la meilleure impression.

La campagne de 1914-15 devait enfin lui permettre de donner toute sa mesure.

La France sait qu'elle peut compter, et elle compte, sur le général Joffre, sur le vainqueur de la Marne et de l'Yser, sur le libérateur de l'Alsace.



PHOTO. PIERRE POITIN.

LE GÉNÉRAL JOFFRE



AUX MÈRES FRANÇAISES

... Sur l'Europe apeurée et tremblante, la kolossale Allemagne régnait. Le kaiser de Berlin, casqué, cuirassé, botté, toujours prêt à partir en guerre, tenait les peuples suspendus à la menace de l'épée aiguisée et de la poudre sèche. Il pouvait se croire l'élu mystique des grandes œuvres du destin parmi les peuples, et voué à la gloire de ceindre quelque jour, après la couronne de Charlemagne, la couronne de Charles-Quint. Les fils des vaincus de 1870, mesurant aux désastres du passé les catastrophes de l'avenir, s'ingéniaient à ne pas irriter le Potentat redoutable. Un jour même, pour apaiser son humeur, ils lui jetèrent en pâture, comme aux crocs d'un dogue affamé, des lambeaux de leur plus précieux domaine colonial.

Alors, de ce que nous paraissions disposés à toutes les concessions pour assurer au monde le bienfait de la paix, l'Allemand conclut que nous étions des lâches.

De ce que nos querelles intérieures semblaient nous passionner, il déduisit que l'on trouverait aisément parmi nous des traîtres.

De ce que, trop généreusement, nous lui donnions libre accès sur notre sol, sur nos marchés et jusqu'à notre foyer, il prit plaisir à se convaincre que nous étions des imbéciles.

De ce que nous lui faisions trop souvent la politesse d'emprunter à ses « méthodes » barbares et de nous inspirer de son art de camelote, il s'enorgueillit au point de nous traiter en êtres inférieurs...

Guillaume II et toute l'Allemagne nous haïssaient. Mais bien davantage encore — assurés de nous broyer à leur heure et à leur convenance — ils nous méprisaient.

Le monde attristé regardait la France silencieuse, inquiète, doutant peut-être elle-même de son propre génie, de ses forces et du destin. « La grande nation, murmurait-on, est-elle donc à jamais déchuée ? »

Et puis... Et puis, soudain, le 1^{er} août 1914, on placarde aux vitres des bureaux de poste, aux portes des mairies, dans chaque commune de France, un petit carré de papier où figurent deux lignes d'une écriture hâtive. C'est l'ordre de mobilisation générale que le télégraphe vient de transmettre. C'est la guerre.

Deux lignes, quelques mots. La face du monde est changée, puisque la France y reprend son rang. Il a suffi pour cela que chaque Français en état de porter les armes ajoutât mentalement, à la formule de l'appel, une formule, tout aussi simple, de sacrifice.

Et l'Allemagne va se heurter, dans sa marche triomphale, à une France nouvelle, ressuscitée, plus belle et plus grande qu'elle ne le fût jamais, à la France immortelle.

De tous les points du territoire, soldats, réservistes, territoriaux et volontaires accourent en tel nombre que le flot des bonnes volontés dépasse toute prévision. Ils sont trop. On est contraint d'en renvoyer. Mais voici les autres prêts. Paysans, employés, ouvriers, avocats, artistes, commerçants, prêtres, s'en vont, chantant leur espoir, au rythme des clairons, dans le sillage lumineux des drapeaux, vers l'ouragan des batailles. Et l'Allemand grossier, injurieux et méprisant qui pensait chasser devant lui un troupeau d'êtres dégradés, s'affole de reconnaître,

sous la capote du mobilisé de la guerre de revanche, les conquérants du Palatinat, les gueux épiques de Valmy, les grognards d'Iéna, les « Marie-Louise » de Champaubert et de Montmirail. Le miracle de la perpétuité des destinées françaises est, une fois de plus, accompli. Les fastes de l'épopée nationale recommencent. Et la victoire, fixée par notre irrésistible élan, n'exigera de nous, désormais, que la même ardeur unanime dans la volonté persévérante, dans l'énergie inébranlable.

Pour ces deux héroïsmes — pour tous les héroïsmes — la France de 1914-15 a fourni, sans compter, des héros éclatants ou obscurs, depuis le soldat des enthousiastes ruées à la baïonnette et des patients cheminement de la tranchée, jusqu'à des femmes intrépides et stoïques, jusqu'à des enfants qui s'empressaient aux jeux de la souffrance et de la mort.

Un miracle, avons-nous dit ?... Non pas, du moins pour ceux qui, sous le voile menteur des apparences et par delà l'agitation d'une infime minorité bruyante, n'ont cessé de voir l'immense foule silencieuse où se renouvellent et se fortifient, dans les âpres combats de la vie, les vertus foncières de la race. Non pas pour ceux qui toujours, et en tous temps, ont fait confiance à la famille française, ce foyer inépuisable de splendeurs discrètes et de forces humblement disciplinées, où se conservent intacts la plus sûre conception du devoir et le sens immuable de l'honneur.

Gardons-nous de croire que l'on improvise des héros et que leurs légions sortent tout naturellement du sol ébranlé par les fracas et les commotions de la guerre. La vérité est qu'il faut que, dès le temps de paix, l'héroïsme soit en fonctions, en puissance latente, dans les actes et dans les pensées, dans les consciences et dans les cœurs. Il faut qu'il se manifeste dans la pratique courante de notre existence quotidienne. Et elle offre à chacun de nous tant d'occasions d'utiliser les ressources les plus précieuses de notre personnalité propre, la vie de tous les jours, la vie banale,

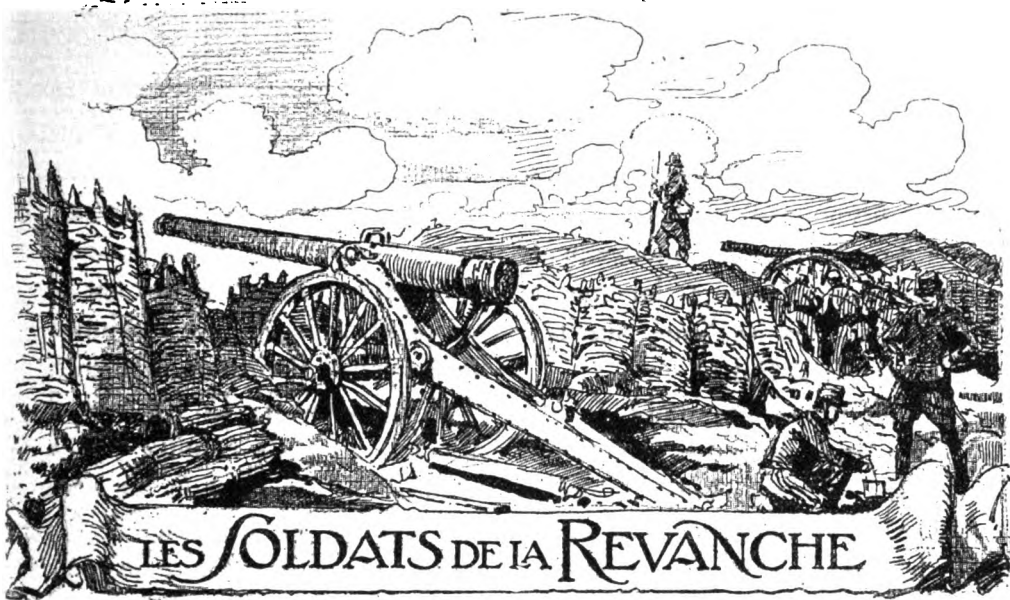
La vie humble aux travaux ennuyeux et faciles.

L'instinct d'ordre et d'économie, de dévouement familial et de solidarité nationale, la loi courageusement acceptée du travail et de l'effort continu, l'amour du sol natal, le goût de la justice et de l'idéal, le respect des autorités nécessaires, l'attachement invincible aux libertés chèrement conquises, tel est l'ensemble de ce patrimoine, de ce trésor accumulé et transmis de génération en génération où notre peuple puise aujourd'hui, à pleines mains, la monnaie éclatante de sa gloire, l'or, l'argent et le bronze des héroïsmes innombrables et divers.

O mères françaises, servantes et gardiennes de ce trésor à travers les vicissitudes des âges et de l'histoire, c'est à vous que nous faisons hommage de l'éblouissante floraison de magnificences morales qui égale le temps où nous vivons aux plus beaux jours de l'humanité. Avec piété, orgueil, tendresse, avec amour et surtout avec une infinie reconnaissance nous saluons, ô mères françaises, en votre âme sublime, le palladium et le tabernacle de la patrie.

P. V.

1^{er} janvier 1915.



La Mission



Les conflits du cœur et de la conscience seront toujours les plus émouvants. L'antiquité, en imaginant la fable de Brutus, contraint par son devoir de vouer ses fils à la mort, mettait en œuvre des sentiments qui ne cesseront jamais de toucher l'humanité aux fibres profondes. Mais la réalité, en tout temps, peut se trouver aussi belle que la plus belle légende. Et que vaut l'acte

historiquement peu certain de Brutus auprès de celui qui s'est accompli, en août 1914, devant des témoins tout secoués des plus nobles émotions qui puissent agiter une âme humaine ?

Un colonel d'artillerie, le colonel Folque, avait besoin, pour accomplir une mission périlleuse, une mission de sacrifice, de quelques hommes intrépides et d'un officier. Les volontaires, comme toujours, se présentent nombreux : canoniers, officiers briguent à l'envi l'honneur de l'immolation consentie. Mais soudain le colonel

LA FRANCE HÉROIQUE

aperçoit, parmi les officiers qui s'offrent pour la mort, son propre fils, le lieutenant Vincent Folque.

— Ah non, pas toi !...

C'est le premier mouvement. Mais que répondre lorsque le jeune homme réplique aussitôt, d'un ton déjà fâché :

— Pourquoi, pas moi ?

Oui, que répondre, que dire ? Afficher ouvertement la préférence paternelle, envoyer les autres à la mort pour en préserver, même contre son gré, l'un des siens, et faire cela devant tous, en mauvais exemple de partialité, de faiblesse, d'égoïsme, — quand on est le chef !

Mais il est père aussi ! Son cœur torturé ne le lui rappelle que trop. Toute sa tendresse s'insurge. Il veut tenter un effort, une prière des yeux qui refoulent les larmes, de la voix qui se brise dans la gorge en un sanglot étouffé :

— Vincent !...

Mais le lieutenant Folque ne bronche pas. C'est un magnifique officier, sorti le premier de l'École d'application de Fontainebleau, cœur ardent, mais esprit pondéré et réfléchi. Son père a vite fait de reconnaître en lui une résolution inébranlable. Pourquoi, d'ailleurs, s'en étonnerait-il ? Ce fils n'est-il pas tel qu'il l'a voulu ? S'il a l'âme d'un héros, ne la lui a-t-il pas donnée et façonnée à son image ? Et maintenant, le père sera-t-il indigne de ce fils dont il devrait être si fier ?

Non. La conscience a vaincu. Le colonel Folque s'est raidi. Il prononce :

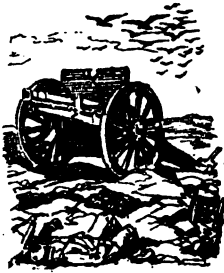
— Je désigne pour commander le détachement le lieutenant Folque.

— Merci, mon colonel.

La mission a été accomplie, le but que le chef se proposait a été atteint. Mais le lieutenant Folque n'est pas revenu.



Les Castelnau



Les Castelnau sont des Cévenols. La race montagnarde, qui s'isole volontiers, garde longtemps, en leur verdeur primitive, des vertus et des traditions très anciennes. La connaissance assurée des devoirs inflexibles ne permet plus que de s'y soumettre. Ceux de cette race le font avec une volonté qui se hausse aisément jusqu'au stoïcisme sans cesser d'être humaine et généreuse. Car le Celte, qui a appris d'une âpre mais poétique nature l'enseignement des harmonieux contrastes, porte en lui une invariable plénitude d'idéalisme robuste...

Placé à la tête d'une armée sur la frontière de Lorraine, le général de Castelnau ne sait plus rien que sa mission. Il est le mur que l'ennemi ne doit pas franchir. Les autres armées avanceront, reculeront, évolueront ; lui ne bougera pas, il sera le pivot sur lequel

s'appuiera tout l'édifice des forces nationales.

On sait comment il s'acquitta de cette tâche et comment, fixé aux défenses improvisées du « Grand-Couronné », il engagea Guillaume II à décommander la grande parade d'entrée triomphale dans Nancy pour laquelle il se tenait prêt, déjà, à monter à cheval.

Le général de Castelnau — le Grand Couronné de Nancy, comme l'appela magnifiquement le comte Albert de Mun — avait, au début de la guerre, six fils sous les drapeaux, le septième étant vraiment par trop jeune pour s'engager.

Deux ont été tués : Gérard, l'ainé, et Xavier. Un troisième, Michel, blessé sur le champ de bataille, a disparu...

Le général de Castelnau n'a pas abandonné une heure, un instant, son commandement.

Le 20 août, il travaillait à son quartier général et dictait des ordres avec une lucidité parfaite, tandis qu'il savait le 4^e bataillon de chasseurs engagé, non loin de là,

dans une action terrible. Son fils Xavier, un jeune Saint-Cyrien tout fraîchement promu sous-lieutenant, faisait ses premières armes avec ce bataillon d'élite.

Un officier interrompit le travail du général pour un rapport.

— Mon général, le 4^e bataillon de chasseurs a réussi, après un combat acharné de cinq heures, à rejeter l'ennemi; mais l'officier qui le commandait au moment du résultat décisif a payé ce succès de sa vie. Il a été tué d'un éclat d'obus qui lui a broyé la tête.

— Bien. Comment s'appelle cet officier?

— Le sous-lieutenant de Castelnau.

Le général n'a pas frémi, mais il baisse un instant le front comme pour une méditation ou une prière.

Puis, retourné vers les secrétaires qui, tout à l'heure, écrivaient sous sa dictée :

— Continuons de travailler, messieurs.

Cela est beau, certes. Mais ne nous hâtons pas trop d'admirer. Auprès de l'héroïsme des hommes, quelle beauté morale s'exprime dans l'héroïsme d'une mère !

Mme de Castelnau, dans le coin de province où elle s'était retirée avec ses filles, demandait à l'exer-

cice rigoureux des obligations d'une vie pieuse le seul réconfort de l'attente et de l'angoisse.

Un matin, ayant assisté à la première messe, elle s'approche de la sainte table, quand elle voit la main qui présente l'hostie hésiter et trembler devant elle. Saisie d'étonnement, elle relève la tête, aperçoit le visage du prêtre bouleversé et des larmes dans ses yeux. Alors soudain elle comprend, elle sait ce que nul encore n'a osé lui dire. Et aussi pâle que l'hostie du sacrifice divin, aussi stoïque devant l'autel que son mari, là-bas, devant l'ennemi, elle murmure à mi-voix, dans un souffle, simplement : « *Lequel ?* »

La mort de Gérard de Castelnau est empreinte du même caractère de simplicité stoïque.

Lieutenant au 7^e de ligne, il est tombé au cours de la bataille de la Marne. Lui aussi commandait une compagnie, et ce jeune homme de vingt-cinq ans avait su très vite se faire adorer de ses hommes. En leur nom, quand on lui demanda de tenir bon sous la mitraille dans une tranchée terriblement exposée, il promit avec un tranquille sourire que, lui vivant, nul ne céderait pied. On montre, aux environs de Meix-Tiercelin, en Cham-

LES SOLDATS DE LA REVANCHE

pagne, la tranchée où la compagnie du lieutenant de Castelnau, chargée de protéger une ferme qui constituait un point stratégique important, a appris de son jeune chef qu'il n'est rien de plus aisé que d'attendre avec sérénité la mort quand on l'attend à son poste de devoir.

Renonçant à briser la résistance de ces hommes acharnés à bien mourir, l'ennemi se retira enfin, non sans avoir lancé, en guise d'adieu, une dernière volée d'obus à mitraille.

L'un de ceux-là, fauchant six hommes auprès de lui, enleva le bras et l'épaule du lieutenant, occupé, dans cet instant, à régler le tir de ses mitrailleuses. En dépit d'une hémorragie terrible, il n'avait pas perdu connaissance quand on le plaça sur une civière pour le

transporter vers les ambulances de l'arrière. Il vécut encore assez pour voir les héroïques survivants, dont sa volonté avait fait des héros, pleurer en lui le meilleur d'eux-mêmes...

On porta le corps du lieutenant vers le camp où le général était installé avec son état-major.

Le général de Castelnau embrassa son fils mort et dit cette simple phrase : « Va, mon fils, tu as eu la plus belle mort que l'on puisse souhaiter. Je te jure que nos armées te vengeront en vengeant toutes les familles françaises ». Puis le général se retira, ayant couvert de son mouchoir le visage de son enfant. Tous ceux qui assistaient à cette scène et qui entendirent ce serment essuyèrent leurs larmes et l'état-major se remit à son œuvre.



Le "Five o'clock" du Général



C'était en octobre, à l'époque où les Allemands, après notre victoire sur la Marne, s'étant repliés sur l'Aisne et dans les Flandres, avaient reçu de leur Empereur l'ordre formel de reprendre la marche en avant, tout au moins dans la direction de Dunkerque et Calais.

Successivement ils tentèrent de trouer nos lignes sur plusieurs points. L'un des points qui devaient leur paraître vulnérables, la petite ville belge de Pervyse, subit notamment un assaut formidable. Elle commande, en effet, la route de Furnes où s'étaient réfugiés les souverains de Belgique. Et l'on affirmait qu'à Furnes, — à défaut d'Ypres, — à Furnes, dernière étape de ses troupes avant l'entrée à Dunkerque, Guillaume II s'était juré de proclamer l'annexion de la Belgique à l'empire d'Allemagne.

Mais le général de division

Grossetti s'était juré, lui, que les Allemands ne passeraient pas par Pervyse.

Le général Grossetti est un bon vivant qui ne laisse à personne le soin de plaisanter un embonpoint justifié à souhait par son nom. En cette circonstance, il sut mettre à profit une particularité physique d'ordinaire réputée fâcheuse pour celui qui doit entraîner des hommes à l'action.

Comme l'effort des Allemands atteignait son maximum de violence, les défenseurs de Pervyse commencèrent de plier. La situation devenait intenable. Bien à l'abri derrière des retranchements savamment « défilés », l'artillerie allemande déversait sur la malheureuse petite bourgade belge une effroyable pluie de mitraille. Des officiers envisagèrent les dispositions à prendre en vue d'une retraite.

— Comment, s'écria le général Grossetti, vous voulez reculer ! Mais que ferez-vous de moi ? Je suis trop gros pour vous suivre ! Je me sens, d'ailleurs, fourbu ; j'ai



LE "FIVE O'CLOCK" DU GÉNÉRAL

— *Voulez-vous me faire, monsieur, le plaisir de vous asseoir auprès de moi.*

LES SOLDATS DE LA REVANCHE

absolument besoin de m'asseoir. Faites-moi donc donner un siège.

On lui apporta un pliant — un pliant solide — et, tandis que les obus allemands continuaient de pleuvoir dru, le général s'assit paisiblement en pleine rue, tout en continuant de plaisanter :

— Quel malheur d'être si gros... Vous voyez, je ne suis plus bon à rien, qu'à rester sur place.

Un détachement à la débâdâde filait, rasant les maisons, se dirigeant vers la sortie du bourg.

— Où allez-vous, mes enfants ? demanda le général Grossetti, sans quitter son pliant ; j'espère bien que vous ne battez pas en retraite... Vous ne voudriez pas abandonner ici votre général...

Les hommes, muets de stupeur, regardaient le général assis sur son pliant de l'air le plus naturel du monde, tandis qu'autour de lui, avec un bruit terrifiant, les obus éclataient, éventrant des maisons. Et soudain saisis d'une émotion violente, ils soulevèrent leur képi en criant :

— Vive le général !

Et ils retournèrent au feu.

Cependant, on avertit le général Grossetti qu'un officier de l'état-major du maréchal French le

cherchait pour s'informer de ses intentions, car le recul de la division Grossetti entraînerait le recul des forces anglaises.

Sur l'ordre du général, on lui amena l'officier anglais... et une chaise.

— Voulez-vous me faire, monsieur, le plaisir de vous asseoir auprès de moi ? Nous serons ici parfaitement bien pour causer.

L'officier anglais, en dépit de son flegme et de son courage, hésita quelques secondes à prendre au sérieux l'invitation. Une bombe venait précisément de broyer, à deux pas, l'église du village dont il ne restait plus, debout, qu'un pan du clocher maintenu comme par miracle en équilibre instable.

Mais le général Grossetti parlait sérieusement et il n'y avait qu'à s'exécuter. L'officier anglais prit place auprès de lui.

— Vous pourrez dire, monsieur, au maréchal French...

L'effroyable déflagration toute proche d'une « marmite » allemande interrompit la phrase.

— Vous pourrez dire, monsieur, au maréchal French, reprit posément le général Grossetti en agitant devant lui son képi pour dissiper le nuage de poussière et de fumée qui couvrait les deux inter-

locuteurs, que je m'appelle Grossetti et que, comme mon nom l'indique, je suis trop gros pour reculer...

Rentré à son quartier général après quelques minutes de « causette », sous les obus, avec le général Grossetti, l'officier anglais fit cet aveu à ses camarades :

— Je me crois brave, je suis même sûr de l'être. Pourtant j'avais froid dans le dos, tant il faisait chaud à Pervyse au « five o'clock » du général français...

Pendant vingt et un jours, sous

l'impulsion d'un tel chef, la division Grossetti, disputant pied à pied chaque pouce de terrain, et tenant tête à des forces très considérablement supérieures, a barré la route de Dunkerque. Les Allemands ne sont pas parvenus à faire reculer le général Grossetti.

De ce brave entre les braves on dirait volontiers, si l'on osait mêler le calembour à l'épopée, qu'il a bien prouvé qu'une âme forte est toujours maîtresse du corps qu'elle anime, — et même du corps d'armée qu'elle commande.

Les Émules du Chevalier d'Assas



Avec quelle admiration émue nos écoliers lisent aujourd'hui encore le trait d'héroïsme du chevalier d'Assas, qu'a si justement retenu notre histoire de France !

L'acte de ce héros, cependant, a cessé d'être exceptionnel. La guerre de la revanche en a fourni plusieurs rééditions qui ne le cèdent en rien, pour la promptitude de la

décision et l'élan spontané du sacrifice, au beau geste du jeune officier du « Royal-Auvergne ».

Le sergent d'infanterie Giacomini a été cité à l'ordre du jour de l'armée et décoré de la médaille militaire par le généralissime Joffre dans des circonstances presque identiques.

Il avait été chargé de couvrir, avec sa section, le flanc droit d'une compagnie. Il s'acquittait de sa mission lorsque, l'approche de la nuit rendant l'inspection de la lisière des bois particulièrement ma-

laisée, il se détacha du gros de ses hommes pour examiner un point suspect. Un instant même, on le perdit de vue parce qu'il s'avancait hardiment vers quelques Allemands qui agitaient un drapeau blanc improvisé et faisaient mine de se rendre. Quand la section, entendant un cliquetis d'armes, des cris étouffés, se rendit compte de la trahison allemande, il était trop tard : le sergent Giacomini avait été saisi par surprise et rapidement entraîné sous bois.

Là le prisonnier dut comparaître devant un officier, et il comprit alors pourquoi on avait tenu à le capturer vivant.

— Tu vas nous conduire vers les retranchements français.

— Jamais de la vie !

— Je te donne deux minutes de réflexion ; après quoi je te ferai fusiller.

— J'ai réfléchi, j'accepte.

— Bon, passe devant, et en route !

La nuit est tout à fait venue, l'heure est particulièrement favorable à une surprise ; le sergent Giacomini marche résolument sous la menace des baïonnettes dont il est entouré. Enfin il s'arrête et montre une ligne sombre dans la plaine :

— C'est là qu'est ma compagnie.

Alors, sur un signal de l'officier, une ligne de fantassins allemands, coiffés de la casquette anglaise, s'avance vers les retranchements français en criant à pleins poumons : « English !... Amis ! Ne tirez pas ! »

Mais aussitôt une voix tonnante, une voix qu'ont bien vite reconnue les camarades du sergent, s'élève dans la nuit :

— Tirez, ce sont des Boches !

A cet appel, un terrible feu de salve éclate, et les Allemands reculent en hâte, tandis que le sergent Giacomini, qui a eu la présence d'esprit de se jeter à terre, parvient, en rampant, à regagner, indemne, sa tranchée.

* * *

Moins heureux fut ce zouave dont on souffre de ne pouvoir inscrire le nom aux fastes héroïques de la patrie et qui est tombé, plus infortuné encore que d'Assas, sous des balles françaises.

C'était le 11 novembre, de grand matin ; il faisait à peine jour. Des zouaves, chargés de défendre le pont de Dry-Gratchen, sur le canal de l'Yser, virent avec étonnement s'avancer vers le pont

LA FRANCE HÉROIQUE

une colonne de zouaves. L'erreur, en effet, n'était pas possible, en dépit de la brume du matin : c'étaient bien des zouaves qui marchaient en tête d'une ligne profonde de baïonnettes. Mais comment ces camarades pouvaient-ils se présenter ainsi du côté d'où logiquement devait venir l'ennemi ? On discutait le fait, on se consultait, on perdait du temps, et déjà la colonne approchait du pont quand, de notre côté, quelques coups de feu, timidement, partirent. Alors, sur l'autre rive du canal, des voix crièrent : « Cessez le feu !... Zouaves !... Cessez le feu ! » Mais

aussitôt, dans le groupe des dix zouaves prisonniers que les Allemands poussaient lâchement devant eux, une voix s'éleva :

— Tirez, mais tirez donc, les gars !

Le mot sublime déchaîna un ouragan de mitraille. Tout fut fauché et les zouaves prisonniers tombèrent les premiers, au premier rang.

Dans l'entassement anonyme des cadavres, on n'a pu reconnaître le héros obscur qui, ce jour-là, consentit à s'immoler sous les balles françaises pour le salut de ses frères et pour la cause de la patrie !

Le Mot d'ordre du Colonel



A Cauroy, près de Reims, le 14 septembre, dans un moment critique, a été dit par un officier qui allait mourir, qui le savait et qui acceptait ce sacrifice avec une grâce toute française, l'une des plus belles paroles que cette guerre ait inspirées.

Le 5^e d'infanterie gardait un pont vers lequel l'ennemi s'avancait en masses profondes. Déjà un mouvement de repli s'esquissait parmi nos fantassins, quand accourut au galop le général de brigade. Il n'avait pas voulu envoyer un officier d'état-major. Lui-même apportait au colonel Doury les seules instructions qu'il pût donner pour le salut de tout le corps d'armée et pour l'issue de

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la bataille. Le dialogue des deux officiers fut bref :

— Mon pauvre Doury...

— A vos ordres, mon général...

— Il va falloir tenir ici à tout prix, jusqu'à la mort... vous entendez : jusqu'à la mort.

Le colonel Doury est un rude homme : il a commandé la légion étrangère, il s'est battu en brave à Madagascar ; depuis le début de la campagne, il émerveille ses troupes par le prodige d'un sang-froid que rien ne réussit à troubler. Cependant, à cette minute tragique où lui apparaît la mort qu'il n'évitera pas, une ombre rapide voile son regard, il se tourne légèrement vers les lignes ennemies en marche et, dans la buée légère qui estompe l'horizon, il reconnaît successivement des visages aimés, sa femme, ses quatre enfants. Ils ne sont pas tristes, ils lui sourient...

Brusquement le colonel s'est

ressaisi. D'un geste de la plus parfaite élégance, il salue de l'épée celui qui l'envoie à la mort.

Puis, se retournant vers les officiers du régiment :

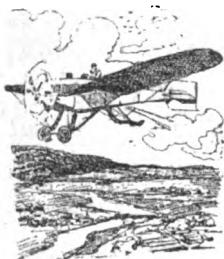
— *Et maintenant, messieurs, pour mot d'ordre, le sourire !*

A la tête du pont ils se sont fait tuer, sans reculer, avec le sourire, selon les instructions du colonel tombé l'un des premiers, le corps troué d'un éclat d'obus.

Le colonel Doury a été porté à l'ordre du jour de l'armée, mais son mot héroïque, digne des plus nobles traditions de la chevalerie, mérite, en outre, d'être retenu et conservé pour les générations à venir. Il leur portera — comme ces fleurs des jardins de France qui gardent en d'antiques coffrets un parfum toujours frais et délicat — l'impérissable parfum de la plus pure vaillance française.



Le Rendez-vous de l'Avion



Les aviateurs ont sur leurs camarades des autres armes l'avantage de pouvoir faire leurs preuves de bravoure dès le temps de paix. Et l'on sait comment les Pégoud, les Védrines, les Garros, les Brindejonc des Moulinais, les Paulhan avaient justifié d'avance les espérances que l'armée fondait sur eux. Ces espérances n'ont pas été trompées. Tous ces intrépides « casse-cou » ont rivalisé, au service de la France en armes, d'endurance et de témérité. Plusieurs, comme le sénateur-aviateur Raymond, Marc Pourpe, ont ajouté leur nom au long martyrologe des conquérants de l'air, en même temps qu'à la liste des héros morts pour la patrie... Notre hommage les trouve aujourd'hui prisonniers de la tombe, mais notre gratitude n'oubliera pas leurs noms. Et de même nous saluons leurs émules : le capitaine Langlois, grièvement

blessé au cours d'une reconnaissance en aéroplane au-dessus de l'Alsace et décoré de la main du général Pau, à Belfort, sur le front des troupes ; Didier et Martini, cités, pour un bel exploit, à l'ordre du jour de l'armée ; le sergent Frantz, qui a reçu successivement la médaille militaire et la Légion d'honneur ; Védrines, véritable corsaire aérien, toujours prêt à s'élancer pour quelque coup d'audace, à bord de l'avion qu'il a baptisé gaiement « La Vache ». Et Pégoud, qui « boucle la boucle » au-dessus des lignes ennemies, dans la mitraille, en signe de suprême mépris, « pour la rigolade » ! Et tous les autres !...

S'il faut, cependant, parmi tant de pages glorieuses tracées sur l'azur du ciel de France par nos aviateurs, en retenir une, nous choisirons celle-ci à l'actif du lieutenant Paulhan et de son mécanicien.

Paulhan faisait partie de l'escadrille aérienne de Paris, quand il reçut, le 1^{er} octobre, l'ordre de rallier Amiens, où il devait se trouver à heure fixe.

On pouvait se rendre à Amiens sans risques en contournant les lignes allemandes, mais c'était perdre du temps. Paulhan, qui tient à arriver à l'heure au rendez-vous fixé, passe franchement dans le champ de tir des canons spéciaux de l'ennemi, auquel il n'échappe qu'en s'élevant sans cesse. Soudain il aperçoit, au-dessous de lui, un avion allemand. Alors il n'est plus question de prudence. La perspective d'un combat aérien l'enthousiasme. Il fond sur sa proie, s'en approche à portée par une série d'habiles évolutions et de telle façon que la mitrailleuse de l'avion français, manœuvrée par le mécanicien de Paulhan, abat, d'une seule décharge, l'avion allemand foudroyé.

— Ça va, dit Paulhan joyeux. Et maintenant, filons; nous allons être en retard !

Mais nos courageux aviateurs risquent de payer cher leur succès. Avant qu'ils aient pu reprendre de la hauteur, les canons ennemis les pourchassent de nouveau. Plusieurs éclats de mitraille atteignent l'avion dans ses œuvres vives. Le moteur s'arrête. C'est la chute inévitable entre les mains de l'ennemi... et le rendez-vous manqué. Par bonheur le vent souffle dans

la direction des lignes françaises. Paulhan, faisant appel à toute sa science de pilote consommé, utilise le moindre souffle d'air pour « allonger » sa descente en vol plané. Pendant ce temps, le mécanicien arme la mitrailleuse. Si l'on tombe chez l'ennemi, ce sera, du moins, pour un dernier combat.

Paulhan réussit enfin à gagner nos avant-postes où des chasseurs à pied font le coup de feu. L'avion n'est pas sauvé. La cavalerie allemande est toute proche et les chasseurs sont appelés sur un autre point. Vingt d'entre eux, cependant, avec le lieutenant Simon, reçoivent mission de protéger l'appareil que Paulhan et son mécanicien s'ingénient à réparer en hâte, car ils ont bien l'intention de ne pas manquer leur rendez-vous.

Les uhlans ! Il faut précipitamment lâcher les outils pour faire face à ces cavaliers qui accourent, lances en avant, en poussant des cris de triomphe, car déjà ils croient tenir leur proie. Mais le mécanicien a bondi à sa mitrailleuse qu'il épaula, sur les indications de Paulhan, aussi posément qu'en plein ciel.

— Plus bas ; vise les chevaux, casse-leur les pattes !

Le mécanicien a bien visé : des

chevaux tombent, le désordre se met dans la troupe que le lieutenant Simon charge à son tour à la tête de ses chasseurs. La mêlée est ardente autour de l'avion blessé. Mais cette fois il est sauvé ; les cavaliers ennemis, fauchés sans répit par la terrible mitrailleuse que protège le blindage de l'avion, tournent bride, laissant sur le terrain douze morts et huit blessés prisonniers.

— Allons, on s'en est tout de même tiré, constate philosophiquement Paulhan, en allumant une cigarette.

Et il ajoute, à l'adresse de son

mécanicien, qui, de nouveau, examine la machinerie de l'avion :

— Eh bien, es-tu content ?

Mais l'autre alors de s'exclamer, avec une indignation sincère :

— Content, mon lieutenant ! Vous voulez que je sois content quand on a trois fils de bougies coupés et une balle dans le réservoir d'essence ! Jamais nous ne serons à Amiens à l'heure fixée !

— C'est vrai, murmure Paulhan, le rendez-vous est manqué : sale journée !

Les plus beaux héros sont ceux qui s'ignorent.

Les Gants blancs



Les jeunes Saint-Cyriens élèves-officiers de la promotion de 1914 ont été privés, par la précipitation des événements, de la fête traditionnelle du « Triomphe ». Mais la destinée leur réservait les joies d'un triomphe tel que leurs aînés, depuis bien longtemps, n'en avaient pas connu.

Le sang de beaucoup d'entre

eux, il est vrai, a coulé en ces belles fêtes funèbres de gloire et d'héroïsme, et la mort a trop tôt couronné de magnifiques vies trop brèves. Cependant ceux mêmes qui tombèrent parmi les premiers et dès le début de la guerre ont su trouver le temps et l'occasion d'ajouter quelque riche offrande au trésor accumulé par des générations de soldats intrépides.

Cette pensée, d'ailleurs, qui leur vint et qu'ils adoptèrent d'enthousiasme, ne caractérise-t-elle



LES GANTS BLANCS

— *Vous ne voulez pas me suivre ? vous ne me trouvez pas assez beau ?*

LES SOLDATS DE LA REVANCHE

pas à merveille l'état d'esprit de la jeunesse d'élite à laquelle était réservé l'honneur d'assurer la revanche et le triomphe du droit : ils s'engagèrent, avant de quitter Saint-Cyr, à marcher à l'ennemi en gants blancs.

En gants blancs, comme pour une parade, pour un carrousel, pour une bataille de fleurs !

Et voici comment l'un d'eux tint parole :

Ce fut le 22 août, par une maigre journée qui exaltait toutes les espérances de sa jeunesse et de sa bravoure, que le lieutenant Alain de Fayolle reçut le baptême du feu. Son rôle consista, d'abord, à abriter sa section derrière une sorte d'épaule naturel qui formait tranchée. Les hommes, courbés ou accroupis, ayant instinctivement remonté le sac sur leur tête, s'étaient jetés dans cet abri avec un ardent empressement. L'ennemi, en effet, ayant prévu l'attaque, employait toute la force de son artillerie à la prévenir en « arrosant » de shrapnells l'espace où devait nécessairement s'engager l'assaillant. Le jeune lieutenant, tout frais émoulu de Saint-Cyr et n'ayant jamais exercé de commandement, se demandait avec une sorte d'angoisse — et

c'était là sa seule préoccupation — si l'autorité de sa parole suffirait à jeter ses hommes en avant à l'instant décisif. Pour ce qui était de lui-même, il sentait bien que nul n'aurait besoin de l'entraîner dans le chemin du devoir.

Enfin une rumeur courut la tranchée : il fallait se préparer à charger.

Tant bien que mal, les hommes, en évitant de se soulever, afin de bénéficier le plus longtemps possible de l'abri protecteur, mirent baïonnette au canon.

Le lieutenant de Fayolle, lui, sortit du léger sac qu'il portait en bandoulière ses gants blancs, les gants de Saint-Cyr immaculés, éclatants. Il achevait de les boutonner quand l'ordre vint. Et les notes haletantes du clairon soulignèrent, précipitèrent l'appel des chefs. A son tour il cria :

— En avant ! A la baïonnette !

D'un élan le lieutenant de Fayolle fut debout au sommet de l'abri et, dans sa main gantée de blanc, l'épée haute luisait.

— En avant ! En avant !

Mais vainement il crie, tandis qu'autour de lui redouble le crépitement des balles.

Les pauvres petits lignards hé-

sitent. C'est sous une pluie de fer et de feu que la charge doit s'engager. Les mitrailleuses déchainent leurs rafales, les obus explosent avec un bruit formidable ; quitter l'abri, c'est se vouer à la mort.

Alors le lieutenant de Fayolle parle à ses hommes :

— Vous voyez, mes amis, j'ai mis mes gants blancs pour entrer dans la danse. Vous ne voulez pas me suivre ? vous ne me trouvez pas encore assez beau ? Eh bien, tenez, je vais mettre mon plumet...

De son sac il tire son « casoar », le plumet bicolore du premier ba-

taillon de France, et, superbement, l'arbore à son képi.

Et les gants blancs, et le plumet ont à l'instant doté d'un tel prestige le jeune chef capable d'un tel geste sous le feu de l'ennemi, que les hommes, enfin, se dressent pour se parer et se grandir, avec lui, d'une si noble et fière assurance devant le danger et devant la mort.

Quand, la charge lancée, le lieutenant de Fayolle tomba, frappé au front, il put se rendre cette justice qu'il mourait, selon le conseil du poète épique, « avec son panache » !

Les Preneurs de Drapeaux



Des drapeaux pris à l'ennemi !... Des drapeaux hâlés par la fumée de la poudre, lacérés par la mitraille, conquis dans une apothéose guerrière, nous en avons, toujours et en tout temps, salué avec fierté aux voûtes des Invalides... Mais comme ils nous semblaient, à la fin, antiques et vétustes !

Leur soie déteinte et mourante était devenue impalpable, aérienne. On eût dit des drapeaux de rêve, peu à peu s'effilochant en rais lumineux ou s'évaporant en buée légère. Nous nous hâtions d'aller saluer ces reliques, derniers témoins des gloires anciennes, qui agonisaient lentement de la mort des choses... Et maintenant voici des drapeaux aux couleurs éclatantes, des drapeaux en qui palpitent encore les frémissements de la bataille

récente, des drapeaux conquis sur les vainqueurs de 1870, les drapeaux de la revanche et de la victoire !

Quels sont les vaillants qui s'en saisirent dans la fureur de la mêlée ? Le plus souvent, on ne le sait même pas. C'est un bataillon de chasseurs tout entier qui pourrait revendiquer l'honneur d'avoir conquis celui-ci, au prix d'un sang généreux répandu sans compter. Cet autre a été relevé sous un monceau de cadavres enchevêtrés. Comment reconnaître et glorifier le sacrifice de chacun ? Des noms, cependant, ont été prononcés, que la gratitude populaire a su retenir sans peine, car ils ont, dans leur humble simplicité, comme une saveur de terroir, ils sont bien de chez nous : Turcot, Broussard, Guillemard.

Leurs exploits se rapportent à deux faits distincts.

C'est le 27 août, au cours de la bataille de la Marne, que les soldats Broussard et Turcot, du 137^e d'infanterie, ont enlevé le drapeau du 28^e régiment d'infanterie allemand.

On se battait avec acharnement depuis deux jours sans résultat. Il fallait en finir. Six fois le 137^e d'infanterie s'était élancé à l'assaut des retranchements allemands. Six

fois, en présence de forces supérieures et décimé par un terrible « arrosage » d'obus de 105, il avait été ramené en arrière.

Exaspérés par ces échecs successifs et les cruelles pertes subies, nos infatigables soldats s'élancèrent une septième fois sur l'ennemi avec une vigueur si furieuse que les retranchements furent enlevés et que l'artillerie allemande dut cesser le feu, de peur d'atteindre ses propres troupes.

Le combat, en effet, dégénéra en un véritable corps à corps. Les Allemands avaient reçu l'ordre de se faire tuer sur place plutôt que de reculer. La plupart obéirent en conscience, le colonel du 28^e d'infanterie allemand fut fait prisonnier ; le drapeau de son régiment devint le centre d'une mêlée atroce où l'on se massacrait sans pitié. Enfin le soldat Turcot, ayant tué le porte-drapeau allemand d'un coup de baïonnette, se saisit du drapeau. Mais il avait à peine fait quelques pas avec son glorieux trophée qu'il était assailli, blessé dans le dos et il eût vraisemblablement succombé si le soldat Broussard, intervenant avec courage, ne l'avait dégagé, protégé et entraîné en arrière.

Tous deux, l'un soutenant

l'autre, allèrent remettre le drapeau à leur colonel qui leur promit aussitôt la médaille militaire. Ils l'ont, en effet, obtenue, et l'avaient bien gagnée. Selon la tradition de notre armée, le drapeau du 137^e a été, pour ce beau fait d'armes, décoré de la Légion d'honneur.

Le soldat Guillemard, qui a pris le drapeau du 36^e régiment d'infanterie prussienne, appartenait au 298^e d'infanterie de réserve.

Le 7 septembre, au combat de Vincy, deux compagnies du 298^e, déployées en tirailleurs, avançaient vers l'ennemi, quand on vit des groupes d'Allemands venir au-devant des nôtres crosse en l'air ou les mains hautes. Nos fantassins s'approchèrent sans méfiance et, aussitôt, une terrible décharge décima leurs rangs. Indignés de cette lâche trahison, nos soldats bondirent, la baïonnette en avant, et ne firent pas de quartier. Le soldat Guillemard transperça le portedrapeau qui tomba en couvrant le drapeau de son corps. Tandis que le sergent Antoine et le caporal Michalet, accourus au secours de Guillemard, tenaient en respect les Allemands qui s'efforçaient de relever l'emblème abattu, Guillemard luttait pour s'en saisir et y

parvenait enfin après avoir brisé, à coups de talon, la résistance de la main crispée qui en disputait encore la hampe.

Nos morts étaient bien vengés (1).

On ne cite pas, d'ailleurs, de tels faits à titre exceptionnel.

Prendre un drapeau à l'ennemi, ce fut bientôt un simple incident heureux de la bataille.

Le 10 septembre, Paris vit avec étonnement passer à travers ses rues, se dirigeant vers les Invalides, une automobile conduite par des civils en casquette et à l'avant de laquelle flottait le drapeau d'un bataillon allemand.

On sut bientôt que ces civils, se trouvant par hasard dans les lignes de feu, avaient été priés — par un officier qui, disait-il, ne pouvait distraire de leur poste aucun de ses hommes — de « porter ça » à Paris !

Ça, c'était un drapeau que l'on venait de conquérir de haute lutte !

Le maréchal de Luxembourg, que l'on appelait « le Tapissier de Notre-Dame », saluerait de son beau feutre à plumes nos humbles et modestes « preneurs de drapeaux ».

(1) Le soldat Guillemard n'a malheureusement pas survécu longtemps à son exploit : il a été tué le 29 septembre, au combat de Vingre.

La Charge des Trois cents



L'antiquité nous a gardé le souvenir de la « retraite des Dix-Mille ». On conserve plus volontiers, dans l'armée française, la tradition des belles charges triomphales ou désespérées, — encore que notre histoire, et celle même de la guerre de la revanche, attestent qu'à l'occasion nos soldats sont capables d'opiniâtreté dans la retraite défensive autant que de furie superbe dans l'attaque.

La charge des trois cents, conduite par le général de brigade Moussy pendant la bataille des Flandres, offre un caractère tout à fait spécial d'épopée héroï-comique. On n'a pas dû charger souvent comme cela dans aucune armée. Et sans doute on ne reverra de longtemps ce spectacle d'une témérité folle, et qui ferait sourire si l'héroïsme le plus aventureux pouvait jamais être ridicule.

La scène se passe tout près

d'Ypres que l'armée française, pour qu'une capitale fût conservée à la Belgique, ne put se résigner à évacuer même aux jours les plus critiques de la longue bataille des Flandres.

Mais les positions que nous tenions en avant d'Ypres, se détachant de notre ligne de tranchées, dessinaient au milieu des positions allemandes une sorte de pointe offensive des plus dangereuses dont la base risquait constamment d'être coupée. C'est ce qui faillit, d'ailleurs, se produire à plusieurs reprises, en dépit des prodiges de valeur de nos fusiliers marins, jusqu'à ce que les renforts tirés en toute hâte de l'armée de Lorraine fussent venus prendre position sur les points menacés.

Avant leur arrivée, l'ennemi devait avoir intérêt à passer à tout prix. Il y parvint un jour par surprise. Tandis qu'une formidable poussée vers Nieuport et Dixmude réclamait toutes nos forces disponibles et les engageait à fond, un régiment bavarois réussit à traverser nos lignes à Zillebeke, près

d'Ypres. La ville, dégarnie en ce moment de troupes, risquait de tomber au pouvoir des Bavares, et ceux de nos contingents qui occupaient l'extrême front à dix ou douze kilomètres en avant d'Ypres allaient être coupés de leur ligne de retraite, isolés et pris...

Le général de brigade Moussy, qui se trouvait détaché en mission et qui passait là, par hasard, avec sa petite escorte réglementaire de cuirassiers, aperçut nettement le péril.

— A tout prix, s'écria-t-il, ces Allemands doivent être attaqués et défaits avant qu'ils puissent se retrancher, se fortifier ici...

Malheureusement, pour confier de l'importance stratégique du mouvement qui s'exécutait sous ses yeux, le général n'avait que le chef de son peloton d'escorte, un modeste brigadier.

— Eh bien, mon général, proposait-il, envoyons chercher du renfort.

On envoya, en effet, des cuirassiers dans différentes directions. Mais l'un après l'autre ils revinrent, n'ayant rien trouvé ou ayant constaté que les troupes voisines étaient en pleine action et ne disposaient d'aucune réserve.

— Il n'est pourtant pas possible,

se récriait le général Moussy, que nous laissons ces Boches s'installer paisiblement dans une position où ils pourront nous infliger un véritable désastre.

Et soudain, résolu à tous les expédients et à toutes les audaces, il dit au brigadier de cuirassiers, qui se fit répéter l'ordre tant il lui paraissait étrange :

— Portez-vous à l'arrière avec vos cavaliers et ramenez-moi tous les hommes valides que vous rencontrerez, militaires ou non, armés ou non, quels qu'ils soient, peu m'importe ; il me faut des hommes, on s'arrangera ensuite... Dépêchez-vous, nous allons charger !

— Mais ceux qui n'ont pas d'armes ?

— Ils chargeront sans armes !

— Bien, mon général.

Et le brigadier, faisant demi-tour par principe, partit au galop avec son peloton de cuirassiers. Mais il ne put s'empêcher de dire à ses camarades, d'un ton déjà tout pénétré d'admiration :

— Vous avez entendu le général ? Il n'est pas ordinaire !

Ce ne fut pas ordinaire, en effet.

Les cuirassiers s'étant dispersés dans les lignes d'arrière, et s'adressant à tous ceux qu'ils rencon-

traient, réussirent à amener et à aligner fièrement devant le général 250 hommes.

Mais quelle troupe étrange et disparate !

Il y avait des uniformes de toutes les armes, des « spécialistes » de toutes les catégories d'ouvriers et employés militaires, des cuisiniers, des tailleurs, des cordonniers, des secrétaires d'intendance, des puisatiers ; la plupart étaient des « auxiliaires », des non-combattants.

— Mes enfants, leur dit le général, la situation est critique, il faut se dévouer pour la sauver, je compte sur vous. Nous allons charger à la baïonnette.

Ils répondirent, d'un même cœur :

— Vive la France !

Seulement, ils ajoutèrent entre eux :

— Ça manque de baïonnettes !

La plupart, en effet, n'avaient rien que leur bonne volonté.

Le général ordonna aux cuirassiers de mettre pied à terre et les compta : ils étaient une cinquantaine. Ils cédèrent leurs lances à des fantassins désarmés, à d'autres ils prêtèrent leur sabre. Quant à ceux qui n'avaient décidément rien, ils reçurent spécialement mission de

pousser de grands cris en attendant que les péripéties de la lutte leur permissent de s'armer aux dépens des blessés et des morts.

Mais tout d'abord on avança prudemment et en silence. Il s'agissait de surprendre, par une attaque imprévue, l'ennemi qui, sachant la région dégarnie de troupes françaises, s'avancait sans défiance, chantant déjà victoire.

Le général Moussy marchait en tête, secondé par l'unique gradé : le brigadier de cuirassiers. La troupe inexpérimentée mais disciplinée réglait sur eux son attitude, se défilait derrière des ondulations de terrain, avançant par bonds, progressant peu à peu sans attirer l'attention de l'ennemi qui, tout à coup, entendit une grande clameur et vit fondre sur lui une troupe forcenée dont il n'eut même pas le temps de reconnaître exactement le nombre, tant la lutte se trouva, en un clin d'œil, engagée à fond entre ces milliers d'hommes aguerris, bien équipés et bien armés, et ces trois cents soldats d'occasion qui brandissaient des armes hétéroclites ou même, faute d'armes, sautaient à la gorge de l'ennemi et s'efforçaient de l'étrangler.

L'élan fut tel, le choc si violent, l'impression éprouvée par les Bavarois fut si vive qu'une sorte de panique irraisonnée s'empara du régiment qui, faisant demi-tour, rentra en courant dans les lignes allemandes.

Et comme un malheur n'arrive jamais seul, il eut la malchance, dans sa retraite, de tomber sur les troupes françaises qu'il avait rompues et qui venaient de se reformer. Finalement, le régiment bavarois fut écrasé.

Au Téléphone



Le téléphone est devenu le complément indispensable de l'artillerie moderne. Le canon à longue portée est aveugle. Il faut qu'en avant des pièces, et souvent à plusieurs kilomètres, un observateur, relié à la batterie par un fil téléphonique, soit posté de façon à régler, à diriger le tir. Mission ingrate et périlleuse entre toutes, qui exige du coup d'œil, du sang-froid et de la vaillance.

Les observateurs au téléphone n'ont guère manqué aucune occasion de mettre en valeur ces qualités. Ils y ont ajouté parfois un oubli de soi-même où il faut reconnaître l'expression suprême

du courage et du patriotisme.

Tel ce jeune lieutenant qui, aux environs d'Ypres, s'était audacieusement posté dans une tour à quelques centaines de mètres des tranchées allemandes. De là il pouvait, téléphone en main, indiquer la portée à ses canonniers avec une précision absolue.

Pendant une demi-heure il téléphona les plus utiles indications d'une façon régulière. Puis on l'entendit dire dans l'appareil, avec un calme admirable :

— J'entends les Allemands qui montent l'escalier. J'ai mon revolver. Ne croyez plus rien de ce qu'on vous dira.

Et ce fut, dès lors, le silence au bout du fil. L'officier n'a pas reparu.

Et voici, plus saisissante encore, peut-être, la sobre tragédie mili-



OBSERVATEURS AU TÉLÉPHONE

— *Tirez sur nous, mon commandant. Mais tirez donc !*

taire dont les héros furent de modestes sous-officiers d'artillerie.

Dans la nuit du 26 au 27 novembre, des batteries lourdes allemandes, pointées sur les hauteurs des environs de Reims, avaient été déplacées et les avions envoyés dès le matin en reconnaissance s'étaient efforcés en vain de les découvrir.

Cependant, on avait des raisons de penser que, d'une ferme abandonnée, il devait être possible d'observer l'ennemi. Entre tous les volontaires qui s'offraient pour tenter l'aventure, on choisit deux maréchaux des logis.

Ils partent et, longtemps, doivent cheminer, ramper parfois sur de larges étendues de terrain que crible la mitraille. Enfin ils parviennent sains et saufs à la ferme, et le dialogue s'engage au téléphone :

— Vous voyez, nous avons pu dérouler notre fil jusqu'ici... Oui, nous sommes à la ferme, juste en face les Boches. Pointez quinze cents mètres au nord de la ferme, sur le petit bois marqué sur la carte.

Et le commandant d'artillerie suit sur la carte les indications, trouve le petit bois, fait pointer. Nos canons grondent.

— Trop court, mon commandant : cent mètres plus loin.

On rectifie. Cette fois, c'est trop à droite. Enfin ça y est. Là-bas, la voix se fait entendre joyeuse.

— En plein. Un obusier est démonté. Vous pouvez y aller.

Les pièces françaises tonnent sur toute la ligne. Nos projectiles tombent juste. Dans le téléphone, la voix gouaille maintenant :

— Qu'est-ce qu'ils prennent, les Boches, pour leur rhume !... Nous les voyons distinctement avec nos lorgnettes... Votre dernier obus a tué dix hommes... Si nous sommes bien, mon commandant ? mais très bien. Nous sommes cachés dans le grenier de la ferme... Un poste d'observation admirable. La lucarne donne juste sur la position prussienne.

Dix minutes encore, nos batteries crachent la mitraille. Soudain, à nouveau la voix :

— Cessez le feu, mon commandant. Ils ont changé de place. Ils quittent le bois. Ils se défilent sur la route, maintenant. Ils viennent vers la ferme... Quelle ferme ? Mais la nôtre, parbleu... Ils viennent vers nous... Nous sauver ? Vous nous dites de nous sauver, mon commandant... Mais qui vous donnera le repérage, alors ?... Non,

non, nous restons... D'ailleurs, nous sommes dans le grenier. Ils ne nous verront peut-être pas. Attendez une minute avant de reprendre. Ils mettent en batterie à trente mètres de nous... Je vous dirai quand ils seront bien installés... Alors on pourra y aller carrément... Partir?... Oh ! mon commandant, c'est trop tard... Les Boches sont dans la cour. Nous... Mais ça ne fait rien... Ils sont en place... Allez, vous pouvez tirer... Tirez sur nous, mon commandant. Mais tirez donc !

On imagine aisément l'hésitation poignante du commandant qui va donner à ses batteries l'ordre de

foudroyer, en même temps que l'ennemi, les deux Français héroïques.

Hélas ! c'est bien peu que la vie de deux hommes, quand il s'agit de sauver tout un pays ! L'ordre est lancé. Dans la déflagration des pièces maintenant pointées à coup sûr, l'essaim des obus à la mélinite vrille le ciel en sifflant lugubrement. Et bientôt le feu de l'ennemi s'éteint. Ses canons ont été culbutés, les artilleurs anéantis. De la ferme, il ne reste plus rien que des décombres calcinés où l'on ne retrouvera même pas trace des deux observateurs au téléphone...

Comme à Fontenoy



Le 28 août, les éclaireurs d'un bataillon d'infanterie entraient à Mézières où le bataillon devait garder

les ponts de la Meuse.

Arrivé à hauteur du pont du chemin de fer, l'officier qui commandait le détachement d'avant-

garde, le lieutenant de Lupel, apprit que les Allemands tenaient encore la gare.

Mais on ne pouvait dégarnir la position que l'on venait de prendre à la tête des ponts.

— Attendons le gros du bataillon, proposa quelqu'un.

— Jamais de la vie, riposta vivement le lieutenant ; nous pourrions exposer nos camarades à une surprise ; c'est à nous de nettoyer

le terrain. Je me charge de l'opération avec une escouade. Les autres resteront ici.

L'escouade, ayant à sa tête le lieutenant de Lupel, se dirige vers la gare et, dès qu'elle paraît à découvert, est accueillie par un feu nourri.

— Ils sont à peine quatre ou cinq fois plus nombreux que nous, dit joyeusement l'officier ; tout va bien.

En tiraillant, on finit par pénétrer dans les dépendances de la gare ; un combat très vif se poursuit à travers les tas de charbon, les bâtiments du dépôt des locomotives.

Les soldats allemands, qui appartiennent au 65^e régiment d'infanterie prussienne et que dirige un officier énergique, opposent une résistance d'autant plus difficile à briser qu'elle utilise toutes les ressources défensives d'un terrain accidenté, semé d'obstacles, de barricades improvisées. Les Allemands se cachent pour tirer sous les wagons, derrière les locomotives ou se postent aux fenêtres des bâtiments de la gare.

Mais l'élan de la petite troupe française est tel que les Allemands peu à peu sont débusqués de partout, s'enfuient ou se rendent.

L'officier prussien se jette dans le dépôt des machines ; le lieutenant de Lupel, qu'il a aperçu, court aussitôt à sa recherche et pénètre seul dans le dépôt. Brusquement il se trouve presque face à face avec l'officier ennemi qui cherchait à se dissimuler derrière un tender et qui, se voyant découvert, se dresse, revolver au poing.

Le lieutenant de Lupel, lui aussi, est armé de son revolver. Mais il lui répugne d'abattre ainsi un soldat qui a fait bravement son devoir. L'espace d'une seconde, les deux hommes se dévisagent et, semblait-il, se comprennent. Le lieutenant de Lupel contourne le tender, va se placer à quinze pas de l'Allemand, comme pour un duel.

Et rééditant pour son propre compte, au péril de sa vie, le mot magnifique des ancêtres de Fontenoy, il dit à son adversaire qui le vise froidement :

— Veuillez tirer !

Le coup part. Le lieutenant de Lupel, par bonheur, a affaire à un maladroit : il n'est pas atteint.

Il réplique aussitôt d'un coup de feu qui abat son adversaire foudroyé.

Puis il sort du dépôt comme le gros du bataillon accourt au pas de gymnastique pour le seconder.

LA FRANCE HÉROIQUE

— Je vous remercie, dit-il simplement au commandant, mais je crois bien que c'est fini.

Privés de leur chef, les fantassins allemands avaient, en effet, tenté de battre en retraite vers la Meuse où ils trouvèrent les ponts gardés, et pas un n'échappa...

L'anecdote, on le voit, est, en

somme, très mince. Le geste, le mot du lieutenant de Lupel, c'est cependant l'histoire de France qui se continue au point de se répéter. C'est l'attestation d'une filiation morale toujours vivace et féconde et dont nous avons le droit de tirer plus d'espoir encore que de fierté.





Au Seuil de la Maison Française



Un Parisien, un Parisien raffiné, un artiste dont le père a longtemps passé pour le type accompli du

sceptique, s'est inscrit par une mort volontaire, simple, touchante et belle, au livre des héros.

Fils de l'ancien rédacteur en chef du *Figaro*, de ce Francis Magnard qui se flattait de ne croire à rien et de n'avoir d'estime pour personne, Albéric Magnard

a donné son sang pour la patrie, pour le foyer, pour l'exemple. Il s'est immolé au seuil de sa maison, en protestation solennelle contre les crimes de la force, en hommage sublime aux droits éternels de l'intégrité du sol français, de l'âme française.

Et ce ne fut pas chez lui l'entraînement d'un élan spontané : il a agi de propos réfléchi, ayant tout prévu, tout disposé, tout accepté. Il est mort comme il avait voulu mourir...

Musicien renommé, dont une œuvre importante, *Bérénice*, venait

d'être représentée avec le plus vif succès à l'Opéra, pourvu d'une fortune considérable, marié, père de deux délicieuses fillettes, Albéric Magnard n'avait cependant pas à se plaindre de la vie. Son âge, en outre, le dispensait de tout service militaire et rien n'était plus aisé pour lui que de se mettre personnellement, avec sa famille, à l'abri des hasards de la guerre.

La guerre !... Avec quelle émotion, avec quelle fièvre douloureuse il en suivait les péripéties. Il était si ardemment patriote ! Ce sentiment s'était en lui, depuis de longues années, développé et affirmé dans la pratique même de son art. Ah ! il n'était pas de ceux qui pensent que l'art n'a pas de patrie ! Il avait été le premier à s'affranchir de la servitude wagnérienne, il rêvait d'un art essentiellement national, c'est-à-dire clair avant tout, harmonieux, pondéré, amplifié et soutenu par la netteté de l'accord, la noblesse et la fierté de l'idée, bien plus que par le déchâinement des orchestres. Il s'efforçait de se rattacher aux plus sûres traditions classiques, il s'inspirait de Rameau, il notait le contour mélodique des vers de Jean Racine ; c'était un esprit de pure essence française...

La guerre le surprit dans sa propriété de campagne à Baron, un joli petit village qui chevauche la route de Nanteuil-le-Haudouin et qu'arrose une discrète petite rivière, la Nonette.

Il aimait ce pays de verdure et d'eaux vives où la nature semble avoir pris plaisir, pour distribuer l'ombre et la clarté et tracer les lignes élégantes d'un calme et doux paysage, à s'inspirer du génie de nos grands jardiniers. Il aimait sa maison : « le Manoir des Sources », où il avait disposé, selon le goût le plus sûr de nos architectes et de nos tapissiers, selon son propre goût d'artiste, tout ce qui peut contribuer à créer une atmosphère « à la française »...

Bientôt on sut dans toute la région que les Allemands approchaient. L'armée de von Kluck, tuant, pillant, ravageant tout sur son passage, marchait vers Paris par la vallée de l'Oise. A Baron, tous ceux qui pouvaient s'éloigner le faisaient en hâte. Albéric Magnard s'y refusa obstinément. En revanche, il décida sa femme et ses filles à se rendre à Nevers, chez des parents. Et il demeura seul, en compagnie d'un jeune beau-fils, au Manoir des Sources.

Dans les jours qui suivirent le

départ de sa famille, Albéric Magnard, interrogé par des voisins sur ses intentions, ne les dissimula nullement.

— Je n'admets pas, disait-il, que des Allemands entrent chez moi. Mon logis est à mon image, il fait partie de moi-même, il est le reflet de ma vie intime, il enclôt mes souvenirs et mes tendresses. L'ennemi n'y pénétrera pas, moi vivant.

— Que ferez-vous donc ?

— Mais que feriez-vous si des cambrioleurs forçaient votre porte ? Vous prendriez un fusil, un revolver et vous leur tireriez dessus !

— Ils vous tueront !

— Évidemment ; ils sont les plus nombreux ; mais j'aurai fait mon devoir. Que chaque Français le fasse comme moi et nous aurons vite débarrassé la France de la souillure des Barbares...

Sans répondre, les gens hochaient la tête. Peut-être, entre leurs dents, murmuraient-ils :

— Oui, on dit ça...

Seuls ceux qui connaissaient le grand cœur, la fermeté de caractère, l'énergie et l'esprit de décision d'Albéric Magnard pouvaient penser qu'il ferait exactement ce qu'il avait dit.

Le matin du 4 septembre, à l'aube, une rumeur affolée courut le pays : les Prussiens approchent.

Il était dix heures du matin. Albéric Magnard, assis devant son piano, travaillait paisiblement au nouvel ouvrage qu'il destinait à l'Opéra, quand il entendit du bruit au dehors. Une grille sépare de la route la propriété ombragée par un beau parc qui se termine en terrasse sur la rivière.

Albéric Magnard, ayant ouvert une fenêtre, vit que cette grille était secouée par une bande de uhlans qui criaient dans leur langue des injures et des menaces. Sans dire un mot, dans le tas il tira deux coups de feu et abattit deux Allemands. Les autres s'enfuirent, mais pour aller appeler du renfort. De nouveau, Albéric Magnard, qui s'était remis paisiblement au piano, entendit que l'on secouait la grille. Comprenant que c'était la fin, il parut, cette fois, à son seuil et, aussitôt, avant d'avoir eu le temps de faire, de nouveau, usage de son arme, il tomba, foudroyé par une décharge générale.

La grille forcée, les Allemands se répandirent dans la propriété, se saisirent du beau-fils du musicien qu'ils lièrent à un arbre pour le fusiller. Mais le jeune homme eut

la présence d'esprit de demander à être entendu par un officier auquel il réussit à persuader qu'il n'était que le jardinier de la propriété. On le délia pour examiner son cas plus tard, et il en profita, pendant que ses bourreaux étaient occupés à piller la maison, pour s'échapper par l'arrière du parc.

Durant toute la journée, le Ma-

noir des Sources, qui contenait d'admirables collections d'objets d'art, de tapisseries, etc., fut sac-cagé. Les « cambrioleurs » entas-sèrent dans leurs fourgons tout ce qui présentait quelque valeur. Le soir, la maison flambait, enseve-lissant sous ses ruines le cadavre calciné d'un martyr du devoir civique.

Un Préfet à son poste



Lille a subi, à deux repri-ses, l'occupa-tion alleman-de. La pre-mière incur-sion des Bar-

bares dans la capitale de la Flandre française a été mar-quée par un épisode qui fait honneur au personnel admi-nistratif dont la tâche en temps de guerre est si ingrate, en même temps que si périlleuse. Les fonctionnaires qui portent l'épée de parade ne vont pas au combat, mais ils trouvent par-fois l'occasion de prouver avec éclat que leur courage ne le cède à aucun autre et que leur âme

est à l'unisson des plus résolues et des plus stoïques.

On a admiré justement la vail-lance, l'activité, le zèle intelligent et humain déployés, à deux pas de l'ennemi, par le préfet de Meurthe-et-Moselle, M. Mirman. Son col-lègue du département du Nord, M. Trépont, s'est trouvé, lui, direc-tement aux prises avec l'enva-hisseur, et dans des conditions par-ticulièrement tragiques.

Le préfet de Lille connut tout naturellement l'un des premiers l'arrivée des Allemands dans la ville. Il n'en décida pas moins de rester à son poste.

Lille ayant été déclarée ville ouverte, les Allemands purent y pénétrer sans rencontrer de résis-



UN PRÉFET A SON POSTE

Avant d'avoir pu dire un mot, fait un geste, M. Trépont, saisi au collet par l'officier allemand, est renversé brutalement sur le dossier de son fauteuil.

LES BRAVES GENS DE CHEZ NOUS

tance. Dès le 31 août, ils arrivèrent par petits paquets, ayant à leur tête un officier particulièrement audacieux et insolent, le lieutenant von Oppel, du 12^e husards, qui, à la veille de la guerre pratiquait chez nous l'espionnage sous les apparences d'un pacifique placier en lampes électriques domicilié dans la banlieue de Paris, à la Garenne... Leur premier soin, après s'être assuré la possession de quelques points stratégiques, fut de se rendre à la Banque de France d'où, fort heureusement, l'encaisse métallique avait été enlevée. A la Trésorerie générale, ils volèrent 27 000 francs. Entre temps, ils frappaient la ville d'une contribution de guerre et même imposaient le paiement d'amendes très élevées à des particuliers, à des journaux.

Tandis que la mairie devait satisfaire aux exigences des pillards, la préfecture ne restait pas inactive.

Le préfet avait informé tous les hommes mobilisables qu'ils devaient quitter précipitamment la ville, s'ils ne voulaient courir le risque d'être considérés par les Allemands comme prisonniers de guerre et arrêtés pour être internés en Allemagne.

Aussitôt, ce fut le défilé vers la préfecture d'une longue théorie d'hommes, de femmes, d'enfants qui venaient se renseigner, demander des secours ; puis les hommes embrassaient leur famille et s'en allaient, par la route d'Armentières, vers Dunkerque. Plus de 15 000 hommes furent ainsi conservés à la défense nationale.

Mais ce manège ne pouvait échapper aux Allemands qui, le 2 septembre, occupaient la ville, en forces, sous le commandement du général von Bertrab. Faire échapper des mobilisables était un crime qu'ils n'avaient jamais pardonné, là où ils étaient passés. Le lieutenant von Oppel fut chargé de s'assurer de la personne du préfet.

Il se fit accompagner d'un professeur de langue allemande de l'Université de Lille, M. Piquet, qui venait d'être arrêté et désigné comme otage. Et, à la tête d'une troupe de soldats, il cerna la préfecture, plaça des sentinelles à toutes les issues avec ordre de tirer sur quiconque chercherait à s'enfuir. Puis il sonna à la porte qui donne sur le boulevard de la Liberté.

— Où est le préfet ? demanda-t-il brutalement.

LA FRANCE HÉROIQUE

— M. le préfet est dans son cabinet de travail.

— C'en est pas vrai, il s'est sauvé.

— M. le préfet est à son poste.

A ce moment survient un conseiller de préfecture, M. Gimat. Il confirme que le préfet est à son bureau, comme d'habitude.

— Bien. Alors, montrez-nous le chemin !

MM. Gimat et Piquet gravissent l'escalier devant le lieutenant, le revolver en main, et les soldats allemands, le doigt sur la gâchette du fusil.

— Plus vite, hurle le soudard, qui enjambe les marches quatre à quatre.

On arrive en trombe au cabinet du préfet. Le lieutenant en ouvre violemment la porte et se précipite sur M. Trépont, qui est assis à son bureau, ayant en face de lui M. Borromée, secrétaire général de la préfecture.

Avant d'avoir pu dire un mot, fait un geste, M. Trépont, saisi au collet par l'officier allemand, est renversé brutalement sur le bras de son fauteuil.

— Vous avez fait fuir les Français mobilisables ! Vous alliez vous sauver avec eux !

Pendant ce temps, des soldats, qui ne veulent pas se montrer

moins brutaux que leur chef, ont empoigné M. Borromée, le bourrent de coups de crosse, lui cognent la tête sur le bureau du préfet.

M. Trépont se débat sous l'étreinte du lieutenant qui le secoue en proférant des injures crapuleuses. Enfin le préfet réussit à se dégager légèrement et à reprendre le souffle. Il en profite pour crier :

— Vous êtes un misérable lâche ! Ce que vous faites est indigne d'un officier. Non, vous n'êtes pas un officier.

Piqué au vif, le lieutenant von Oppel bondit vers ses soldats.

— Préparez vos armes. Nous allons bien voir si je ne suis pas un officier allemand.

Et il revient, menaçant, vers M. Trépont qui s'est relevé et qui, maintenant, face à face, le brave du regard.

L'officier paraît au comble de l'exaspération ; il donne du pied dans la table de travail du préfet qui tient le milieu de la pièce.

— Là, là, contre le mur ; vous allez être fusillé avec votre complice.

M. Trépont, d'un pas ferme, se dirige vers le mur du fond et s'y adosse, dans une attitude digne et

fière, tandis que, pour donner du champ au peloton d'exécution, on achève d'écarter le bureau vers une fenêtre.

M. Borromée est venu rejoindre le préfet. Ils sont côte à côte, face aux Allemands, très calmes, prêts à tout. Le lieutenant sort de sa poche un bandeau qu'il va poser sur les yeux du préfet, mais celui-ci le repousse.

— Je ne veux pas mourir comme un espion. Je n'ai rien à me reprocher, j'ai fait mon devoir.

— Non, vous ne l'avez pas fait. Je veux vous le prouver. Répondez à mes questions.

Une discussion violente s'engage. Dix fois le lieutenant paraît sur le point d'y mettre un terme en donnant à ses hommes l'ordre de tirer. Mais l'attitude énergique du préfet, ses protestations véhémentes, l'intervention habile de MM. Piquet et Gimat, témoins angoissés de cette scène, ont fini par ébranler la résolution du lieutenant.

— Vous avez reçu l'ordre, insinue M. Piquet, de vous assurer de la personne de *Son Excellence* M. le Préfet et non de le fusiller.

— Il m'a insulté.

— J'ai rendu hommage, réplique le préfet, à ceux qui ont l'honneur de porter l'uniforme d'officier, puisque j'ai invoqué leur correction et leur esprit de justice pour ma sauvegarde.

Le lieutenant von Oppel hésite une seconde, le titre d'*Excellence* invoqué par M. Piquet en faveur du préfet l'a visiblement impressionné, et soudain :

— Eh bien, vous irez à Magdebourg ; préparez vos valises !

Le préfet du Nord n'est d'ailleurs pas allé à Magdebourg. Quatre jours plus tard, les Allemands étaient obligés de déguerpir.

Et quand ils revinrent, en octobre, ils trouvèrent le préfet Trépont à son poste, où il demeura pendant toute la durée de la seconde occupation de Lille, partageant avec le maire, M. Delesalle, et l'évêque, Mgr Charost, la plus lourde et la plus périlleuse responsabilité.

Le gouvernement, dès qu'il eut connaissance de ces faits par un rapport de M. Piquet, transmis dès la première libération de Lille, a fait porter M. Trépont à l'ordre du jour des armées.

Le Maire de Soissons



Le roi des Belges, interrogé un jour — avant la guerre — par un écrivain de son pays sur ses sentiments à l'égard de la France, lui répondit :

— Je crois en ses destinées éternelles, parce que je connais le patriotisme des mères et des épouses françaises.

Les événements que nous venons de vivre n'ont pas démenti la confiance d'Albert I^{er}. Les femmes de France, devant l'ennemi, se sont placées au premier rang de la résistance, et sinon au front de bataille, du moins en pleine action de soutien moral, de réconfort, de foi ardente et persévérante. Ce qu'a fait de bien et de beau l'une d'elles, toutes, on peut le croire, l'eussent fait dans les mêmes circonstances. C'est, du moins, ce qu'affirme Mme Macherez, dont la conduite, à Soissons, a été si justement signalée. Et Mme Ma-

cherez a le droit de parler avec cette assurance, car elle a trouvé autour d'elle, en des heures singulièrement critiques, des dévouements féminins dignes de s'associer au sien.

Mme Macherez, à vrai dire, était préparée au rôle qui devait lui échoir. Veuve d'un sénateur qui était, en même temps, le chef d'une importante industrie, elle s'était associée de longue date au labeur administratif de son mari. Acquisie bien avant la guerre à la cause des blessés militaires, elle avait fait partie, à Paris, du Conseil de l'Association des Dames françaises et présidait le Comité de Soissons. En 1893, elle avait reçu, pour le zèle déployé au service de ces œuvres, la médaille d'honneur du dévouement.

Dès que la guerre fut déclarée, elle s'occupa d'installer à Soissons une véritable ambulance modèle qui devait bientôt se doubler d'une série d'œuvres annexes : asile, vestiaire, réfectoire populaire, etc.

Le 4 septembre, l'ennemi étant proche, Mme Macherez se rendit

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à la mairie en compagnie de son infirmière-major, Mme Bouchet, pour s'enquérir des intentions de la municipalité. Elles trouvèrent toutes les portes fermées. Il ne restait plus personne, pas même un employé. Les clés avaient été déposées au commissariat de police où Mme Bouchet alla les prendre d'autorité, et Mme Macherez s'installa à la mairie, tandis que Mme Bouchet, prenant la direction d'une équipe de brancardiers, partait vers le cimetière, où l'on se battait, pour relever les blessés.

Quand les Allemands se présentèrent à l'hôtel de ville de Soissons, où flottait maintenant aux fenêtres le drapeau de la Croix-Rouge, ils demandèrent à parler au maire ; on les conduisit dans un bureau où les attendait Mme Macherez.

L'officier allemand qui commandait le détachement se fâcha tout rouge.

— J'ai demandé le maire, vous me menez à une infirmière.

— Eh bien, c'est moi qui suis le maire... ou du moins je tiens sa place et je réponds de tous et de tout...

— Mais, avez-vous qualité ?...

— Je la prends.

— Soit. Alors, je vais vous faire

connaître nos ordres pour l'occupation de la ville et des réquisitions.

— Je suis prête à discuter.

— Moi, je ne discute pas, j'ordonne.

— Il est inutile de nous ordonner l'impossible.

— Alors nous détruirons tout, nous brûlerons tout.

— Vous serez bien embarrassés, après cela, de vous nourrir sur des ruines. Mieux vaut discuter.

— Eh bien, soit, discutons.

On discuta. Il fut convenu que Soissons ne serait pas pillé. Mais la ville devrait faire face, chaque jour, à de lourdes obligations pour assurer le ravitaillement des troupes allemandes qui l'occupaient. Il faudrait, en outre, pourvoir à la subsistance de toute une population misérable qui n'avait pu, faute de ressources, suivre l'exode général.

Sur le conseil de l'évêque, Mgr Péchenard, demeuré courageusement à son poste, on forma une sorte de comité composé de Mme Macherez, de l'évêque, du notaire Blancoutier, du pharmacien Arfeuille et d'un conseiller municipal, M. Musard. Et pendant les douze jours que dura l'occupation allemande, ce comité fonctionna de telle façon que le salut

de la ville fut assuré. Tous les jours, à heure fixe, dans la cathédrale, Mgr Péchenard montait en chaire devant ce qui restait de la population et il parlait au nom du comité, donnant à chacun des indications utiles pour que tous fussent en mesure de prêter efficacement leur concours au salut commun.

Le 10 septembre, tout faillit se gâter. Les Allemands amenèrent dans la ville de nouveaux contingents qui allaient nécessiter un formidable accroissement des réquisitions quotidiennes. Mme Macherez se déclara incapable d'y faire face. Le général qui commandait les nouvelles troupes entrées à Soissons accourut, furieux, à l'hôtel de ville.

Il n'admettait pas, lui, que le maire de Soissons pût être une femme.

— Je vous donne, dit-il à Mme Macherez, vingt-quatre heures pour trouver et me présenter le véritable maire, le maire élu de Soissons. Si vous ne le trouvez pas, je vous fais tous fusiller.

— En ce cas, répondit simplement Mme Macherez, il est inutile

d'attendre vingt-quatre heures : faites-nous fusiller tout de suite.

Et le général, lui aussi, fut bien obligé de consentir à discuter et, finalement, de diminuer ses prétentions.

Et l'ambulance était encombrée de blessés allemands et français ! On manquait de médecins. Mme Macherez, Mme Bouchet furent plusieurs fois obligées de procéder elles-mêmes à des opérations sous l'œil méfiant des officiers allemands, toujours prêts à se plaindre des soins, insuffisants, disaient-ils, que recevaient leurs blessés.

Le 14 septembre, les Allemands, sous les obus français, évacuaient Soissons. Mais aussitôt ils gagnèrent les hauteurs voisines d'où pendant plus d'un mois, méthodiquement, ils n'ont pas cessé de bombarder la ville.

Mme Macherez n'a pas plus reculé devant le bombardement qu'elle n'avait cédé devant les menaces des officiers allemands. Jusqu'au bout dans la ville martyre elle est restée, faisant son devoir de femme française.

Sœur Julie



Dans cette guerre qui a uni toutes les forces matérielles et toutes les ressources morales de la nation, nos évêques, nos prêtres, nos religieuses et nos religieux ont été admirables. Les prêtres soldats se sont couverts de gloire ; les listes de citations à l'ordre du jour des armées en font foi. Les évêques, comme Mgr Marbeau à Meaux, Mgr Péchenard à Soissons, Mgr Foucault à Saint-Dié, Mgr Tissier à Châlons, Mgr Lobbedey à Arras, sont demeurés, parfois presque seuls, dans leur ville investie et ils ont assumé sans trembler toutes les autorités, toutes les initiatives, toutes les responsabilités aussi. De même, on n'a pas signalé un de nos curés de village qui n'ait fait son devoir parmi les populations dont ils avaient la charge spirituelle. On sait avec quelle barbarie les Allemands les ont traqués, brutalisés, fusillés à

toute occasion. « Vous êtes, leur disaient-ils, l'âme de la résistance », et nombre d'entre eux ont payé de leur vie ce brevet de patriotisme. Les religieuses enfin, soit qu'elles alassent, jusque sous le feu de l'ennemi, relever les blessés, soit qu'elles accomplissent, dans les ambulances et les hôpitaux, leur sainte mission, ont fait bénir leur dévouement et leur charité autant qu'admirer leur courage.

En sorte que l'on a vu plusieurs de ces humbles femmes citées à l'ordre du jour de l'armée, comme des soldats.

L'une d'elles, il est vrai, ne disait-elle pas crânement aux officiers qui la complimentaient : « Ce que j'ai fait est tout naturel : je suis du régiment des sœurs de Saint-Charles. »

Celle qui s'exprime ainsi est, en effet, religieuse d'une très ancienne congrégation lorraine, et, sur cette terre où l'on s'est tant battu, les sœurs de Saint-Charles n'ont guère cessé de parcourir les champs de bataille et de partager le destin

LA FRANCE HÉROÏQUE

et les souffrances de nos soldats.

Mme Julie Rigarel, sœur Julie, portée à l'ordre du jour de l'armée de Lorraine par le général de Castelnau, décorée de la Légion d'honneur par le Président de la République, sur la proposition du préfet de Meurthe-et-Moselle, M. Mirman, croit sincèrement qu'elle n'a rien fait que de très banal, et cela doit l'être à ses yeux, puisque c'était le devoir...

Cependant les ruines de Gerbeviller, le souvenir des crimes que les Allemands y ont commis, le témoignage des blessés sauvés par sœur Julie et ses compagnes, dans leur propre maison convertie en ambulance, tout atteste et raconte le plus pur héroïsme.

En réalité, il s'est passé à Gerbeviller ceci : la coquette petite cité, où les jours s'écoulaient heureux et calmes dans la paix des jardins et des vergers lorrains, connut le 23 août l'approche des ennemis en même temps qu'un détachement de chasseurs à pied venait y prendre position. Le 24, au matin, s'échangèrent les premiers coups de fusil. La lutte était d'ailleurs absolument inégale et disproportionnée ; il était visible que les chasseurs ne pourraient pas arrêter la poussée en avant de l'ennemi.

Le maire tenta une démarche auprès de l'officier qui commandait le détachement de chasseurs.

— Je crains, lui dit-il, que, par une résistance sans espoir, vous n'attiriez des représailles terribles sur mes concitoyens.

— J'ai l'ordre, répondit simplement l'officier, de tenir ici tant que je le pourrai. Je tiendrai.

Vers huit heures du soir, cependant, la situation des chasseurs semblait désespérée. Ils étaient à peu près cernés, les Allemands tenaient la majeure partie de la ville. L'officier, maintenant, ne demandait pas mieux que de se retirer avec le restant de sa troupe, mais il lui répugnait d'abandonner ses blessés.

— Je m'en charge, dit sœur Julie, qui les fit transporter dans la petite maison des sœurs de Saint-Charles, l'une des plus rustiques, des plus pauvres du pays.

Et l'on fit échapper les chasseurs par-dessus les murs du cimetière.

A la nuit, les Allemands occupaient Gerbeviller, mais, par crainte d'une surprise, ils allèrent camper en dehors, ne laissant à l'entrée de la petite ville que quelques sentinelles.

Or, il arriva que l'une de ces sen-



SŒUR JULIE

— *Ce sont des blessés ! Je vous défends de toucher à mes blessés !*

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tinelles fut tuée d'un coup de baïonnette par quatre chasseurs qui n'avaient pas suivi leurs camarades et s'étaient cachés dans une maison.

Quand le général allemand, le matin du 25 août, apprit la mort de la sentinelle, il entra dans une colère terrible :

— Je vous abandonne Gerbeviller, dit-il à ses soldats ; faites-en ce que vous voudrez.

Ce qu'ils en ont fait !...

D'abord ils se précipitèrent dans toutes les maisons, à la recherche des chasseurs fugitifs. Un lieutenant d'aspect farouche pénétra à la tête d'une troupe armée dans la maison des sœurs de Saint-Charles. Il tenait dans une main un revolver, dans l'autre un poignard. En apercevant l'uniforme des chasseurs, il eut un cri de joie féroce. Mais sœur Julie s'était jetée devant lui.

— Ce sont des blessés ! Je vous défends de toucher à mes blessés !

Ce ton de commandement et de défi en imposa, dans une certaine mesure, à la brute.

— Eh bien, nous allons voir si ce sont des blessés.

Et sans abandonner ni son revolver ni son poignard, il s'approcha de toutes les couchettes, fit

enlever les couvertures, exigea de voir les pansements de chaque blessé...

Pendant ce temps, au dehors, éclataient des coups de feu et s'élevaient des lueurs d'incendie.

Gerbeviller brûlait. La population était massacrée en détail ou fusillée en tas. Des cris de souffrance ou d'horreur, des appels désespérés emplissaient l'air, en même temps que le crépitement des flammes. Sœur Julie et ses quatre compagnes auraient voulu courir au secours des Français qui subissaient à deux pas d'elles le martyre du fer et du feu, mais les Allemands les tenaient littéralement prisonnières, parce qu'ils n'avaient pas de médecins — les leurs ayant fui — et que l'on apportait sans cesse leurs blessés. Ce jour-là, dans la petite maison des sœurs de Saint-Charles, on en entassa 258, car on continuait de se battre aux environs et notre 75 vengeait à sa manière les fusillades de Gerbeviller. Parfois sœur Julie était bien embarrassée en présence de blessures qui réclamaient l'expérience d'un chirurgien. On lui amena un Allemand dont deux doigts broyés pendaient. Elle dut achever de les couper avec ses ciseaux...

Quand enfin sœur Julie réussit à s'échapper, il ne restait plus debout que quelques maisons. Elle courut trouver le colonel allemand qui présidait à ces saturnales barbares et obtint, à force de prières, que ce qui n'avait pas encore été tué ou brûlé serait épargné.

Après quoi, dans l'église incendiée et que l'on ne pouvait plus sauver, elle se glissa sans souci du danger, prit dans le tabernacle le ciboire contenant les hosties consacrées et le rapporta précieusement chez elle. Là, comme le curé avait été emmené par les Allemands, elle eut la pensée d'exprimer par un geste symbolique que la vie religieuse continuait quand même à Gerbeviller parmi les ruines et les cadavres. Ayant placé le ciboire sur la table de sa salle à manger et s'étant agenouillée comme elle eût fait devant l'autel et le prêtre, elle se donna à elle-même la communion en priant pour tous les morts de cette journée tragique.

Les Allemands étaient entrés à Gerbeviller le 24 août. Dès le 28, à cinq heures du soir, ils en étaient chassés par les Français, au prix d'un combat furieux poursuivi jusque sur les décombres de la malheureuse petite ville. Gerbeviller,

d'ailleurs, se trouva englobée dans le champ d'action des deux armées jusqu'au 13 septembre, où enfin, vers huit heures du soir, la retraite des Allemands devint générale sur toute la ligne.

Pendant ces seize jours de bataille, nul ne se souciait de ravitailler les sœurs de Saint-Charles. Sœur Julie et ses compagnes s'en allaient la nuit dans les ruines, se frayaient un chemin vers les caves et en rapportaient un peu de farine, des vivres pour leurs blessés français et allemands.

Quand, au terme de ce calvaire, le préfet Mirman vint remercier et féliciter les cinq religieuses, il les trouva toujours vaillantes à leur poste, soignant leurs blessés, nourrissant toute une clientèle d'éclopés, d'enfants orphelins, de paysans désormais sans logis. Elles ne se plaignaient guère que de l'inconvénient de loger des soldats sous un toit percé de trois obus et qui menaçait de s'effondrer sur eux à tout instant.

Et le préfet, et tous ceux qui l'accompagnaient, saisis d'admiration devant ces femmes si simplement héroïques, devant celle, surtout, qui n'a cessé d'être l'inspiratrice, la conseillère et le meilleur soutien de ses compagnes,

crièrent : « Vive sœur Julie ! Vive la France ! »

Depuis lors, elle a reçu la visite du Président de la République, elle a été décorée, mais elle ne porte pas sa croix, parce que, dit-elle, « ça lui fait trop de chagrin de ne pas pouvoir l'offrir à tous ses blessés ».

Un jour, vers la fin de décembre, un escadron de chasseurs passait par Gerbeviller. Les soldats firent halte, se rangèrent devant la maison des sœurs de Saint-Charles. Le capitaine demande : « Sœur Julie ? » Elle paraît... « Ma sœur, nous allons vous demander une faveur... Permettez-nous de défilér devant vous... Mais si, mais si... cela nous ferait tant de plaisir ! Voulez-vous vous mettre là ?... vous allez voir ! »

Et se tournant vers l'escadron, il commande :

— Garde à vous ! Portez lance !

Puis il s'adresse à ses hommes :

Mes amis, vous vous en souvenez, lorsque nous les avons arrêtés près d'ici le 25 août... Nous avons vu, de ce côté, de grandes flammes qui montaient dans le ciel... Vous voyez ce qu'ils faisaient...

Eh bien ! dans le village évacué, au milieu des incendies, — sous les obus et sous les balles, — même après le départ de l'héroïque section de nos chasseurs à pied qui a tenu si longtemps ce pont, — un contre dix, — une femme est restée là, à son poste de charité, relevant les blessés, se prodiguant à tous ; c'est sœur Julie... la voici.

Son costume, — j'allais dire son uniforme, — vous le connaissez : c'est celui de sœur Eugénie, de sœur Marulin, de « l'adjudant » qui vous ont tant de fois soignés vous-mêmes à Lunéville et qui elles aussi, là-bas, sont restées à leur poste à des heures graves...

Le Président de la République vient d'attacher à sa guimpe la croix des braves... Saluons-la !

Et maintenant, nous allons avoir l'honneur de défilér devant elle, — elle le permet.

En passant, jeunes gens, regardez-la bien... Un de ces jours, vous serez de nouveau sous la mitraille... Alors vous penserez à elle et vous resterez à votre poste, vous aussi, jusqu'au bout, comme elle, pour Dieu et pour la France !...

A gauche... pour défilér !

Le capitaine salue largement du sabre. Et tous, un peu émus, fixant sur sœur Julie leurs clairs regards, impeccablement alignés, sabre à la main et lance au poing, officiers et cavaliers, — ceux que les Boches ont appelés naguère « les diables bleus », — les chasseurs de Lunéville défilent fièrement...

La Pédagogie de l'Exemple



C'est un prêtre, aumônier des armées en campagne, M. Birrot, vicaire général du diocèse d'Albi,

qui, le premier, a signalé et glorifié la belle conduite d'une institutrice. Car nous avons vu, sur le champ de bataille aussi bien que dans les ambulances, instituteurs et congréganistes, infirmières et religieuses rivalisant de dévouement. Et tandis que les laïques exaltaient l'héroïsme des religieuses, un vicaire général ne pouvait que s'honorer en exaltant l'héroïsme des institutrices.

Quand les soldats français, au soir d'un rude combat, entrèrent à Minorville, en Lorraine, ils trouvèrent la salle d'école transformée en ambulance : quinze ou vingt couchettes avec draps, matelas, couvertures, étaient prêtes. L'institutrice, Mlle Paturanne, entourée de plusieurs jeunes filles du village, attendait les blessés. Elles

leur prodiguèrent aussitôt des soins et des prévenances qu'ils n'auraient pu trouver dans une ambulance de campagne, et beaucoup furent sauvés. Mais l'ennemi se rapprochait, les obus commencèrent de tomber. La population, affolée, s'enfuit. Seules, Mlle Paturanne et les élèves qu'elle avait formées à son image demeurèrent au chevet des blessés que l'on ne pouvait évacuer immédiatement sans les vouer à une mort certaine...

Le même mépris du danger, la même passion de lutter jusqu'au bout pour le salut des blessés confiés à leur sollicitude honorent trois institutrices de Reims, dont les noms doivent être retenus avec gratitude : Mlles Fouriaux, Lanthiez et Cavarrot.

Dès le début des hostilités, l'ancien lycée de jeunes filles de Reims avait été transformé en hôpital et placé sous la direction d'une directrice d'école maternelle de la ville, Mlle Fouriaux, membre du conseil départemental de l'enseignement primaire de la Marne, qui s'était surtout fait connaître,

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jusque-là, par l'ardeur de sa propagande corporative. Mais on connaissait ses qualités d'organisation et d'initiative, on la savait énergique et dévouée. Elle ne devait pas décevoir cette confiance.

Tout de suite elle confia l'éconamat à Mlle Cavarrot et le secrétariat à Mlle Lanthiez, et la voici à l'œuvre, recevant et soignant jusqu'au 1^{er} septembre tous les blessés qui lui sont amenés. Mais l'ennemi alors est si proche qu'il faut se décider à évacuer les blessés français dont beaucoup souffrent cruellement.

Mlle Fouriaux tient à les accompagner elle-même jusqu'à Épernay, où elle ne les quitte qu'après s'être assurée qu'ils sont bien installés dans un train sanitaire.

— Et maintenant, lui demande-t-on, qu'allez-vous faire ?

— Retourner à Reims.

— Mais les Allemands y sont peut-être déjà.

— Je n'aurais pas quitté Reims si je n'avais eu la ferme intention d'y revenir. Il faudra que les Allemands m'expulsent de mon hôpital.

— Il n'y a plus de trains pour Reims, plus aucun moyen de locomotion.

— J'irai à pied.

— Demain ?

— Tout de suite.

— Vingt-cinq kilomètres en pleine nuit, dont dix kilomètres en forêt, à votre âge... (Mlle Fouriaux a cinquante-sept ans...) sur une route encombrée de troupes en marche, de convois, où vous risquez à chaque pas d'être prise pour une espionne !

Elle répondit par un rire confiant et partit.

Mlle Fouriaux arriva à Reims à trois heures du matin, juste à temps pour ouvrir son hôpital, évacué par les militaires, à des civils atteints par les obus qui commençaient à tomber.

Les jours suivants, il fallut réserver une large place aux blessés allemands, car l'ennemi, entré en masse dans la ville, s'était virtuellement emparé de l'hôpital de l'ancien lycée de jeunes filles. Les blessés de l'ennemi y furent — comme cela se devait — traités avec tant d'intelligence et d'humanité que lorsque les Allemands, le 12 septembre, se trouvèrent à leur tour obligés de quitter la ville devant le retour offensif des Français, le major ennemi tint à remercier Mlle Fouriaux. La directrice de l'hôpital lui répondit fièrement :

— Nous n'avons fait, monsieur, que notre devoir d'infirmières, sans jamais oublier que nous sommes Françaises.

Les Allemands partis, commença le deuxième bombardement de Reims. Comment, en dépit de la gratitude qu'ils venaient de témoigner, les Allemands auraient-ils respecté l'hôpital de Mlle Fouriaux, alors qu'ils tiraient sur la cathédrale et y tuaient cinq religieuses acharnées à exposer leur vie pour sauver les blessés allemands de l'atteinte de leurs propres obus !

Après plusieurs jours d'attente stoïque, des brancardiers ayant été blessés, les projectiles ennemis se succédant sans interruption, il

fallut se résigner à transporter les malades, à travers la ville bombardée, incendiée et ruinée, vers une ambulance située dans un quartier moins exposé. Ce soir-là, Mlle Fouriaux et ses collaboratrices, après avoir couru mille dangers, passèrent la nuit sous un hangar, sur un peu de paille.

Des dévouements tels sont de ceux que rien ne lasse ; rien n'a lassé Mlle Fouriaux, non plus que Milles Lanthiez et Cavarrot. Aux fillettes de France qui seront demain des femmes, quelle plus belle leçon ces institutrices pourraient-elles offrir, que leur propre exemple ? La meilleure pédagogie sera toujours celle que l'on voit en action.

Le Devoir avant les Larmes



La modeste écharpe municipale jouit en tout temps et à juste titre d'un réel prestige, car nombreux sont les villages et même les villes de France où, lorsqu'il s'agit de choisir un maire, les

citoyens prennent moins souci de faire triompher un parti politique que de désigner l'administrateur le plus capable, l'homme le plus digne.

Et c'est, sans nul doute, ce qui explique que les Allemands, à quelques exceptions près, aient trouvé devant eux, dans les régions envahies, de simples paysans, des petits bourgeois, des hommes

d'apparence modeste, parfois même vulgaires et qui savaient, à l'occasion, se comporter comme des héros.

Ainsi mourut le vénérable maire de Senlis, M. Odent, lâchement assassiné par les Allemands ; ainsi tombèrent dans l'exercice de leur fonction ou furent — parce qu'ils en avaient courageusement assumé les responsabilités — arrêtés et traînés en captivité, un certain nombre de maires de Lorraine ou de Picardie. Et combien d'autres, comme M. Keller à Lunéville, M. Pol Roger à Épernay, M. Havart à Montdidier, M. Langlet à Reims, M. Benoit à Badonviller, ont failli dix fois être fusillés ou ensevelis sous les ruines de leur cité vouée à la destruction par les vaudales !

Le maire de Reims et le maire de Badonviller ont été, en raison du courage et de l'admirable constance dont ils firent preuve dans les circonstances les plus tragiques, décorés de la Légion d'honneur, et la remise de l'insigne des braves qui leur fut faite dans leur ville, enfin reconquise par nos armes, fut l'occasion d'émouvantes manifestations patriotiques.

La tranquille obstination de M. Langlet demeurant, sous le

plus effroyable des bombardements, à son cabinet de maire à l'hôtel de ville de Reims, méritait, certes, un éclatant hommage. Mais le stoïcisme de M. Benoit, la générosité de ses sentiments ont été mis à l'épreuve dans des circonstances qui ont révélé, en ce modeste commerçant d'un petit village lorrain, une âme et un caractère singulièrement nobles et élevés.

Badonviller figure en bonne place à côté de Gerbeviller, de Nomény, de Raon-l'Étape, au douloureux martyrologe des petites cités naguère riantes et heureuses où l'Allemand, dès les débuts de la guerre, s'est précipité pour semer systématiquement la ruine et la mort. Car ce fut, tout d'abord, leur plan mûrement concerté d'accomplir les menaces de leurs écrivains pangermanistes — dont nous avons trop négligé, en France, l'avertissement — et de frapper notre pays de terreur dans l'espoir qu'il céderait bien vite à son impressionnabilité naturelle. Avoir peur de l'ennemi qui vous assaille, redouter sa violence implacable, c'est être déjà à moitié défait.

A Badonviller, comme ils l'avaient fait dans les localités voisines, les Allemands se sont donc

livrés au meurtre et au pillage de parti pris. Ils ne se donnèrent même pas la peine d'invoquer un prétexte différent : « Des civils ont tiré ! » Cela était faux ici comme ailleurs. Mais qu'importe ! Ils avisent un jeune homme de dix-huit ans, André Massé, lui crient de lever les mains, ce que le pauvre petit fait aussitôt. Et, sous les yeux de ses parents affolés, ils le criblent de balles. Une mère et ses enfants (la famille Odinot) sont enduits de pétrole et brûlés vivants.

Voici, sur le pas de sa porte, une brave femme, une commerçante ; ils l'abattent à coups de fusil, poussent son cadavre ensanglanté dans une pièce du logis, allument leurs cartouches incendiaires ; la maison flambe, la chair grésille....

A ce moment, prévenu à la mairie où il attendait les Allemands, le maire accourt. Cette innocente victime que l'on vient de tuer est sa femme, cette maison qui brûle est sa maison.

Cependant il ne s'abandonne ni aux larmes ni au désespoir. Il a ceint l'écharpe municipale, son devoir est de protéger ses concitoyens ; lui n'a plus rien à perdre que la vie, à laquelle il tient désormais bien peu, mais les autres

comptent sur lui pour défendre leur personne et leurs biens...

Devant l'officier allemand qui commande le détachement des assassins et des incendiaires, le maire de Badonviller plaide avec force, avec véhémence la cause de sa cité. Il réclame la libération de vingt-trois de ses concitoyens — et parmi eux le juge de paix — arrêtés au hasard, sans raison, comme otages responsables d'un délit qui n'a pas été commis. Et à force d'arguments, de paroles, de prières, il obtient tout d'abord que le meurtre et l'incendie qui se continuent pendant ces pourparlers cessent immédiatement et que les otages ne seront pas fusillés ; mais il ne peut empêcher qu'on ne les emmène vers Cirey où ils vont retrouver d'autres otages saisis dans les communes voisines. Ces malheureux, après un long et cruel voyage, furent internés à la prison de Strasbourg d'où, enfin, on se décida un jour à les renvoyer chez eux sans plus d'explications.

Quand M. Benoit réussit à arracher à l'officier allemand la promesse que le massacre et l'incendie seraient désormais interdits à ses soldats, onze personnes avaient été assassinées et soixante-

dix-huit maisons incendiées, l'église était démolie de fond en comble...

L'occupation allemande, d'ailleurs, devait être brève, car, le soir même, les Français rentraient victorieusement dans Badonviller où ils étaient reçus par le maire, toujours exact et fidèle à son poste.

Le lendemain, M. Benoit prenait les dispositions nécessaires à l'ensevelissement des victimes de la barbarie allemande, quand on vint le prévenir qu'un soldat allemand, fait prisonnier et amené dans Badonviller par des soldats français, se trouvait en butte à la colère de la population, exaspérée par les crimes commis la veille.

M. Benoit, aussitôt, abandonnant sa funèbre tâche, intervint pour protéger ce misérable qui était peut-être l'un des assassins de sa femme. Et ce geste parut à tous si beau, si généreux, si grand, que le maire de Badonviller n'eut pas besoin de parlementer longtemps avec ses concitoyens pour leur faire admettre qu'un prisonnier sans défense doit être respecté.

Badonviller en deuil a enterré ses morts et, délivrée de ses alarmes, commence peu à peu de sortir de ses ruines, de revivre. M. Benoit est libre enfin de pleurer sans faillir à son devoir...

Lettres de Femmes



Une littérature spéciale a quelque peu abusé, en un temps qui n'est pas très loin de nous, du style épistolaire et particulièrement des « Lettres de femmes ». Par ce moyen, des écrivains, spéculant sur l'attrait de l'« éternel fémi-

nin », ont pu faire dire à d'intrépides noircisseuses de papier parfumé toutes les futilités, toutes les insanités qu'ils avaient eux-mêmes en tête. Et si les femmes n'ont pas protesté, c'est, hélas ! que trop d'entre elles prenaient plaisir à se calomnier en feignant de se reconnaître dans ces caricatures pitoyables, sinon haïssables.

La guerre nous a révélé des lettres d'un autre genre et d'un

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autre ton. Tout naturellement les combattants ont beaucoup écrit, et leurs lettres ont été copieusement divulguées parce qu'elles portaient témoignage d'un magnifique état d'âme et contenaient d'intéressants renseignements sur les péripéties d'une longue lutte tragique. Mais ces lettres-là, écrites dans l'exaltation et l'enthousiasme du combat et de la victoire, n'ont pas, nous oserons le dire, dépassé notre attente. Les héros de la Revanche ne pouvaient écrire autrement. Plus émouvantes, peut-être, et plus dignes encore d'être retenues, parce que leur admirable accent est plus imprévu et plus méritoire dans la solitude et la douleur du foyer en deuil, nous connaissons quelques lettres de femmes dont l'inspiration s'élève au sublime.

Cette lettre, par exemple, d'une veuve... Mais d'abord il faut dire, brièvement, ce qu'a fait celui qu'elle pleure.

Le caporal Philippe, dès le début de la guerre, est incorporé au 24^e d'infanterie coloniale et débute par se signaler en se portant sur la ligne de feu pour y relever, dans un ouragan de mitraille, un officier blessé dont les Allemands allaient s'emparer. Lui-même est

atteint, mais refuse pendant vingt-quatre heures de se laisser panser et finalement ne consent pas à se laisser « évacuer ».

Un jour, son colonel, ayant besoin d'être renseigné sur la disposition d'une tranchée et son armement, fait appeler Philippe.

— Je te sais brave, lui dit-il ; c'est pourquoi je vais te charger d'une mission extrêmement périlleuse... La nuit venue, tu prendras vingt-cinq hommes et tu iras sur cette crête où l'on voit des soldats allemands faire une tranchée... Tu tâcheras de rester là jusqu'au matin, en te dissimulant, toi et tes hommes, puis tu viendras me rendre compte de ce que tu auras vu.

— C'est bien, mon colonel, j'irai, dit Philippe sans hésitation.

— Sais-tu que tu risques ta vie et celle de tes compagnons ?

— Je n'ai pas peur de la mort, mon colonel, puisque c'est pour la France !

Le colonel, ému, embrasse Philippe, qui recrute vingt-cinq volontaires aussi bien trempés que lui. La petite troupe part. Les autres coloniaux la suivent des yeux ; puis, la nuit s'épaississant, elle disparaît dans l'ombre. Arrivé près de la crête, Philippe aperçoit

des soldats du génie allemand creusant une tranchée, pendant qu'une sentinelle fait les cent pas et monte la garde près d'eux. Aussitôt Philippe dissimule ses hommes dans un petit bois, avec défense de bouger et de crier, quoi qu'ils entendent. Il emmène avec lui un camarade et lui dit :

— Quand nous serons près de la sentinelle allemande, et que celle-ci criera : « Wer da ? » (Qui va là ?), tu te tiendras à l'écart de moi, sur la gauche, et tu feras du bruit avec ta baïonnette, de façon à faire retourner la sentinelle vers toi. Quoi que fasse le Boche, quoi que je fasse, ne dis rien, couche-toi sur le sol et attends mes ordres.

Les deux hommes avancent sans bruit ; ils ne sont qu'à deux pas de la sentinelle allemande qui se promène en fredonnant un air du pays. Philippe prend à droite, et en marchant fait un petit bruit.

— Wer da ?

A ce moment, l'autre colonial, exécutant la consigne, remue la baïonnette dans le fourreau. La sentinelle se retourne vers la gauche. C'est ce qu'attendait Philippe qui, posté à droite, bondit sur l'Allemand, lui plante par deux fois sa baïonnette dans la poitrine et saisit son fusil. La

sentinelle s'écroule sans pousser un cri. Prestement, Philippe, sans être vu des soldats qui travaillaient à vingt mètres plus loin à faire la tranchée, prend le manteau, le casque et le fusil de la sentinelle et se met à monter la garde à sa place ; de temps à autre, il fait rouler le cadavre de l'Allemand pour le dissimuler le plus possible. Bientôt, la tranchée étant finie, les soldats allemands partent pour rejoindre le gros des troupes, non sans adresser un salut amical à la sentinelle, qui, à leur grand étonnement, continue sa promenade sans leur répondre. Quand ils ont disparu, Philippe jette son casque et son manteau allemand, court dans le bois chercher ses camarades, et les vingt-six coloniaux s'installent dans la tranchée allemande. Au petit jour, une compagnie bavaroise arrive pour prendre possession de la tranchée préparée par le génie. Elle avance sans méfiance, les soldats devisant et plaisantant entre eux. Quand ils ne sont plus qu'à quelques pas, Philippe et ses vingt-cinq camarades tirent sur eux sans répit. Un grand nombre d'Allemands tombent ; les autres veulent prendre la tranchée d'assaut ; un feu meurtrier décime les téméraires

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et met les autres en fuite, sauf dix-huit qui lèvent les bras et se rendent. Pendant ce temps, le 24^e colonial, entendant la fusillade, s'avance au pas de charge, le colonel en tête. Philippe court vers lui et lui dit :

— Mon colonel, j'ai le plaisir de vous offrir cette tranchée ; elle est sur la crête ; vous pourrez vous rendre compte d'ici, mieux que moi, de la position des forces allemandes.

Le colonel, les larmes aux yeux, félicite Philippe que le régiment tout entier acclame. Devant toutes les troupes, la médaille militaire est remise au caporal Philippe sur le théâtre de ses exploits. Il est cité à l'ordre du jour de l'armée.

Quelques jours après, Philippe est touché au bras droit et à l'épaule droite. Malgré sa double blessure, il refuse d'aller à l'ambulance. Il continue à combattre et descend un officier allemand ; Philippe, voyant l'officier blessé, se porte vers lui pour le faire prisonnier et lui porter secours. Mais, au même moment, l'officier allemand braque son revolver sur le vaillant caporal et lui fracasse l'épaule d'une balle. Malgré la douleur, Philippe a encore la force de prendre son fusil et de

broyer le crâne de l'officier allemand à coups de crosse. Mais, épuisé par sa triple blessure, il est emporté à l'ambulance, et de là évacué sur l'hôpital militaire de Perpignan.

Rétabli, il rejoint son régiment. On lui confie — comme au plus digne — la direction d'une patrouille. Il abrite ses hommes, va de l'avant et tombe grièvement atteint. Cette fois il sent que c'est la fin. Il revient, cependant, à force d'énergie, rendre compte de sa mission et expire en disant : « Que voulez-vous, mon lieutenant ? il fallait que quelqu'un y aille ; je suis content d'avoir fait mon devoir ».

Le commandant du régiment ayant écrit à Mme Philippe pour lui faire part de la mort héroïque de son mari, a reçu la réponse suivante qu'il faudrait graver dans le marbre, en lettres d'or :

Paris, le 17 novembre 1914.

Monsieur le Commandant,

Je vous remercie bien sincèrement de la part que vous venez prendre à ma grande douleur, et vous suis reconnaissante de m'avoir fait parvenir la mort glorieuse de mon cher disparu.

LES BRAVES GENS DE CHEZ NOUS

Je vous dirai aussi que de savoir qu'il est mort comme tout Français doit mourir, met un peu d'apaisement à mon grand chagrin, et vous pouvez être sûr que si sa tâche à lui est terminée en mourant pour notre mère patrie la France, que moi, sa compagne, je n'aurai qu'un seul but à mon tour, c'est de faire de ses deux petites filles des femmes dignes de futurs Français, et saurai, dans l'avenir, leur apprendre à vénérer leur papa.

Sachez aussi, Monsieur le Commandant, que nous ne pouvons, si nous en souffrons, qu'admirer son geste, car s'il fallait, à l'heure qu'il est, un régiment de femmes, c'est par mille que l'on pourrait compter leurs enrôlements, moi en premier.

Recevez donc, Monsieur le Commandant, mes sincères remerciements et grand respect.

La femme d'un brave.

Signé : MARCELLE PHILIPPE.

Les exploits et la mort du caporal Philippe constituent de bien belles pages d'histoire militaire. Mais cette fière lettre, écrite par une veuve entre deux fillettes en larmes, cette lettre où l'orgueil patriotique commande et soumet toutes les douleurs, quel monu-

ment à la gloire des femmes de France !

* *

La lettre que voici n'a pas d'histoire. Pas même de signature. Elle a été écrite, au pays lorrain, par ses sœurs à un soldat mécanicien dans un parc d'aviation. Elle n'a besoin de nul commentaire. Il suffit de la lire avec attention pour en découvrir, à chaque ligne, l'âpre et véhémence grandeur :

Moyen, le 4 septembre 1914.

Mon cher Edouard,

J'apprends la nouvelle que Charles et Lucien sont morts dans la journée du 28 août. Eugène est blessé grièvement ; quant à Louis et Jean, ils sont morts aussi.

Rose est disparue.

Maman pleure ; elle dit que tu sois fort et désire que tu ailles les venger.

J'espère que tes chefs ne te refuseront pas ça. Jean avait eu la Légion d'honneur ; toi, succède-le.

Ils nous ont tous pris ; sur onze qui faisaient la guerre, huit sont morts. Mon cher frère, fais ton devoir, l'on demande que ça.

Dieu t'a donné la vie, il a le droit de te la reprendre ; c'est maman qui le dit.

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Nous t'embrassons de tout cœur, quoique nous voudrions bien te revoir avant.

Les Prussiens sont ici. Le fils Jandon est mort, ils ont tout pillé. Je reviens de Gerbeville qui est détruit. Les lâches !

Pars, mon cher frère ; fais ton sacrifice de ta vie. Nous avons l'espoir de te revoir, car quelque chose comme un pressentiment nous dit d'espérer.

Nous t'embrassons de tout cœur. Adieu et au revoir, si Dieu le permet.

TES SŒURS.

C'est pour nous et pour la France. Songe à tes frères et au grand-père en 70.

De cette lettre M. Ernest Lavisse, qui l'a publiée le premier, a pu dire :

« Il faudra un jour recueillir les plus belles des lettres qu'inspira cette terrible guerre ; on y trouvera d'inappréciables documents sur une âme qui nous était si mal connue, l'âme française ! Dans ce recueil, on mettra en belle place la lettre fièrement signée : Tes sœurs ».

* * *

Et voici une lettre encore, écrite à son mari qui est soldat par une

humble paysanne lorraine. Dans sa rusticité, elle exprime un grand courage, une énergie farouche, des sentiments vraiment cornéliens :

Cher Henri,

J'ai reçu quatre lettres de la même journée — voilà la deuxième que je t'envoie — tu me demandes comment je ne t'écrives pas — mais tu te figures pas que les Allemands ont été trois semaines chez nous à nous faire de la misère. Car les vaches ils nous ont fait porter un grand deuil chez nous, mon cher Henri ; je vais te dire la vérité, car je ne peux garder cela pour moi, mais il faut que tu aies du courage comme j'en ai eu. Comme je t'ai dit, le 28 j'ai eu mon enfant dans un grand bombardement. J'étais toute seule — il n'y avait que ma pauvre mère et père avec moi, mais rien de cela (ce n'était encore rien), mais le lendemain ils nous ont fait prisonniers dans l'église.

Là ils nous ont fait mourir de faim et tous les jours, le soir il y avait autre chose — pour nous fusiller — ils montaient au clocher tous les soirs pour éclairer — faire voir qu'ils étaient là et les bombes tombaient toute la journée.

LES BRAVES GENS DE CHEZ NOUS

Le 1^{er} septembre, jour de malheur pour nous comme pour bien d'autres, une bombe tombe et tue ma pauvre mère. Vinée-Èlène et notre pauvre petite Fernande ont été tuées sur le coup. Mais notre enfant a été traversée sur le côté droit et a souffert une heure. Elle disait : « Maman Marie, emmène-moi de l'église, il fait pas bon. » Elle demande à manger, rien à lui donner. Les derniers mots : « Maman ! je crois que je vas mourir. » En plus que cela, ma pauvre mère tenait notre nouveau-né — il a eu une jambe traversée et elle a vi (vécu) jusqu'au 18 septembre, car elle était très forte ; c'était une deuxième Fernande. Le lendemain, 2 septembre, des autres Prussiens sont arrivés. Quand on a vu cela, qu'il y avait tant de morts, car il y en a une trentaine, ils nous ont fait évacuer ce monde-là dans la prairie. Voilà une pluie de boulets qui tombe desur nous, ou nous renvoie la terre en pleine figure — mais là il n'y a eu ni mort ni blessé, moi j'ai fait la course comme les autres — j'ai tombé deux fois à plat ventre. Les bras et jambes ne pouvaient plus me supporter, mais le courage m'a repris. Tu sais que je suis courageuse et j'ai repris ma course jusqu'à Moncel. Là je porte notre pauvre

enfant à la Croix-Rouge des Prussiens. La blessure a été trop grave. Il m'a donné un passeport pour venir à Lunéville, car on ne pouvait marcher que dans les endroits où il y avait des Prussiens. Là, j'ai été plus heureuse, car je connais bien du monde. J'ai été dans le logement de Pauline où j'ai été très bien reçue par les parents de la pauvre Kellermière. J'aurai toujours de la reconnaissance pour eux. Si tu peux me donner des nouvelles de lui, donnes-moi les, car elle a encore rien reçu. Maintenant ne te fais pas de bile pour ta famille, car tu n'as plus que moi à penser, mais je suis bonne pour me débrouiller.

Tu vois que j'ai été courageuse, — le courage fait la force. C'est pour cela qu'il faut que tu y sois (courageux), pour venger tes deux enfants et notre pauvre famille. Vous pouvez prendre tout courage pour les écraser tous, ne plus les laisser entrer chez nous, — car moi, s'il était permis — j'irai prendre un fusil, tâcher d'en tuer un père (une paire). Toi peux le faire de suite qu'un boulet sortira, — tu peux en mettre 15 pour 1, tu peux faire part de cette lettre à tes camarades pour que tous les soldats Français puissent nous venger, car la haine sera toujours plus grande pour les barbares.

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Ne te fais pas de bile pour moi, car je n'ai plus d'enfants. S'il en revient encore (des Prussiens), je ne reste plus sous leur ordre, j'en ai assez, — je me sauve avec la troupe, — jusqu'à ce que je trouve un endroit sûr pour mon pauvre père. Je vais pas le laisser, car je suis une mère pour lui. — Je suis la plus vieille et je suis empressée pour rien, je n'ai plus rien qui m'occupe pour le moment. Ils sont à Kermenil, — il arrache les pommes de terre, il déballe notre maison, car ils (les Prussiens) nous ont volé tout notre linge, il ne te reste pas une chemise, ni à mon père, — mais enfin pour le linge, je m'en moque. La femme Menu et Maurice, — toute la famille Henry, il ne reste que le père et le petit du Maireri, la mère Bevelot — tous ont été tués par les Boches. La femme du Maurice a été fusillé

sur sa porte avec sa bonne et deux garçons. Je ne peux t'en dire davantage, mais je crois que cette lettre doit vous encourager pour nous venger. Mon pauvre Henri, — prends courage, — fais comme moi, — j'ai toujours l'espoir qu'on se retrouvera. De suite que tu recevras cette lettre, dis-moi ce que tu penses.

Ta femme qui pense à toi.

M. G.

P.-S. — Les Muller sont partis en Prusse. Tu peux penser, — les têtes carrées se sont arrangées ; ils avaient le droit d'aller faire à manger, — mais les pauvres Français comme nous mourraient de faim. Ce que je te recommande de leur envoyer des boulets — sans arrêter plein la gueule, — les écraser tous, — car ils ne méritent pas de voir le jour.





La Menteuse



Quelle fête ce fut pour les 400 habitants du petit village d'Avrechy, dans l'Oise, le jour où l'on annonça l'arrivée d'une troupe française ! Tous se portèrent au-devant des soldats sur la route de Clermont. Et au premier rang des plus empressés marchait, à peine appuyé sur sa petite-fillè Clotilde, le père Boucry, un vieux médaillé de 70 qui porte avec honneur le beau titre de « doyen

des sapeurs-pompiers de France ».

Tout d'abord les braves gens éprouvèrent un gros serrement de cœur. Ils virent venir à eux les débris d'une compagnie de ligne cruellement décimée par une série de rudes combats. Les soldats hâves, épuisés, avaient le plus grand besoin de se refaire. On envoyait la compagnie prendre à Avrechy quelque repos avant le retour au front de bataille. L'aspect de cette troupe était donc de nature à inspirer la pitié plus que l'enthousiasme. Les gens d'Avrechy redoublèrent alors d'affec-

tueuses prévenances. Chacun voulait avoir chez lui quelques soldats pour les reconforter et les soigner. Le père Boucry offrit sa maison et le concours de tous les siens. Et le lieutenant qui commandait le détachement ne savait plus auquel entendre. Finalement il déclina toutes ces offres.

— Mes hommes, expliqua-t-il, sont fourbus ; si je les disperse dans le village, nous serons à la merci d'une surprise. Avant d'avoir pu nous rassembler, nous serons massacrés en détail. Non, il faut que nous gardions le contact. N'y a-t-il pas ici quelque grand bâtiment où nous puissions organiser un campement provisoire ?

Le père Boucry indiqua une ferme située à l'extrémité du village, où l'on trouverait de vastes granges disposées autour d'une immense cour.

— Une vraie caserne, mon lieutenant.

— Voilà notre affaire ! Le repos de la caserne pendant quelques jours, et tout le monde, après cela, sera prêt à retourner se faire tuer pour la France.

— Vive la France ! conclut le doyen des pompiers en brandissant sa canne avec tant de fougue

qu'il serait tombé, si sa petite-fille Clotilde ne l'avait soutenu.

Clotilde était la confidente, l'amie du vieux grand-père. Il aimait cette fillette de seize ans non pas seulement parce qu'elle était la fille de ses enfants, mais parce qu'elle vibrait à l'unisson de son exaltation patriotique.

Désormais, chaque jour, appuyé sur Clotilde, le père Boucry alla visiter ses amis les soldats et leur porter les fruits et les légumes de son jardin. Le vieillard et la fillette étaient accueillis avec des cris de joie au campement.

— Bonjour, père Boucry !... Bonjour, mam'zelle Clotilde !... Comment ça va-t-il, ce matin, monsieur le doyen ?... Toujours les jambes... Dame, vous trottiez mieux que ça en 70, hein ?

Le père Boucry racontait des histoires de l'autre guerre, Clotilde épluchait des légumes avec des femmes du village. On passait quelques bonnes heures cordiales dans la simplicité de cette existence rustique. Mais parfois le lieutenant revenait, soucieux, d'une reconnaissance aux environs :

— Nous ferons bien de rallier le plus tôt possible. On a vu des uhlans rôder aux environs.

Les uhlans ! A ce nom exécré,

Clotilde, malgré tout son courage, frémissait.

— Bon, bon, qu'ils viennent, grommelait le père Boucry. J'ai un fusil et des chevrotines pour eux.

— Ne faites pas ça, répliqua le lieutenant, vous vous feriez massacrer avec tous les vôtres. Envoyez-les donc plutôt demander à la ferme de l'avoine pour leurs chevaux. Nous nous chargeons du reste.

Un jour, cependant, le père Boucry, aux prises avec de méchants rhumatismes, ne put accompagner Clotilde. Et il s'en lamenta d'autant plus vivement que le départ des soldats était fixé pour le lendemain.

— Eh bien, grand-père, j'irai seule, dit Clotilde.

— Non, non, je ne veux pas que tu t'aventures sans moi...

— Voyons, grand-père, j'ai seize ans.

— Et même un peu moins.

— Je les parais presque...

— Il ne s'agit pas de ça, il s'agit que si des uhlans...

La fillette éclata de rire. Et déjà elle se sauvait, légère, portant dans une corbeille des fruits et des légumes pour les petits lignards.

Elle n'alla pas loin. Devant elle,

à son grand étonnement, elle vit la rue déserte, observa que des volets, des portes se fermaient précipitamment, et elle s'arrêta net, saisie d'inquiétude. Mais il était trop tard pour fuir. Des uhlans, au galop, accouraient. Ils étaient une quinzaine, la lance en avant, le revolver au poing, l'air méfiant et cruel.

Clotilde se consultait intérieurement :

— Que ferait grand-père s'il était avec moi ?

Et il lui sembla entendre distinctement le père Boucry grogner dans sa moustache :

— Continuons notre chemin comme si de rien n'était, pour montrer à ces sales Boches que nous n'avons pas peur d'eux.

Clotilde, aussitôt, reprit sa marche.

Elle était si menue, si frêle, avec sa corbeille, rasant la façade hermétiquement close des maisons, que, peut-être, ils ne prendraient même pas garde à elle.

Mais l'allure des chevaux s'était ralentie. Les cavaliers sautèrent à terre. En un clin d'œil ils entourèrent l'enfant qui vit des lances aiguës pointées sur elle, des revolvers menaçants tout près de son front.

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Et l'un des Allemands, qui paraissait être le chef, l'apostropha durement :

— Tu vas nous dire la vérité... ou gare !

— Oui, monsieur.

— Y a-t-il des soldats français par ici ?

Un autre ajouta, d'une voix plus violente encore :

— Si tu ne dis pas la vérité... capout !

Clotilde Boucry pensait à son grand-père. Elle dit, en tremblant un peu :

— Je n'ai pas peur !

— Alors, réponds !

— Nous n'avons vu aucun soldat français.

— Aucun, tu en es bien sûre ?

— Aucun.

— Si tu nous as trompés, nous saurons bien te retrouver !

Déjà ils s'écartaient, quand le chef se ravisa.

— Où y a-t-il des écuries pour faire reposer les chevaux ?

— Dans une ferme, au bout du village. Vous n'avez qu'à entrer dans la cour...

Ils remontèrent en selle et s'éloignèrent dans la direction de la ferme.

Derrière Clotilde, avec précaution, un volet s'entre-bâilla :

— Sauve-toi ! sauve-toi, maintenant ! S'ils reviennent, ils vont te tuer.

La fillette haussa les épaules.

— Ils ne reviendront pas. Le lieutenant a dit que si les Allemands entraient dans la cour, il se chargeait du reste...

Au loin, des coups de feu éclatèrent.

La fusillade, durant quelques instants, crépita. Puis ce fut le silence.

Des gens, s'enhardissant, sortaient sur le pas de leur porte.

— Croyez-vous, demandait naïvement Clotilde, que grand-père sera content de moi ?...

— Eh bien, va lui raconter ce qui s'est passé.

— Je ne peux pas, il faut d'abord que j'aille porter ma corbeille...

Dans la cour de la ferme, les uhlands prisonniers virent passer devant eux, souriante et calme, l'enfant qui leur avait menti au péril de sa vie.

— J'espère bien, dit-elle simplement aux soldats, que vous n'allez pas leur faire de mal...

Le Justicier



Le nom de ce héros de quatorze ans est célèbre déjà. Un monument doit s'élever quelque jour qui perpétuera le souvenir de la minute glorieuse où toute la générosité et toute la fierté d'un peuple se sont exprimées par le geste d'un enfant.

Minute rapide, geste spontané et presque irréfléchi que déclanche soudain un sursaut de l'instinct atavique violenté. Car ce n'est que cela, en somme. Mais comme cela est grand et beau ! Ce petit enfant de France, à lui tout seul venge l'injustice et l'injure dont des créatures humaines souffrent sur la terre natale par la cruauté de l'ennemi. Il se fait justicier pour l'humanité et pour la patrie. Puis il meurt... Et qu'importe, — dirait-il sans doute, — puisque le geste est fait, puisque la tâche est achevée.

Émile Desprès, cependant,

n'avait pas eu le loisir d'apprendre grand'chose dans les livres. On les abandonne de bonne heure, au pays minier, pour la rude école de la vie laborieuse et précaire, entre le coron sans joie et la mine où rôde le grisou. A Lourches, un petit village d'humbles maisonnettes de briques noircies qui dépend des mines de Douchy, Desprès menait l'existence qui est celle des jeunes apprentis, des « galibots » de son âge, quand l'invasion allemande vint arrêter tout travail et bouleverser les habitudes, le sort d'une région particulièrement active et populeuse.

Dans les environs on s'était battu. Certains coronas avaient recueilli des blessés. Était-ce un crime de soigner chez soi un soldat français, un malheureux sergent que l'on avait relevé, le front labouré par une balle, le bassin fracturé par un obus ? Une brave femme de Lourches se posait cette question avec angoisse en ouvrant la porte de son humble logis à une troupe d'Allemands qui menaient grand tapage. Dans des co-

rons, au passage ils avaient bu du genièvre, et la liqueur de feu, après avoir brûlé leur gosier, avait embrasé leur cerveau. Ils voulaient en boire encore. Une femme de mineur en a toujours chez elle, pour le réconfort de ceux qui vont descendre dans l'ombre et l'humidité des galeries souterraines et pour la « bistouille » du retour, où le genièvre se mélange au café.

Mais les buveurs de bière ne « tiennent » pas le genièvre. Dans le coin sombre où il s'était traîné pour se faire oublier, pour ne pas trop compromettre son hôtesse, le sergent blessé voyait, à travers les affres de son agonie, l'ivresse gagner la bande en ripaille. De minute en minute les gestes devenaient plus saccadés et plus violents. Un lieutenant qui titubait semblait en proie aux mêmes oscillations intérieures, et tantôt s'efforçait à l'égard de l'hôtesse aux pires galanteries et tantôt l'accablait des pires brutalités. Finalement, ce fut la brutalité qui l'emporta parce que le flacon de genièvre était vide. Il y eut une bousculade, des injures, des jurons ; le lieutenant se jetait sur la pauvre femme affolée quand, de l'ombre, une courte flamme jaillit, et l'ivrogne croula lourdement.

Stupeur. Et puis ruée. Il n'y aura pas d'autres coups de feu. Le revolver a glissé déjà des mains défaillantes du sergent.

— Tuez-le sur place !... Non, jetez-le dehors ; il faut le fusiller comme un chien... comme un chien enragé, avec les autres !

A coups de pied, à coups de crosse et sans qu'il se plaigne, car il souffre trop pour souffrir davantage, le sergent est, en effet, jeté dehors. Précisément un capitaine allemand passe à la tête d'une troupe qui encadre, baïonnette au canon, un groupe de quinze mineurs. La troupe s'arrête.

— Qu'est-ce que c'est que celui-là ? demande le capitaine en apercevant le sergent français étendu sanglant et farouche, les yeux fous, les membres secoués par la fièvre.

On lui explique ce qui vient de se passer. Aussitôt il écume de rage.

— Et vous ne l'avez pas haché en morceaux séance tenante ?

— C'est, répliquent les autres qui craignent un blâme, que nous avons pensé qu'il vous serait agréable de le faire fusiller personnellement.

— Oui, fusillons !... Fusillons

tout de suite. Par groupes, pour que cela dure plus longtemps... Tout cela, des espions... Des assassins !...

Le capitaine, lui aussi, a bu du genièvre. Il hurle des ordres. Parmi les quinze mineurs qui attendent, passifs, résignés, presque indifférents, tant ils sont détachés déjà de ce monde après l'adieu qu'ils lui ont fait en leur cœur, un sous-officier en avise deux qu'il pousse vers un mur, puis il s'écarte. Des fusils se dressent au commandement du capitaine et les deux pauvres corps criblés de balles sont maintenant deux choses inertes, à terre. Puis il y en a quatre, puis il y en a six dont les membres s'enchevêtrent ; cela commence à faire un tas. Deux par deux ils se superposent en tombant à la même place avec le même bond en avant, le cou rentré dans les épaules, le front tendu, comme s'ils s'enfonçaient, d'un élan désespéré, dans la mort libératrice.

A quelques pas, l'enfant qui, tout à l'heure, sera un héros, regarde cette scène avec des yeux que dilate l'horreur. La curiosité l'a attiré aux premiers coups de feu, et maintenant il ne peut plus partir...

— A boire !...

Dans un souffle qui râle, le sergent accroupi et grelottant se plaint que l'on tarde à l'achever.

Il répète : « A boire ! » avec l'égarement du délire. Sans doute n'a-t-il plus même conscience de ce qu'il dit.

Mais Émile Desprès l'a entendu. Il court à la maison proche.

— Vite, de l'eau pour le sergent !

Pour son sauveur ! La brave femme s'empresse d'emplir un verre, mais sa main tremble parce que les coups de feu, tout à côté, contre le mur, ne cessent pas... Elle pleure et se lamente.

— Petit, petit, prends garde, ils vont te faire mal !

Le petit est déjà au dehors, penché sur le sergent qui boit à longs traits avides sans trouver même la force de remercier.

Mais le capitaine, qui vient de faire abattre un cinquième couple d'hommes et son dixième cadavre, s'est retourné. Et il pousse un juron terrible. Un enfant intrépide, penché sur un blessé et qui le fait boire, cela compose aux yeux de l'assassin ivre de genièvre et de sang un tableau insupportable à voir, un odieux rappel aux sentiments de l'humanité, un re-

proche personnel et direct au monstre bestial déchaîné.

En deux enjambées il est sur l'enfant et l'a frappé du plat de son sabre, l'abat, le roule à terre à coups de talon de botte.

— Vermine !... Fusillé !... Fusillé !... Toi aussi tu seras fusillé.

Des soldats accourus le rejettent à coups de crosse auprès du sergent. On les garde pour la fin. Ils mourront ensemble. D'ailleurs, le moment est venu. On vient d'abattre les trois derniers survivants. C'est leur tour.

— Bandez les yeux de l'enfant, ordonne le capitaine.

Émile Desprès entre dans la nuit. On le fait marcher, il trébuche sur des cadavres, puis, derrière lui, il sent le mur froid et nu comme la dalle d'une tombe.

La voix rauque de son bourreau crie : « A genoux ! » Et il s'agenouille docilement. C'est une bonne position pour mourir...

Le cliquetis des fusils que l'on arme... et puis des secondes qui s'écoulent... Comme c'est long !...

Mais la voix du capitaine s'élève de nouveau et se rapproche. Des mains touchent l'enfant, sans brutalité cette fois. Son bandeau tombe. Il revoit le ciel, le paysage

natal, du mouvement, de la vie... Le voici debout, comme les vivants !

C'est dans une sorte d'extase inconsciente qu'il écoute l'officier allemand dont la main, paternellement, s'appuie sur son épaule et dont l'accent se fait bonhomme :

— Tiens, petit, tu es trop jeune : je te fais grâce ; tu vas pouvoir retourner à tes parents et tu pourras leur dire, ma foi, que tu reviens de loin... Mais tu as eu le tort de donner de l'aide à un condamné, il faut réparer cela pour que je puisse te laisser aller... Oh ! ce n'est pas difficile, je ne suis pas exigeant : celui que tu as secouru, tu vas le tuer toi-même. Tu comprends : on va te donner un fusil, tu tireras sur le sergent. Et puis après, tu seras libre d'aller jouer aux billes avec tes petits camarades. C'est entendu, hein ? Ça va ? Naturellement. Bon. Donnez-lui un fusil. Et vous autres, écarterez-vous. Il n'est peut-être pas très bon tireur, ce gosse, et il sera peut-être obligé de s'y reprendre à deux fois !

Émile Desprès n'a rien répondu. Mais, parce que son front s'incline, le bourreau goguenard a compris qu'il consentait au crime. En vérité, l'enfant regarde, accroupi



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Et soudain, volte-face sur place sans que l'arme s'abaisse. Le coup part. Et, foudroyé, le capitaine s'effondre, tué net, à bout portant. Justice est faite.

à terre, dans une mare de sang, le martyr qu'il faut achever. Et ses yeux deviennent fixes.

On lui met le lourd fusil dans les mains en lui expliquant :

— Tu épaules, comme cela, et puis tu presses la gâchette, ici...

Dans cette position du tireur, qu'il craint de perdre s'il ne la conserve telle que l'Allemand vient de la lui indiquer, Émile Desprès fait un pas sur le sergent. Le canon du fusil frôle sa poitrine.

Derrière l'enfant, le capitaine rit bruyamment :

— Très bien !... Ah ! comme cela, sûrement tu l'auras !... Allons !... Feu !...

Et soudain, volte-face sur place

sans que l'arme s'abaisse. Le coup part. Et, foudroyé, le capitaine s'effondre, tué net, à bout portant.

Justice est faite.

Pauvre petit ! A coups de baïonnette ils l'ont aussitôt transpercé, déchiqueté avec une fureur sauvage.

Mais l'offrande sublime de ce sang innocent n'a pas été faite en vain par un jeune héros. Émile Desprès instruit de son exemple tous les enfants de France. Il leur commande de vouloir, comme le suprême bien, qui vaut le sacrifice même de leur jeunesse, l'éternelle jeunesse généreuse et enthousiaste de la patrie.

Blessure de Guerre



Les Parisiens, demeurés à Paris en dépit de l'approche des Allemands en septembre

1914, avaient fini par s'accoutumer à la visite quotidienne d'un « Taube ». L'apparition de l'oiseau ennemi dans le ciel de

la capitale était prévue, guetée, saluée de cris presque joyeux :

— Le voilà ! Le voilà !...

On courait aux carrefours pour mieux voir, on se penchait aux fenêtres, on montait même sur les toits.

Paris courageux, téméraire, narquois et goguenard, accueillait la menace du « Taube » par des rires,

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des défis et des quolibets. Pour rien au monde un badaud parisien n'eût consenti à manquer le passage de l'aéroplane allemand. Et cette bravade où il entrait, d'ailleurs, une large part de la curiosité qui est le péché mignon du Parisien, semble avoir trouvé son expression totale dans le mot d'un gavroche campé en pleine rue, le nez en l'air, les mains aux poches, et qui suit les évolutions de l'oiseau non sans impatience. Finalement, il lance vers le ciel cette exclamation où s'unissent et se fortifient la gouaillerie et l'accent du faubourg :

— Non, mais quoi !... lâche ta bombe, qu'on aille dîner !

Car ces aéroplanes, tout de même, lâchaient des bombes, et qui n'étaient pas toujours inoffensives.

Derrière lui, l'officier allemand qui sillonnait le ciel au-dessus de Paris semait à sa fantaisie la mort et le deuil sur les points les plus imprévus. Et pour rien, pour le plaisir de tuer, car on ne pouvait sérieusement songer à effrayer Paris à si bon compte.

Un jour, cependant, le 27 septembre, le « Taube » parut viser un objectif déterminé. Après avoir laissé tomber une bombe au-dessus

des parcs à bestiaux du Bois de Boulogne, il visa les magasins de la manutention militaire. Mais le projectile tomba un peu à l'écart, au coin de l'avenue du Trocadéro et de la rue Freycinet.

C'était un dimanche ; la rue parisienne, dans le quartier du Trocadéro, est particulièrement paisible le dimanche. Un auto-taxi passait, une fillette jouait sur le trottoir. L'auto fut mis en miettes et le vieux notaire parisien qui lisait son journal dans la voiture fut tué net. L'enfant roula sur la chaussée, toute sanglante.

Aux premières personnes accourues, elle dit :

— Ma jambe saigne... j'ai mal... je crois que c'est grave... Il ne faut pas dire à maman que c'est grave.

Puis elle donna posément son nom :

— Denise Cartier, fille des concierges de la manutention militaire.

On la transporta en toute hâte à l'hôpital Beaujon. Le cas était grave, en effet. La jambe criblée de mitraille dut être amputée.

Quoique l'on sût Denise vaillante, on n'osa pas l'informer, après l'opération, de son malheur et de son infirmité. Ce fut sa

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mère qui dut s'en charger. Et la mère avait plus de chagrin que la fillette.

— Eh bien, maman, dit-elle, j'ai donné ma jambe à la France !

Sur son lit d'hôpital, pendant sa convalescence, elle tricotait pour les soldats, tout en s'efforçant de distraire sa mère, *de lui donner du courage.*

— Je t'assure que cela m'amuse bien plus de tricoter que de sauter à la corde... Et puis, l'été prochain, quand j'irai passer les vacances chez ma tante, à Creil, tu n'auras

plus lieu de craindre que je ne fasse une mauvaise chute en courant dans le jardin... Je resterai assise, bien sage, et tu ne seras plus inquiète.

Cette douce et touchante victime de la barbarie allemande méritait, certes, en raison de son infortune, la sympathie affectueuse que les Parisiens lui ont témoignée. Elle a mérité, en outre, par sa vaillance, qu'on la salue avec respect, comme nous saluons nos blessés du champ de bataille.

L'Enfant au Fusil de bois



Un héros ?
Non, sans doute.
Et pourtant !...

Sept ans, dit-on, c'est l'âge de raison. C'est l'âge, en tout

cas, où les impressions fortes émeuvent fortement, où l'essentiel des choses apparaît dans une simplicité rudimentaire, mais d'autant plus nette.

Un enfant de sept ans voit et comprend les alarmes des siens. Et, dès lors, lui faut-il tant de rai-

sonnement pour partager leur haine, pour s'associer à leur rancune contre l'envahisseur ?

— Ah ! maman, si j'étais assez grand !...

Il l'est assez, déjà, pour ces mouvements d'âme qui soulèvent un instant l'enfant à l'égal d'un homme.

La mère, convulsivement, le presse contre son cœur. Et dût-elle périr faute d'un défenseur, elle se réjouit qu'il soit, par son âge, à l'abri du devoir et du risque dont rêve un jeune courage en éveil.

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A sept ans, quel enfant n'a été soldat dans un ardent bataillon qui ne connaît pas la peur ! Cheval mécanique, fusil de bois, pistolet de plomb, bonnet de police en papier, qui n'a connu, jusqu'à l'enivrement et la fièvre, les mâles joies de la lutte au champ de bataille des récréations ?

Ainsi, dans un village de Lorraine, à deux pas de cette frontière si longtemps meurtrie que domine le Lion de Belfort, au calme petit village de Magny dont les rues paisibles, dès la sortie de l'école, appartiennent à la marmaille, des enfants jouaient souvent « à la petite guerre » et plus souvent encore depuis qu'ils entendaient parler autour d'eux de la grande guerre.

— Moi, dit un jour l'un d'eux, dans l'animation d'un passionnant combat, si les Prussiens viennent ici... j'ai mon fusil.

Et les autres de rire. Car enfin on a sept ans, huit ans, dix ans, on est des « gosses », mais on sait bien, tout de même, que les Allemands n'auraient pas peur d'un fusil de bois qui ne peut tirer que les capsules achetées chez l'épicier en cachette du garde champêtre...

Mais l'enfant au fusil de bois reste grave, tout occupé à suivre en lui le bel envol d'une idée, comme s'il regardait s'élever dans la lumière un papillon...

Les Allemands sont venus. Sur la route où, tant de fois, les soldats de la petite guerre les en avaient défiés, ils passent en rangs serrés, en masses profondes dans la cadence martelée des bottes et le cliquetis des armes. Mais que voient-ils tout à coup ?... Au seuil d'une maison paysanne, le geste d'un fusil braqué, un fusil de bois, un fusil de bazar aux mains d'un enfant de sept ans, un geste puéril et naïf qui ne saurait provoquer que le sourire par la dérision de son impuissance.

— Ah ! sale gamin ! Tu nous tirerais dessus, si tu pouvais.

Un ordre lancé par l'officier a suffi.

Des fusils, de vrais fusils s'abaissent. Les coups de feu crépitent. L'officier s'avance, regarde et ricane. La petite guerre est finie. L'enfant est mort.

Un héros ?... Non. De la graine de héros seulement. Mais de cette graine qui fait les moissons hautes et drues...



L'ENFANT AU FUSIL DE BOIS

L'officier s'avance, regarde et ricane. La petite guerre est finie. L'enfant est mort.

Les Pupilles de la Gloire



Quand le régiment passe, les « gosses » emboîtent le pas. Il en a toujours été ainsi chez nous.

La guerre de revanche devait infailliblement nous révéler toute une légion de jeunes courages impatientes d'action et de gloire. On ne saurait les énumérer tous, mais on peut en ranger quelques-uns par rang de taille et les passer en revue.

Commençons par les plus jeunes.

Douze ans !... Parfaitement, André Guédé avait douze ans quand il suivit un régiment qui passait à Neuilly-en-Thelle (Oise).

Le sous-lieutenant Grivelet, touché par la gentillesse et la crânerie de l'enfant, se l'attacha. Ils ne se quittèrent plus, même sur la ligne de feu, même sous la mitraille.

André Guédé s'illustre par sa fidélité militaire, mais Paul Watelin, lui, s'est battu.

Il se glisse dans un train qui passe

en gare de Creil et le voilà, deux jours plus tard, en Belgique avec un régiment de cuirassiers. On se bat devant Namur. Il ramasse le mousqueton et la cartouchière d'un blessé et fait le coup de feu avec tant d'entrain que le colonel, après la bataille, ordonne de lui donner un uniforme et un cheval.

Marcel Vernier, originaire de Montbéliard, s'est battu dans les Vosges, puis dans le Nord, avec le 3^e d'artillerie, et il a été blessé d'un éclat d'obus à La Bassée en ravitaillant sa batterie sur le champ de bataille où sa conduite lui a valu d'être nommé brigadier, maréchal des logis et proposé pour la médaille militaire. A treize ans et deux mois il était sous-officier !...

Son aîné de quelques mois, Henri Derombier, de Saint-Nicolas-lez-Arras, a fait ses premières armes dans une ambulance... mais sous les obus, et il a été blessé à son poste, courageusement.

De même Louis Arbaud, âgé de quatorze ans, s'est distingué principalement en portant secours aux blessés sur les champs de

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bataille, où il avait suivi le 3^e d'infanterie.

A quatorze ans, Fernand Colin, lui, est territorial. C'est-à-dire qu'il porte l'uniforme du 92^e territorial dont les officiers l'ont recueilli à Rambervillers, désespéré, mourant de faim, séparé de sa mère par les Allemands après le massacre et l'incendie de Badonviller.

Albert Schuffrenkes à quatorze ans était hussard. On cite de lui ce joli exploit : envoyé en reconnaissance avec son peloton, il ramena, pour son propre compte et à lui seul, quatre chevaux pris aux Allemands.

Le jeune Chotin — quinze ans — a eu plus de chance : il a été cité à l'ordre du jour de l'armée en ces termes :

« Arrivé, en se dissimulant, au milieu d'un détachement de renfort, le jeune Chotin, âgé de quinze ans, a dû être incorporé au régiment (92^e infanterie) malgré son jeune âge ; a été blessé il y a un mois d'une balle à l'épaule et vient de faire prisonniers deux Allemands aux combats du 14 et du 15 novembre ; n'a cessé de faire preuve de la plus grande énergie et du plus grand courage ».

Émile Bigarré, qui a quinze ans et demi, est né à Blamont (Meur-

the-et-Moselle). Séparé de sa famille, partie à l'aventure dès les premiers jours de l'invasion, il se fit adopter par le 7^e bataillon de chasseurs et se battit pendant un mois dans la tranchée. Blessé une première fois, il refusa de quitter son poste. Blessé de nouveau à Rozières, il ne consentit enfin que sur un ordre formel à se laisser panser.

Et voici, presque des hommes, des petits gars de seize ans ! Celui-ci, d'ailleurs, est encore un écolier, et c'est le « Bulletin du ministère de l'Instruction publique » qui nous conte son exploit : il a relevé, sous la mitraille, un camarade blessé sans se soucier de sa propre blessure ni du danger.

Joseph Lanzonne avait réussi à s'engager dans un régiment d'infanterie, sans avouer, bien entendu, qu'il n'avait pas plus de seize ans. Pendant un mois il se battit de tout son cœur. A Montfaucon (Meuse), il se signala notamment en enlevant aux mains de l'ennemi et en portant pendant plus d'un kilomètre, sous une pluie de balles, son adjudant grièvement blessé. Pour ce beau trait, il fut nommé caporal. Il allait être nommé sergent, quand ses parents obtinrent, à son grand

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désespoir, qu'il leur serait renvoyé, en raison de son jeune âge.

André Lange, de Nancy, débuta par faire admirer son sang-froid et son mépris du danger pendant le bombardement de sa ville natale. Il suivait, d'ailleurs, à sa fantaisie les régiments en marche, et cela le conduisit plus d'une fois au champ de bataille où il se comporta comme un « ancien ». Il fit même, à la bataille de Thiaucourt, quelque chose de très bien. La lutte ayant été extrêmement sanglante, il réussit à découvrir une brouette abandonnée. Et, sous la mitraille, il se mit à ramener de la ligne de feu à l'ambulance tous les blessés qu'il put relever. Il avait ainsi sauvé une vingtaine d'hommes et un capitaine, quand il fut blessé à son tour.

Pour clore cette revue, malheureusement trop incomplète et brève, on ne saurait mieux choisir que ce jeune Mercadier qui était médaillé militaire à seize ans et demi et que Maurice Barrès a fait acclamer à ses côtés par la foule lors de l'émouvante manifestation de Champigny en décembre 1914.

L'histoire de Mercadier est celle de la plupart de ses jeunes émules. Mais les circonstances l'ont particulièrement favorisé. Il suivit d'abord le 59^e d'infanterie à son passage à Adamville. Puis il adopta le 2^e régiment d'artillerie lourde. Une nuit qu'il était de garde, il surprit un soldat qui dérobait le cheval d'un sous-officier, n'hésita pas à entrer en lutte avec lui et, finalement, le tua. Ce qui lui valut une citation à l'ordre du jour et une proposition pour la médaille militaire. Quarante-sept jours il demeura sur la ligne de feu, ne cessant de prendre part à toutes les actions engagées.

Georges Petiot, de Roanne, âgé de seize ans, a suivi son frère mobilisé au 98^e de ligne et s'est si bien battu aux côtés de son aîné qu'il a été cité à l'ordre du jour du régiment.

N'est-ce pas qu'ils sont gentils, qu'ils sont crânes, tous ces pupilles de la gloire, et qu'un pays où des enfants, parfois, devancent les hommes sur les chemins de l'héroïsme, n'a rien à craindre de l'avenir?



LES VERSIONS ALLEMANDE ET FRANÇAISE

DU

MANIFESTE DIT DES QUATRE-VINGT-TREIZE

La recherche et la préservation du document authentique sont le premier devoir de l'historien. Guichardin, qui s'y connaissait, les recommande afin de remédier aux falsifications, qui tôt ou tard et pour des raisons diverses se substituent aux originaux : « Le falsità delle scritture rade volte si fabricano da principio, ma di poi in progresso di tempo, secondo che conducono le occasioni o la necessità ; e però è buono espediente a difendersene, subito che è fatto lo instrumento o la scrittura, farsi fare copia autentica per tenerla appresso di sé¹. » Ces précautions s'imposent surtout quand il s'agit de documents imprimés en feuilles volantes ou dans des journaux, et par conséquent exposés à une prompte destruction, tels que le fameux Manifeste des intellectuels allemands, qui a vu le jour au mois d'octobre dernier. Vu l'importance psychologique et pathologique de ce factum, il m'a paru utile de reproduire avec fidélité, d'après des exemplaires qui m'ont été obligeamment prêtés par un ami de Genève, les éditions originales du texte allemand et de la traduction française, publiées simultanément en Allemagne. La traduction française a été réimprimée dans le journal *Le Temps* du mardi 13 octobre 1914, mais d'une façon assez inexacte : au lieu de « déplorera *sincèrement*... champs de bataille de l'Ouest... 70 millions d'Allemands », on lit dans *Le Temps* : « déplorera *certainement*... champs de bataille de l'Oise... des millions d'habitants. » En revanche, *Le Temps* a amélioré la ponctuation et corrigé quatre fautes : « nos ennemis *même*... *connivance*... *assailis*... *ils*... *dums-dums*. »

Ce Manifeste, aussi honteux que ridicule et qui est la négation même de la méthode scientifique dont les Allemands se proclament volontiers les détenteurs exclusifs, de quelle plume est-il sorti ? On a désigné trois juristes qui figurent dans le bizarre assemblage de célébrités et de médiocrités² signataires du factum. Pourquoi ? Je l'ignore. En tout cas, on n'y aperçoit nulle part la marque d'un esprit juridique. D'autres l'attribuent à l'un des membres les plus en vue de la cama-

1. *Ricordi politici e civili*, n° CXIX.

2. Parmi lesquelles s'est fourvoyé un romaniste zurichois.

rilla intellectuelle de Guillaume II, M. Harnack ou, depuis peu, von Harnack. Ne connaissant pas le style de cet historien de l'Eglise, je n'ai rien à dire sur l'attribution proposée; je remarquerai seulement qu'on surprend dans le Manifeste quelques recherches qui dénotent plutôt un littérateur ou un philologue. Ainsi « la bouche d'airain des événements » (*der eherne Mund der Ereignisse*) sent son Goethe et rappelle un vers d'*Iphigénie*.

Que penser de la version française, destinée évidemment à répandre le Manifeste dans les cantons de la Suisse romande? Impossible d'en lire quelques lignes sans y reconnaître un « produit boche », tant la langue en est incorrecte et lourde. Par rapport au texte allemand, il y a lieu aussi d'y noter des inexactitudes de traduction et des variantes : je les indiquerai en note. Pour abrégier et parce que je m'attache surtout ici à la reproduction fidèle des deux versions du document, j'ai supprimé la longue liste des signataires. Ceux qui voudront en prendre connaissance la trouveront soit dans le fac-similé du texte allemand exécuté par la maison Richer et C^{ie}, soit dans *Le Temps* du 16 octobre 1914.

Les éditions originales allemande et française, imprimées en caractères romains sans noms de lieu ni d'imprimeur, forment une plaquette de deux feuillets chacune, qui mesurent 27 centimètres sur 22 : dans la marge du bas, l'édition française porte la signature F, qui laisse supposer l'existence d'autres versions, par exemple en caraïbe et dans l'idiome des habitants de la Terre de Feu. Les fautes d'orthographe et de ponctuation de la version française ont été scrupuleusement conservées.

A. MOREL-FATIO.

I. — VERSION ALLEMANDE (A).

AN DIE KULTURWELT!

Wir als Vertreter deutscher Wissenschaft und Kunst erheben vor der gesamten Kulturwelt Protest¹ gegen die Lügen und Verleumdungen, mit denen² unsere Feinde Deutschlands reine Sache³ in dem ihm aufgezwungenen schweren Daseinskampfe⁴

II. — VERSION FRANÇAISE (B).

APPEL AUX NATIONS CIVILISÉES!

En qualité de représentants de la science et de l'art allemands, nous soussignés protestons solennellement devant le monde civilisé contre les mensonges et les calomnies dont nos ennemis tentent de salir la juste et bonne cause de l'Allemagne

1. B renforce et dit : « nous soussignés protestons *solennellement*. »

2. « Les mensonges et les calomnies *dont* nos ennemis tentent de salir », etc. Français boche.

3. La « cause pure » de A est devenue dans B « la juste et bonne cause ».

4. « Dans la terrible lutte qui nous a été imposée et qui ne menace rien de moins que notre existence. » Encore du français boche.

zu beschmutzen trachten. Der eherne Mund der Ereignisse¹ hat die Ausstreuung erdichteter deutscher Niederlagen widerlegt. Um so eifriger arbeitet man jetzt mit Entstellungen und Verdächtigungen. Gegen sie erheben wir laut unsere Stimme. Sie soll die Verkünderin der Wahrheit sein.

Es ist nicht wahr, dass Deutschland diesen Krieg verschuldet hat. Weder das Volk hat ihn gewollt noch die Regierung noch der Kaiser. Von deutscher Seite ist das Äusserste geschehen, ihn abzuwenden². Dafür liegen der Welt die urkundlichen Beweise vor. Oft genug³ hat Wilhelm II. in den 26 Jahren seiner Regierung sich als Schirmherr des Weltfriedens erwiesen; oft genug haben selbst unsere Gegner dies anerkannt. Ja, dieser nämlich Kaiser, den sie jetzt einen Attila zu nennen wagen, ist jahrzehntelang wegen seiner unerschütterlichen Friedensliebe von ihnen verspottet worden. Erst als eine schon lange an den Gren-

dans la terrible lutte qui nous a été imposée et qui ne menace rien de moins que notre existence. La marche des événements s'est chargée de réfuter cette propagande mensongère qui n'annonçait que des défaites allemandes. Mais on n'en travaille qu'avec plus d'ardeur à dénaturer la vérité et à nous rendre odieux. C'est contre ces machinations que nous protestons à haute voix : et cette voix est la voix de la vérité.

Il n'est pas vrai que l'Allemagne ait provoqué cette guerre. Ni le peuple, ni le gouvernement, ni l'empereur allemand ne l'ont voulue. Jusqu'au dernier moment, jusqu'aux limites du possible, l'Allemagne a lutté pour le maintien de la paix. Le monde entier n'a qu'à juger d'après les preuves que lui fournissent les documents authentiques. Maintes fois pendant son règne de vingt-six ans Guillaume II a sauvegardé la paix, fait que maintes fois nos ennemis même ont reconnu. Ils oublient que cet empereur qu'ils osent comparer à Attila, a été pendant de longues années l'objet de leurs railleries provoquées

1. B, n'ayant pas réussi à s'élever au lyrisme de A, traduit platement : « La marche des événements. »

2. « Jusqu'au dernier moment, jusqu'aux limites du possible, l'Allemagne a lutté pour le maintien de la paix. » A quoi bon ce délaiage ? A dit : « Du côté allemand, on a fait l'impossible pour éviter la guerre. »

3. La répétition *oft genug*... *oft genug* devait être traduite par la phrase interrogative : « Combien de fois n'a-t-il pas ? » etc., au lieu de « maintes fois », qui ne rend pas *genug*. De plus, la tournure « fait que » est d'une langue de commis voyageur en camelote tudesque.

zen lauэрnde Übermacht von drei Seiten über unser Volk herfiel, hat es sich erhoben wie ein Mann¹.

Es ist nich wahr, dass wir freventlich die Neutralität Belgiens verletzt haben. Nachweislich² waren Frankreich und England zu ihrer Verletzung entschlossen. Nachweislich war Belgien damit einverstanden. Selbstvernichtung wäre es gewesen, ihnen nicht zuvorkommen.

Es ist nicht wahr, dass eines einzigen belgischen Bürgers Leben und Eigentum von unseren Soldaten angetastet worden ist, ohne dass die bitterste Notwehr es gebot. Denn wieder und immer wieder³, allen Mahnungen zum Trotz, hat die Bevölkerung sie aus dem Hinterhalt beschossen, Verwundete verstümmelt, Ärzte bei der Ausübung ihres Samariterwerkes ermordet. Man kann nicht niederträchtiger fälschen⁴, als wenn man die Ver-

par son amour inébranlable de la paix. Ce n'est qu'au moment où il fut menacé d'abord et attaqué ensuite par trois grandes puissances en embuscade, que notre peuple s'est levé comme un seul homme.

Il n'est pas vrai que nous ayons violé criminellement la neutralité de la Belgique. Nous avons la preuve irrécusable que la France et l'Angleterre, sûres de la connivance de la Belgique, étaient résolues à violer elles-mêmes cette neutralité. De la part de notre patrie, c'eût été commettre un suicide que de ne pas prendre les devants.

Il n'est pas vrai que nos soldats aient porté atteinte à la vie ou aux biens d'un seul citoyen belge sans y avoir été forcés par la dure nécessité d'une défense légitime. Car, en dépit de nos avertissements, la population n'a cessé de tirer traitreusement sur nos troupes, a mutilé des blessés et a égorgé des médecins dans l'exercice de leur profession charitable. On ne saurait commettre d'infamie plus grande que de passer sous silence les atrocités

1. Phrase fort mal rendue. A dit : « C'est seulement lorsqu'une force prépondérante, qui depuis longtemps épiait nos frontières, s'est abattue sur lui de trois côtés à la fois que notre peuple s'est levé comme un seul homme. » *Lauern* n'a pas le sens d'« être en embuscade », puis « au moment où » ne s'accommode pas d'un « d'abord » et d'un « ensuite ».

2. Le mouvement oratoire si pathétique *nachweislich... nachweislich* n'a pas été conservé.

3. La répétition *wieder und immer wieder* réclamait un « réitérés » après « avertissements ».

4. *Man kann nicht niederträchtiger fälschen* ne signifie pas « On ne sau-

brechen dieser Meuchelmörder¹ verschweigt, um die gerechte Strafe, die sie erlitten haben, den Deutschen zum Verbrechen zu machen.

Es ist nicht wahr, dass unsere Truppen brutal gegen Löwen gewütet haben. An einer rasenden Einwohnerschaft, die sie im Quartier heimtückisch überfiel, haben sie durch Beschiessung eines Teils der Stadt schweren Herzens Vergeltung üben müssen. Der grösste Teil von Löwen ist erhalten geblieben. Das berühmte Rathaus steht gänzlich unversehrt. Mit Selbstaufopferung haben unsere Soldaten es vor den Flammen bewahrt. — Sollten in diesem furchtbaren Kriege Kunstwerke zerstört worden sein oder noch zerstört werden, so würde jeder Deutsche es beklagen. Aber so wenig wir uns in der Liebe zur Kunst von irgend jemand über treffen lassen, so entschieden lehnen wir es ab, die Erhaltung eines Kunstwerks mit einer deutschen Niederlage zu erkaufen.

Es ist nicht wahr, dass unsere Kriegführung die Gesetze des Völkerrechts missachtet. Sie kennt keine zuchtlose Grausamkeit².

de ces assassins et d'imputer à crime aux Allemands la juste punition qu'ils se sont vus forcés d'infliger à des bandits.

Il n'est pas vrai que nos troupes aient brutalement détruit Louvain. Perfidement assaillis dans leurs cantonnements par une population en fureur, ils ont dû, bien à contre-cœur, user de représailles et canonner une partie de la ville. La plus grande partie de Louvain est restée intacte. Le célèbre Hôtel de ville est entièrement conservé : au péril de leur vie, nos soldats l'ont protégé contre les flammes. — Si dans cette guerre terrible, des œuvres d'art ont été détruites ou l'étaient un jour, voilà ce que tout Allemand déplorera sincèrement. Tout en contestant d'être inférieurs à aucune autre nation dans notre amour de l'art, nous refusons énergiquement d'acheter la conservation d'une œuvre d'art au prix d'une défaite de nos armes.

Il n'est pas vrai que nous fassions la guerre au mépris du droit des gens. Nos soldats ne commettent ni actes d'indisci-

rait commettre d'infamie plus grande », mais « On ne saurait altérer la vérité d'une façon plus abjecte ».

1. A traite les Belges d' « assassins » ; B ajoute « brigands ». S'il s'agissait d'Allemands, surtout de princes ou d'officiers allemands, les épithètes les plus injurieuses et les plus méprisantes ne sauraient être trop prodiguées, mais pour de pauvres Belges « assassins » suffit.

2. La *zuchtlose Grausamkeit* est la cruauté résultant de l'indiscipline. B traduit inexactement : « ni actes d'indiscipline ni cruautés. » Au surplus, A sort

Im Osten aber trinkt das Blut der von russischen Horden hingeschlachteten Frauen und Kinder die Erde, und im Westen zerreißen Dumdumgeschosse unseren Krieger die Brust. Sich als Verteidiger europäischer Zivilisation zu gebärden, haben die am wenigsten das Recht die sich mit Russen und Serben verbünden und der Welt das schmachvolle Schauspiel bieten, Mongolen und Neger auf die weisse Rasse zu hetzen.

Es ist nicht wahr, dass der Kampf gegen unseren sogenannten Militarismus kein Kampf gegen unsere Kultur ist, wie unsere Feinde heuchlerisch vorgeben. Ohne den deutschen Militarismus wäre die deutsche Kultur längst vom Erdboden getilgt. Zu ihrem Schutze ist er aus ihr hervorgegangen in einem Lande, das jahrhundertlang von Raubzügen heimgesucht¹ wurde wie

plaine ni cruautés. En revanche, dans l'Est de notre patrie la terre boit le sang des femmes et des enfants massacrés par les hordes russes, et sur les champs de bataille de l'Ouest les projectiles dums-dums de nos adversaires déchirent les poitrines de nos braves soldats. Ceux qui s'allient aux Russes et aux Serbes, et qui ne craignent pas d'exciter des mongols et des nègres contre la race blanche, offrant ainsi au monde civilisé le spectacle le plus honteux qu'on puisse imaginer, sont certainement les derniers qui aient le droit de prétendre au rôle de défenseurs de la civilisation européenne.

Il n'est pas vrai que la lutte contre ce qu'on appelle notre militarisme ne soit pas dirigée contre notre culture, comme le prétendent nos hypocrites ennemis. Sans notre militarisme, notre civilisation serait anéantie depuis longtemps. C'est pour la protéger que ce militarisme est né dans notre pays, exposé comme nul autre à des invasions qui se sont renouvelées de siècle

de la question. Sans aucun doute, les soudards allemands ont commis des atrocités spontanées, mais ils en ont commis beaucoup plus par ordre : leur *Grausamkeit* est donc beaucoup moins *zuchtlos* qu'elle n'est, si l'on peut ainsi dire, *zuchtvolle*.

1. Le pays allemand n'a pas été seulement « exposé » à des invasions, il en a été, à notre grande joie, la victime (*heimgesucht*).

Inutile de poursuivre ce corrigé. Comme on a pu s'en convaincre, l'original allemand, malgré son ton d'un tragique fort prudhommesque, parle une langue sortable : la version française n'est que le laborieux pensum d'un écolier bien gauche.

kein zweites. Deutsches Heer und deutsches Volk sind eins. Dieses Bewusstsein verbrüderst heute 70 Millionen Deutsche ohne Unterschied der Bildung, des Standes und der Partei.

Wir können die vergifteten Waffen der Lüge unseren Feinden nicht entwinden. Wir können nur in alle Welt hinausrufen, dass sie falsches Zeugnis ablegen wider uns. Euch, die Ihr uns kennt, die Ihr bisher gemeinsam mit uns den höchsten Besitz der Menschheit gehütet habt, Euch rufen wir zu :

Glaubt uns! Glaubt, dass wir diesen Kampf zu Ende kämpfen werden als ein Kulturvolk, dem das Vermächtnis eines Goethe, eines Beethoven, eines Kant ebenso heilig ist wie sein Herd und seine Scholle.

Dafür stehen wir Euch ein mit unserem Namen und mit unserer Ehre!

en siècle. L'armée allemande et le peuple allemand ne font qu'un. C'est dans ce sentiment d'union que fraternisent aujourd'hui 70 millions d'Allemands sans distinction de culture, de classe ni de parti.

Le mensonge est l'arme empoisonnée que nous ne pouvons arracher des mains de nos ennemis. Nous ne pouvons que déclarer à haute voix devant le monde entier qu'ils rendent faux témoignage contre nous. A vous qui nous connaissez et qui avez été, comme nous, les gardiens des biens les plus précieux de l'humanité, nous crions :

Croyez-nous ! Croyez que dans cette lutte nous irons jusqu'au bout en peuple civilisé, en peuple auquel l'héritage d'un Goethe, d'un Beethoven et d'un Kant est aussi sacré que son sol et son foyer. Nous vous en répondons sur notre nom et sur notre honneur.

P.-S. — A côté des manifestes collectifs, comme celui qu'on vient de lire, sévissent aussi les manifestes individuels. Nombre d'Allemands célèbres, ou qui se croient tels, éprouvent le besoin d'endotrainer les neutres et de leur démontrer que ... des vessies sont des lanternes. Il n'y a le plus souvent aucune attention à prêter à cette marée montante de papier noirci dont les poêles de nos voisins s'alimenteront utilement cet hiver. Je ne voudrais dire que quelques mots d'un factum de la deuxième espèce, émané du Dr Jastrow, professeur de droit public à l'Université de Berlin, et plus connu dans nos milieux par le répertoire de bibliographie historique qu'il dirigeait que par ses écrits. Les cinq pages in-4° d'une impression assez compacte, qui en livrent la substance, se présentent comme la « copie » d'une lettre adressée à une dame, curieuse de connaître l'opinion dudit docteur sur les origines de la guerre actuelle. Tout à l'heure nous

avions la manière tragique et remontée; maintenant c'est le ton enjoué et galant : l'ours s'est mis à danser. Le discours qu'il inflige à la dame frappe surtout par son incohérence et son épaisse bêtise : un mélémélo de considérations générales sur la politique russe ou la décadence industrielle de l'Angleterre et de niaiseries dignes de l'invraisemblable crédulité des Allemands d'aujourd'hui. Citons textuellement quelques morceaux afin de donner aussi une idée du jargon de l'auteur, car il faut savoir que la destinataire de cette épître est censée vivre en pays de langue française. Les adversaires essentiels de l'Allemagne sont la Russie d'abord, l'Angleterre ensuite; la France n'a fait que suivre comme un petit chien : « Quant à la France, on ne lui a même rien demandé; depuis de longues années les toasts continuels de ses ministres et de ses présidents l'avaient tellement liée que l'on croyait pouvoir disposer tout bonnement de ce peuple jadis si fier. » Après nos victoires de la Marne, — le factum est daté du 18 septembre, — voici comment M. Jastrow se représente la situation militaire : « La célèbre ceinture extérieure des forts a été tournée, le théâtre de la guerre avancée (sic) déjà à la ceinture intérieure, le corps auxiliaire anglais est battu trois fois et presqu'anéanti. » Louvain n'a pas été détruit, mais sauvé par l'armée allemande, et à ce propos notons que M. Jastrow, professeur de droit public, n'a pas un mot sur la violation de la neutralité belge : « Cependant nos soldats dans leur combat contre une méthode assassine, alors que des quartiers entiers brûlaient, se sont empressés sous les coups de feu ennemis de sauver le superbe hôtel de ville gothique. Cet hôtel de ville et la cathédrale également debout sont des monuments de la maîtrise qu'exercent nos soldats sur eux-mêmes dans la chaleur du combat contre la perfidie. » Mais le plus beau, et c'est par là qu'il faut finir, est la définition du militarisme. « Le mot « militarisme » prête à l'équivoque, et les grands disputeurs savent s'en servir habilement, si l'on ne met fin à leurs manœuvres... Ce qu'on entend par « militarisme » en Allemagne ce sont des plaintes contre certains abus : par exemple que l'officier et l'officier de la réserve jouent maintes fois un rôle trop grand qui ne leur convient pas; que dans le monde des bureaux de tous genres, on fasse la part trop large aux militaires; ou bien, si vous voulez, que même dans les salons de danse l'apparition des uniformes fasse de suite tourner les yeux des belles vers eux. »

Souhaitons que les Jastrow et autres kulturistes continuent : en se couvrant de ridicule, ils aident puissamment la cause des Alliés.

A. M.-F.

**INTERNATIONAL
ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL
PROBLEMS**

By the same author:

ON CHINESE CURRENCY

Preliminary remarks about the monetary reform in China

by

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President of „De Javasche Bank”, Monetary adviser to the Chinese
Government,

with the co-operation of DR. W. A. ROEST, former co-manager of
„de Wissel- en Effectenbank” in Rotterdam, acting as secretary.

Volume I: *the Monetary Problem.*

J. H. DE BUSSY, Amsterdam, 1912.

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by

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Javasche Bank”),

Honorary adviser to the Chinese Government.

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BY

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Point n'est besoin d'espérer pour
entreprendre, ni de réussir pour
persévérer.

*Motto at the foot of a portrait of William
First, Prince of Orange and founder of the
Netherlands State.*

After a systematic devastation of human life and of property, plunging a great part of the world in mourning and misery, which lasted more than four years, it was generally expected that the turning-point of the misery would have been reached on the day on which the military hostilities ceased.

Rarely have hopes been more cruelly disappointed; for many, and not for individual persons alone but for entire nations, has misery constantly augmented since the glad day of the armistice. After millions of human beings have perished from the violence of war, still more millions now run the risk of dying of starvation and exhaustion. This has taken place in Russia because disorder and anarchy have there been exalted to a system, involving even a desire to eradicate whole groups of the population in a manner similar to that in which one would wish to destroy vermin.

Economic famine now however threatens countries with a proper form of government, countries which are prepared to participate in the social economy in a perfectly regular manner, both in their own country and in their international

relations, with destruction, no longer by force but — in a figurative sense — by economic emaciation and slow murder.

This is the horrible sin which the world is now being guilty of. The force of arms could, to a certain extent, be considered honourable, especially where it was applied in defence of one's own hearth against the violence of invaders, and where the use of undignified weapons was avoided. In the destruction now taking place on an even larger scale, this noble sentiment is entirely absent; the destruction is now caused by three scourges of mankind which should be written everywhere in letters of fire as a fearful warning:

IGNORANCE — HESITATION — SELFISHNESS.

With praiseworthy energy did various groups of nations brace themselves to begin and then to continue the war with all the strength at their disposal, and the organizing power of nearly all these nations has amazed the world.

On conclusion of the war we see the very contrary: it seems as if the power of organization has been lost; in almost all countries they still continue to commit deeds which it is known and admitted can only augment the sum of misery and, both in the countries themselves and in their international relations, there is an absence of initiative and the strength to persevere required for taking the steps which would lead to better paths.

CHAPTER I.

The deterioration during and after the war.

During the war one was obliged to incur unheard of expense; in order to make expenditure possible, revenue had to be created in an artificial manner. The latter was in itself a very dangerous fact that would certainly lead to serious dislocation of the finances, the disadvantages of which were, indeed, foreseen. The principal object was however reached by its means, viz. the funds wherewith to prosecute the war, and the war, all said and done, was a necessary evil which predominated above all other considerations. An object therefore actually attained, apart from the fact that this object was vile necessity.

On the cessation of hostilities the urgent desire to spend unprecedented sums is maintained undiminished almost everywhere, now no longer from dire necessity, but for the greater part from force of habit and the lack of daring to cut down expenses, and also because there was no organized consideration to impose this necessity on the peoples.

Particularly during the last few months have we seen the disastrous consequences of this weak attitude. The

great rise in prices had already seriously dislocated economic life during the war. In some countries this rise in prices came to a temporary pause after the armistice, examples of which are Switzerland and the Netherlands. In various other countries, however, this increase in prices as expressed in their own currency, has continued in such a serious fashion that a most critical situation was inevitably created, and amongst these are, in the first place, Austria and Germany.

The rates of exchange have often been termed the thermometers of the economic condition of nations. The scale of the rates of exchange has indeed, especially of late, clearly indicated the critical state prevailing in the various countries.

Let us now briefly examine how those countries have come into such a position; we shall take Germany in particular as an example because the conditions there can be more easily overseen.

On the foundation of the German Empire after the war of 1870/71 a Federal Loan was issued, but it had already been entirely redeemed in 1875. In 1876 the whole debt of the German Empire therefore only consisted of 120 million Marks of Government paper (Reichskassenscheine) issued by the Empire in order to withdraw the paper money in circulation in the various Federal States. This issue was moreover covered by the gold treasure in the Julius

Tower at Spandau. Ten years later, in 1886, the debt of the Empire was only 446 million Marks. It is only since 1890 that the debt began to increase more rapidly, and reached the sum of one milliard in that year, of two milliard in 1895, the third milliard being only reached in 1905, sums which would now appear quite insignificant. The increased expenditure for military purposes and the building of a great navy had already, comparatively speaking, considerably added to the debt, for in 1910 it had reached the figure of four and a half milliard, though at the beginning of 1914 the whole national debt, including the floating debt, did not exceed five milliard Marks.

For the payment of interest an annual sum of about 180 million Marks had to be raised, and 60 millions for amortization, so that the debt of the Empire did not impose on the population a yearly burden of more than 250 million Marks.

The Federal States had, moreover, also increased their load of debt and, for all these States together, had before the outbreak of war already reached the sum of 17.7 milliard Marks. Provinces and Municipalities had all together a further 11.9 milliard outstanding. The collective debt of these public bodies in the German Empire was therefore, at the outbreak of the war at the end of July 1914, as follows:

The Empire	5	milliard Marks.
„ Federal States	17.7	„ „
„ Provinces and Municipalities	11.9	„ „
<hr/>		
Making a total of	34.6	milliard Marks.

Before the war this forcing up of the public debt had been considered of such a grave nature that arguments tending to restrict armaments had been brought forward from many quarters; but the war naturally put an end to such deliberations.

The debts of Germany can now be tabulated as follows:
in milliards of Marks.

The Empire:

Consolidated Debt	90	
Floating Debt	80	
	<hr/>	170

The Federal States:

Consolidated Debt	17.5	
Floating Debt	12.5	
	<hr/>	30

The Provinces and Municipalities:

Consolidated Debt	12.5	
Floating Debt	10	
	<hr/>	22.5
Grand Total.		<hr/> 222.5

Merely for the payment of interest on this debt an annual sum of 10 milliard Marks must be raised. Besides this, there is the heavy burden of the greatly increased pensions to pay, a sum which for the present may be estimated at 4.4 milliard Marks annually.

When considering these figures one must also take into account the credit balances at and the issue of notes by the Reichsbank and of Kassenscheine by the Empire and the Darlehenskassen, which alone exceed 56 Milliard Marks.

What do these figures go to prove?

That Germany, both by borrowing money for longer periods in the form of loans and for shorter periods in the form of Government promissory notes, and further by the practically unbridled increase of circulation media in the form of Reichsbank notes and in the form of Government paper, Reichskassenscheine and the Darlehenskassenscheine, has *in an artificial manner* created *fresh purchasing power* of about 230 milliard Marks; this is not therefore an increase of buying power by enhanced production, economy resulting from the improvement of industrial methods, increase in the volume of the export or by hoarding the funds saved by thrift, but exclusively by the artificial creation of media of payment, overagainst which no assets and no real income was placed.

If a private individual had acted in this fashion in proportion to his fortune and his income, he would long since have been placed under the guardianship of trustees on the count of extravagance. A State may apparently, however, do unpunished for a long time what an individual would soon have been prevented from doing. Only apparently, however, for Nemesis will, in the end, overtake the State even more inexorably than the private individual.

It naturally followed that the issue of such a volume of medium of payment exercised a pernicious influence on its purchasing power, indeed, in two directions, both of which combined to make the result even more fatal. Many economic goods, after the opening of hostilities, soon

became scarce because immense quantities had to be purchased or reserved, while the possibility of production was at once greatly obstructed in consequence of the interruption of foreign traffic and because the productive forces had, to a great extent, been seized to render service on behalf of non-productive operations. The prices of goods were therefore necessarily forced upwards. The augmentation of media of payment did not, however, keep pace with this increase in the price of goods, but soon assumed, proportionately, far greater dimensions; a depreciation in the buying power of the circulation media therefore inevitably set in, due to a cause in the exchange media themselves, viz. the inferior value which the public attached to it in their own country, and especially the value at which foreign countries began to estimate these media of payment. The last mentioned factor especially was very variable and repeatedly, both during and after the war, was influenced by the psychosis or mood of the foreign buyer. We have, for instance, seen how the Reichsmark during Germany's great offensive in 1918 ran up to fl. 41.90 in Dutch currency per 100 Marks, and that, after the failure of this offensive became known, the Mark dropped to fl. 30.90 though the monetary position of Germany had not in the interval undergone such a considerable change. A similar phenomenon was observed in the contrary direction with regard to the French Franc and the English £. During the same offensive the franc dropped to fl. 33.90 and, after the armistice, rose to fl. 44.05 which is only

four points from the normal level vis-à-vis of the guilder, while the franc has now again gradually dropped to fl. 23.— The English £ during the same periods, expressed in Dutch currency, exhibited the fluctuations of fl. 9 15, fl. 11.87 and is now fl. 10.— The rate of exchange thermometer has here certainly given a false reading, and the public mood for the time being made its influence felt by temporarily forcing the rates up or down, just as our atmospheric temperature has this year been influenced by an abnormal heat wave and an exceptionally early frost.

In Germany there were two more influences at work to accelerate this grave depreciation of the currency. The shortage of raw materials and above all of foodstuffs, constantly increased after the cessation of hostilities. The distribution of the army stores in Germany brought a temporary relief; it was however of comparatively short duration and the demand for foodstuffs became more and more urgent. The political events in the country itself and the compliance with the armistice conditions even accentuated this condition, seeing that the transport and proper distribution of the stocks in the country were thereby greatly impeded and the various parties could not confer satisfactorily. Germany had apparently lost her great organizing power. When the Imperial Government and the Reichsbank wished to take steps to prevent the outflow of Marks to foreign countries, the Municipalities and private speculators neutralized the attempt; various Municipalities had taken the food supply into their own hands and had

for the purpose taken up money from bankers or issued loans. With these funds they purchased foodstuffs abroad, large quantities from Holland for instance. In payment for these they sold Marks in Holland and other countries in huge amounts and the depreciation of the Mark as expressed in foreign currencies was thereby greatly accelerated.

The disadvantage of this method for the German Municipalities was not so great as might have been expected because, as a rule, they could dispose of these foodstuffs to their citizens, for the larger part at constantly rising prices. The budgets of these corporations could therefore be made to balance by means of the loans issued and the proceeds of the sale of the goods purchased abroad to the public within their districts, who could well afford to buy them. The ultimate result of all this was however a constantly growing supply of Marks in foreign countries, with a fatal effect for the course of the rates of exchange.

The fact that private persons abroad bought up this supply naturally even further accentuated the process of dissolution, and particularly the secondary but important cause of what was termed the „Loch im Westen“, i. e. the breach in the west, facilitated this action. The German Government had already attempted to curb this unmethodical importation, leading to general ruin, by levying higher customs duties; the Government had even stipulated that the customs duties should be paid in gold value. The Government had thereby admitted officially for the first time that the Mark then in circulation could no longer

be considered as a gold Mark, but that the customs duties, levied on a gold basis, were to be paid in paper Marks at a nominally higher amount. This higher figure or rate, which was originally fixed at $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 times the sum of the Mark in circulation, has been gradually increased, until between the 5th and 17th of November it was 520 to 590 ‰, was then raised after a few days to 690 ‰ and has now, since the 8th of December, been fixed at 830 ‰. This means that for every Mark of customs duty the importer is charged 8.30 Marks in the various kinds of paper money now in circulation. This most remarkable fact, which explicitly recognizes the existence of a „Paper Currency”, we shall refer to again later on.

The German Government could only enforce this regulation within the territory over which they had supreme power; they were however powerless in the territory on the left bank of the Rhine occupied by the Entente troops, for the agreement with the Entente prevented them from exacting the customs duties on a gold basis by increasing the sum a certain number of times in the Marks in circulation. Further, they could not place their own custom officers along the frontiers of that territory and the regulation and the control of the imports was placed entirely in the hands of Entente troops of various nationalities. This was naturally a source of numerous difficulties, the principal of which was that the importation of goods via the occupied territory was possible, without any great impediment, for those who could find their way through

this opening, both Germans and foreigners, and subject only to a customs duty payable in the ordinary Marks in circulation so that goods imported through this „breach” had a great advantage above goods imported across other frontiers. Through this breach Germany was flooded with merchandise, a great deal of which was not useful for the country, indeed on the contrary, should now be kept out as being exclusively „articles de luxe” (cigarettes etc.).

In this way enormous amounts of Marks found their way abroad, and two groups of speculators have seized upon the market in Mark currency, viz. bears and bulls. Practically speaking, all exporters of Marks from Germany are, intentionally or not, speculating for a fall. Merchants who have imported large quantities of goods from abroad, including many useless articles of luxury, paid for them with Mark notes, sold these goods in Germany at considerable profit and thus again received payment for them in Marks, naturally in larger sums than they had themselves exported; they therefore powerfully helped to further depreciate the Mark abroad and to force up the prices in Germany itself.

Others also unconsciously worked in the same direction, as for instance the Municipal Corporations which, in spite of the diminishing value of the Mark, continued to purchase in foreign countries and were naturally forced to demand higher prices from the voluntary buyers in their cities. The intention here was not the same and one cannot speak of a speculation in Marks on their part, but the effect on the currency was the same as in the case of the dealers.

Speculators for a rise were the innumerable buyers in a large number of countries, including Germany's former enemies, because they considered the price of the Mark so low that they thought a rise more probable than a further fall. These bulls entered the market when the Marks, as expressed in Dutch currency, were still at more than fl. 40 per 100 Marks, and as the Mark dropped their number continually increased. At the extremely low prices of the Mark during the last few months large numbers of persons, who had until then taken no part in such trade, began to buy. Among these speculators were women, servants, schoolboys with their savings, clerks and also, to a large extent, the farming classes, etc. etc. The speculators for a rise are therefore to be found in all categories of the population.

The bears have so far always predominated and in spite of the large „supporting” orders of the many buyers, the rate of the Mark abroad, continued to drop until a few days ago (December) a rate of fl. 5.10 per 100 Marks in Dutch currency was reached, as compared with the normal rate before the war of fl. 59.20 per 100 Marks.

A remarkable fact has taken place in this connection ; the issue of notes by the Reichsbank and of the Darlehenskassenscheine certainly increased during this period but not in proportion to the amount of Marks sold abroad. This fact can probably be explained by the consideration that a considerable amount of these circulation media in Marks was not actually in circulation, but had been hoarded by way of investment, or by reason of the so-called

„Steuerflucht“ (to escape taxation), a phenomenon which has been observed in almost all countries. The holders now had an interest in releasing these notes which for a short space of time actually did come into circulation, thus again supplying material for the greatly increased outflow across the frontiers. We see therefore that in as far as the Reichsbank could have made attempts to counteract the increase in the issue of notes, such attempts would nevertheless not have prevented more and more notes from coming into actual circulation and from being used as a means of payment to foreign countries.

Attention must be called to another remarkable phenomenon. The excessive issue of media of payment had naturally also depreciated the Mark in Germany itself, but this depreciation had, in relation to the prices of goods in the country, not progressed as far as it had in relation to the foreign currencies; hence though the prices of goods, as expressed in Marks, seemed high in Germany, these prices in Marks were marvellously cheap in foreign countries; for instance, an article which in Germany was quoted at three times the pre-war figure in Marks, meant that for a foreigner it had dropped to a third or even less of its pre-war purchase price, simply because the Mark abroad had fallen to 1/10th. of its former value. It was for instance possible for railway coaches in Germany to be offered for 80.000 Marks, which in the Netherlands would therefore at the present moment be about fl. 4.800, as compared with a manufacturer's price in Holland of at least fl. 28.000.

As to the Austrian Crown, the position is even worse, and I shall touch upon it later; it was therefore possible for a well-known watering place to be offered for sale for 15 million Crowns, an offer comprising the value of the buildings, springs and everything else belonging to them, against the transfer of the debt which encumbered the watering place. At a price of 2 cents per Crown the whole spa would therefore have been for sale for a sum of fl 300.000 in Dutch currency, a figure at which a single large residential mansion has recently been sold at Amsterdam.

From this position a counter movement set in: foreign holders of Marks wished to spend these on goods in stock in Germany and cause them to be exported to their own country. Books, pianos, motor-cars, leather wares and countless other goods still available in Germany are being purchased in large quantities by foreign countries during the last few months, and the „breach in the west” again serves as a large sluice. The German sellers thus received in payment for the goods their own Marks at many times the former prices, hence apparently to their advantage. In reality however the Germans surrendered their most valuable property to foreigners for paper money of which the value diminished daily. The process thus became a despoiliation, an economic blood-letting of Germany, which has recently been given the technical term of „Entgüterung” or „drainage of goods”.

CHAPTER II.

The consequences for the various debtor and creditor countries.

What are the consequences of the conditions above described for those countries, like Germany and Austria, which are chiefly debtors, and for those countries which are chiefly creditors?

Austria on the one hand and the United States of America on the other, as typical examples of the opposites, will provide an answer to this question.

In working out this analysis I have for the present restricted myself to the example of Germany, because this country can so clearly illustrate the course of affairs. Austria has however already sunk much deeper in her misery; the process of dissolution and disintegration took place and was completed much more rapidly in Austria. Expressed in Dutch currency, the Crown has fallen in value below 2 cents per Crown (even $1\frac{1}{2}$ cent on December 10), as compared with a former parity of 50 cents. Even this value of 2 cents and less is fictitious because all transactions in Crowns have practically ceased.

This therefore means for Austria that it can no longer use the Crown as a means of payment; Austria can no longer buy anything with her own money; she can only procure foodstuffs and raw materials from abroad, either by selling her art treasures and partly her own tools or the few kinds of goods which she can still produce from her own stocks, either on credit, or as a gift like alms to the poor. The condition has thus become almost hopeless and each day, fate overtakes more and more individuals, for they die of misery and exhaustion. The shameful drama daily unrolls itself before the eyes of a so-called civilized world of a nation which may perish as cruelly as a primeval tribe in Europe could die out before the Middle Ages.

The rate of the American dollar is constantly going in the opposite direction. America has preponderatingly become a creditor; besides, this immense country still possesses great stocks both of foodstuffs for man and cattle and raw materials for industrial use. The other countries of the world can therefore only with difficulty procure sufficient funds to pay America and nevertheless are in great need of further supplies from the States. America therefore sees many of her debtors daily becoming weaker, financially and economically, and many of her former customers daily losing their power of purchasing goods. America may of course argue that the country is large enough to consume its own production, but this is only correct to a certain extent. It is inevitable that if so many of America's former

customers stay away, or at any rate considerably reduce their purchases, the United States will seriously suffer from over-production, bringing in its wake a great depreciation in the value of the goods and, ultimately, unemployment. Hence we see that for America, in spite of her prosperity, or rather owing to the one-sidedness of her prosperity, a grave crisis is being prepared.

The other countries stand between these two extremes, some more on the side of Germany and Austria, others more on the side of America. Among the former we may class the other nations involved in the war and now labouring under their burden of debt, who experience a growing difficulty in obtaining credit from others and whose home circulation has been excessively expanded, the visible proof of which is to be seen in the state of their currency in relation to that of other countries. In the second group are more particularly to be found the neutrals and a few oriental countries. Among these the neutrals especially are in a peculiar position in that, on the one hand, they are urgently in need of raw materials, coal, etc. in order to set their industries going again. If and when, however, they actually succeed in setting their industries well in motion, they are to a certain extent faced with the other objection that their usual customers will have lost their purchasing power, at any rate to a great extent. These neutrals will also have to take steps to counter the effects of this diminished purchasing power of their customers.

We see in this way once more how much the war has disturbed and destroyed in the world, and particularly how such destruction has been continued even after the armistice. Before the war, the world had become a huge organism, an enormous piece of machinery from which some wheels have now been entirely blown away, while others are gritty with sand which may seriously damage them, instead of running smoothly like those of a well-lubricated machine. The engine must inexorably revolve and what was formerly being smoothly and regularly carried to the now broken and grinding parts, is alarmingly accumulating in the parts which still perform their function and thus threatens to cause a catastrophe in those parts also.

If the world would only see this, and understand that one's own part will not run any better if the other parts are still more broken than they are already!

These horribly chaotic conditions throughout the whole world cannot be put straight by a limited number of men or States, but this can only be done by co-operation of all. We are faced by entirely different and greater consequences than those which followed other wars; this is proved by rates of exchange which have never been seen before. Whole States have been reduced to a condition similar to that of prehistoric times, before they possessed any system of currency which could connect them with the world's traffic.

This universal chaos can therefore only be resolved by

a properly thought-out system, towards the carrying out of which all important nations could co-operate within their own countries. The granting of a few desultory credits will not do this, and in the end is even absolutely futile; they will ultimately only mean a waste of strength, both for the lender and the borrower.

CHAPTER III

The ways and means of reconstruction.

I wish to call attention to four fundamental points which are to be observed when resolving this chaos:

- I. The cessation of producing artificial purchasing power by the issue of Government and Municipal debt and paper money (including bank-notes).
- II. The revision of the debts.
- III. A general credit organization, in which practically all countries of the world with extensive financial and economic resources could participate.
- IV. The institution of a system of organized barter for those States whose currency can no longer be accepted as medium of payment in the world traffic.

In immediate connection with this, but only in the second place, there could in my opinion be handled:

- V. The revision of the currencies and of the banks of issue in the various countries whose exchange is so violently affected. This can only be energetically undertaken as point V of a programme for the reconstruction of the devastated countries, after the road to restoration has been made plain for the conditions given under I—IV.

I. The cessation of creating artificial purchasing power.

At this moment there is scarcely any country in the world which has not been guilty of abusing the right to create artificial buying power by the issue of Government and Municipal debt and paper money ¹⁾.

Even the United States of North America, whose financial position is so strong, are experiencing the adverse effects of the very large issue of Government debt and paper money. The amount of notes issued by the Federal Reserve Banks on the 14th. of November 1919 had risen to \$ 2.808.456.000 as compared with the sum \$ 346.804 000 (March 23, 1917) before America took part in the war. The position of the Federal Reserve Banks may certainly be still considered strong, because they have still so much gold in their vaults; but if we place this stock of gold (\$ 2.133.260.000 on Nov. 14, 1919) opposite to the total amount of notes in circulation (\$ 2 808.456.000) and the credit balances of the accounts current (\$ 2.881.832.000 on Nov. 14, 1919) it will be seen that the metallic cover, in spite of the enormous stock of gold in North America, is not more than 37.49 0/0 of the

¹⁾ In order to curtail this argument I shall, for the purpose of this exposé, include under the term paper money notes issued by the banks of issue, although in the stricter sense of the word paper money only includes currency paper issued by the Government.

Several of the figures given above are taken from periodicals, i. a. from "The Statist" of November 29, 1919 (p. 1157). In the absence of official figures I shall assume these to be correct.

liabilities payable on demand. Consequently the position has, even in America, become somewhat critical, and the strong movement of the rates of interest on the money market which has there developed during the last few weeks is looked upon as the result of this tense state of things, which induces internal unrest. Now where in America even the conditions in this respect leave much to be desired, how much less favourable is the scene in other States.

England's floating debt at the present moment (Nov. 22, 1919) is Treasury bills and Ways and Means Advances £ 1,294,141,000, National War Bond Receipts £ 1,732,780,000 as against¹⁾ £ 15,500,000 July 25, 1914) before the war. England has now (Nov. 26, 1919) a circulation of £ 86,693,965.10.0 in Bank of England Notes and of £ 338,347,000.10.0²⁾ in the so called „Bradbury's", the currency-notes of £ 1 and 10/- which were issued as a circulation medium by the British Government during the war. Money traffic in England is however by far the greater part done by means of cheques drawn on the Bank of England or on private bankers. In order therefore to estimate the volume of monetary traffic in England, one

1) "Treasury Bills outstanding" (The Economist, August 1st. 1914, p. 248).

2) In considering these figures one must naturally bear in mind that, formerly, gold was to a large extent in actual circulation and has now disappeared, so that a part of the new circulation media has taken the place of gold.

The gold cover against Bank of England Notes on Nov. 26, 1919 was £ 86,314,000 5, and of Currency Notes £ 28,500,000.

must keep a keen eye on the credit balances at the Bank of England on behalf of the public and the Government, and the balances in the hands of the banks on which cheques may be drawn. England has for some time past had to stop the issue of gold and the depreciation of the £ sterling is not only proved by its lower value on the international money market, but also from the fact that the price of gold on the open market on November 22, 1919 had risen to 103/— per oz. fine as compared with a parity before the war of 77/9 per oz. standard, so that gold in England is now at a premium of 20 0/0 over and above the £ sterling in circulation.

In France the position is even more unfavourable. Expressed in Dutch currency the Franc now stands at about fl. 23.— as compared with parity before the war of fl. 48.—. The Banque de France has issued for circulation purposes frs. 37.756.325.000 (Dec. 4, 1919) ¹⁾ in its own bank-notes against which it has under its assets a claim on the State of frs. 30.040.000.000.

If we assume that the American dollar at the present moment represents gold value because America is the only country which still freely issues gold, the pound sterling is, with respect to this gold dollar, at a disagio or discount of 16.88 0/0 (on Nov. 22, 1919) and the French Franc is at a discount of 50.25 0/0, the New York rates of exchange on that date being 4.045 and 9.60 for the pound sterling and franc respectively.

¹⁾ See note ¹⁾ on preceding page.

These figures are here only mentioned by way of example.

How serious these figures may be, the position of Germany and Austria is far worse, perhaps even hopeless, as at the present moment the disagio for Germany as compared with the American gold dollar is 90.55 0/0, and for Austria 96.66 0/0.

This condition of things is naturally a consequence of the war and this is why many and various influences have helped to bring it about, but the immediate cause was undoubtedly the unbridled issue of floating Government debt and of paper money. Hence the countries which have gone farthest in this direction now show the deepest depreciation of their currency, and in the case of Austria it means practically the total annihilation of its exchange value ¹⁾).

¹⁾ According to the Weekly Return of the Austro-Hungarian Bank on Nov. 15, 1919, the Assets and Liabilities (rounded off to millions of Crowns) were as follows:

ASSETS	LIABILITIES
Gold, gold bills on foreign countries, and silver Cr. 325	Capital & Reserve Fund Cr. 252
Hungarian Government Notes & Kriegsdarlehenskassenscheine „ 785	Bank-notes in circulation „ 50.583
Bills discounted „ 5.845	Balances of Accounts current and further obligations payable on demand „ 7.236
Loans advanced „ 8.897	Mortgage Bonds in circulation „ 261
Claims on the State. „ 43.463	Kassenscheine in circulation „ 1.666
Securities „ 49	Sundry liabilities „ 1.296
Mortgages „ 264	
Sundry Assets „ 1.666	

The creation of this artificial buying power has therefore been the chief evil and there is no hope of recovery unless the further creation of such artificial purchasing power is vigorously put a stop to.

I have repeatedly seized the opportunity of pointing out on what a dangerous slope the State treads which takes refuge in creating this artificial buying power in an excessive degree.¹⁾ The prices of the goods in those countries naturally rose almost indefinitely; similarly the wages had to be increased and the increased wages in turn caused a further increase in the price of the goods, though in spite of the high wages the wage-earners were worse off than before the war. In Germany, for instance, we see that the wages have already reached several times their former level; the Mark has however depreciated more than this so that the wage-earner receives, as a matter of fact, proportionately less than before the war. A very large class of persons who live on a fixed income and whose revenue could not therefore be correspondingly increased, are in embarrassed circumstances. Even worse off is what we might term the intellectual middle class, which includes many scholars, doctors, teachers, smaller tradesmen, the very persons who in ordinary times add so much strength

¹⁾ See, inter alia, Transactions of the Royal Academy of Sciences, "Some remarks on the High Cost of Living." („Eenige opmerkingen over het Duurteevraagstuk") Also published separately by W. P. van Stockum & Zoon, The Hague, May 1919).

to the development of a nation by their sturdy activity. In Austria, in spite of the proportionately even greater increase in the wages, the conditions for the wage-earner have also become unbearable.

It may therefore be considered entirely futile to grant credits to countries which assert that they are not in a position to put an end to this creation of new debts, against which they place no assets. Financial aid to countries in such a position would be lost in the bottomless pit of their own depreciation, and the lender would see his debtor sinking deeper and deeper in the bog, and his helping hand would not be able to prevent it.

It may be observed that for countries which are now on this downward grade it is a bitter necessity to make money, because they must be able to continue to pay their officials and to buy food. This is a false argument however. The disaster they try to avoid, viz. dearth and famine, the upheaval of society, will come in any case, though it may be delayed by artificial means; and when it does come it will be of such a magnitude that succour will scarcely be possible, and in such a country many will certainly perish. Austria is the most striking example of this. Postponement therefore only means greater disadvantages, greater obstacles in the way of remedy; if the hands of man have then not commenced the work of rescue, the great need will make the entire population feel to the quick that the catastrophe will certainly come if they continue as they have begun. The catastrophe will

then bring what the hands of man did not dare to undertake, only with this difference that the hesitation to act will have made the conditions even worse.

II. Revision of the Debts.

A second point which will have to be faced is whether the debts which the belligerent countries have incurred, or which may still be imposed upon them, can ever be paid. It is a remarkable phenomenon that, while there is yet but little co-operation and one country still repulses the other, several of these same countries rely on each other to enable them to pay their debts. The greatest general creditors are naturally the United States of North America and Great Britain. These countries have lent enormous sums to their allies during the war, and are entitled to demand that these debtors should pay their debts. Several of these debtors have in turn made very great claims for compensation on the Central Empires and, when preparing their budgets, already count on the Central Powers actually paying these huge sums.

It is not sufficient however to put these claims down on paper, even if this paper is the official parchment of the Peace Treaty. It will have to be established that the conquered States are really in a position to pay these debts. It is now agreed that Germany will pay, not later than the 1st. of May 1921, 20 milliard Marks in gold or gold value as a first instalment of her indemnity. She will then also have to pay 40 milliard Marks in gold or gold value in

the form of bonds to bearer which in the years between 1921 to 1926 will bear interest at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ 0/0, after which it will be raised to 5 0/0. As from 1926 a further 1 0/0 will have to be paid annually for the amortization of this debt, and finally Germany has had to undertake to issue a further 40 milliard Marks in gold in the form of bearer bonds giving interest at 5 0/0, if the Commission des Réparations, which will now see to the execution of the Peace Treaty, is convinced that Germany will actually be in a position to produce the last 40 milliard Marks in gold value. Here we therefore already find an indication that some uncertainty is felt as to whether Germany will actually be able to yield this war indemnity of 100 milliard Marks in gold value, and in the Commission des Réparations we find a body which, after a thorough examination, may arrive at a final decision as to how far Germany's power to pay actually goes.

It will however be extremely desirable, if not urgently necessary, to apply this sound principle with regard to the paying power of other countries also, and even to determine by the same means whether Germany will ultimately be able to pay the first 20 + 40 milliard Marks in full. For before everything else, the truth will have to be searched out to permit of the solution of the momentous problem of the present chaos. To what purpose should we increase these problems by fantastic representations as to the paying power of nations which in the end will prove to be unfounded, and upon which other States will

in the meantime have based their financial policy? At present the various associated countries are mutually good friends, still glowing from their glorious action together during the war; but there is no relation more dangerous to friendship than that of a creditor towards his debtor. Now if it should prove that the debtor will in the end not be able to pay his creditor, also because the debtor in his turn could not obtain the prompt payment of his claims from third parties, this may become a source of interminable complications; these complications will react on the internal conditions of these debtors, which will be constantly labouring under excessive financial cares and which will naturally attempt to maintain their world credit by promptly fulfilling their obligations. But these complications will in the long run also undermine amicable relations between the great creditors on the other side the water and the debtors on this side. It is therefore no more than prudent policy and wise statesmanship if every nation, each for itself, will submit the items on its balance-sheet to a careful scrutiny. The debts can be readily determined, but the great difficulty will be to ascertain whether the claims on third parties can really be collected, as the country's debts can only be paid after these have been collected.

There will be no place here for sentimental arguments; one need make no appeal for sympathy with a vanquished foe, particularly where there are still so many grievances against the enemy for their former actions to embitter

public feelings, but it will be in each country's own interest that, when making up the great final settlement, which must now be drawn up and will serve for a period of many years ahead, the point of departure be not an untrue representation of the facts and of the paying power of the debtors. There is still time to confer with each other in a friendly way in order to make a serious examination of the so-called assets of the balance-sheets. Later on this will be much more difficult, especially from a political standpoint, because a subsequent revision would involve the admission of impotence to fulfil the financial obligations which had been undertaken towards others. Not only will this be most painful for the feelings of a proud nation as debtor, but from a purely business standpoint it may become an unbearable burden for those countries whose credit would be seriously injured in the eyes of the world if the leaden weight of unpaid debt is not removed.

If truth in this respect is not striven after, the granting of great international credits will meet with great difficulty, and may even become entirely impossible to those countries whose position would thereby prove to be so uncertain. After a number of years there would be a financial crash which could now be prevented by a wiser policy and a greater daring to face the truth.

May the rates of exchange in this respect also be a grave warning.

Where the depreciation of the rates of exchange speak so plainly, it is futile to deny the true state of things.

III. A general credit organization, in which all the more important countries of the world can participate.

When this truth has, first of all, been faced, great assistance can be rendered towards the reconstruction of the world by granting large credits to those countries which have suffered most from the war and the depreciation of whose currency now forms a serious obstacle to the recovery from the losses they have suffered. In this respect too only an concurrence of various countries can result in a satisfactory solution. There must therefore be no rivalry and especially no jealousy between those countries in a position to grant credits, in attempting to draw as great a profit as possible for themselves, to the exclusion of others, from the aid they render. It can never be in the interest of the whole if any one country or group of countries, should acquire special privileges or special pledges against the credit they grant, to the disadvantage of the credit granted by other countries, for the granting of credit to the countries in need of help would thereby necessarily be restricted, a fact which would be to the injury of all.

Every country which is in a position to supply has, to a certain extent, its own special kind of product which is available for export. Let us therefore hold an international enquiry as to how a practical division of labour can be secured, also with regard to the supply of goods to the needy countries. One should in doing so adopt the

broad standpoint that, we wish, it is true, to do business — for sentimental arguments must not be allowed to influence us here either — but that in doing such business it is not our desire to earn large profits by such transactions, but to co-operate in the general reconstruction of the whole world, which in the end will enable the impoverished countries to return as buyers in the world's markets.

Such a general credit organization would also have to adopt as its guiding principle that as a rule not *money* would be lent to the needy countries but that goods, foodstuffs, raw materials for the revival of industry, means of transport, etc., would be supplied on credit and that the furnishers of each of the granting countries should demand payment in their own country through the credit organization which will procure the necessary media of payment in the granting country for settlement with the suppliers of the goods to the receiving countries. One will therefore have to try and form an organization in which we should have on the one hand what we might call the "lending countries" who would in combination grant the credits to the other group of nations, the "borrowing countries", which must be helped to reconstruct their social and economic life.

A new problem which here presents itself is in what currency such credits must be granted. Consultations have already taken place at great length between persons of

different nationalities as to the possibility of establishing such an organization based on a settlement unit which would apply to the whole world, taking as the point of departure the idea of issuing, in the associated lending countries, a uniform kind of debenture bond, the value of which would be the same for every country, with the object of making this bond deliverable at the same value in all these countries.

This problem is not, under the present circumstances, yet possible of solution; the currencies of the various countries are still too different from each other. Before the war, when the gold basis of the currency was accepted nearly everywhere, bonds could be issued on which a fixed rate of conversion for each country was determined beforehand. Hence we see that numerous foreign bonds were issued on condition that both the coupons and the redemption could, at the request of the holder, be paid in the currencies of various countries. Even if a form could be found of basing these bonds on a universal gold value, which to a certain extent would make them uniform in value for the various countries, one would be met with the great difficulty that at the moment of payment of these bonds an exceedingly varied sum in the currencies of the subscribing countries would have to be paid.

Let us assume for the moment that the American dollar represents gold value and that the bonds are issued at that gold value. England would then have to pay a premium on them of 20% in her own pound sterling, the Nether-

lands a premium of $6\frac{1}{2}\%$, Sweden a premium of $16\frac{1}{2}\%$, and Denmark a premium of 39% . It is true that one could also calculate the goods to be supplied by the various countries at such a gold value and find therein a compensation for the depreciation of their own currency, but this would not solve the difficulty because the bonds, or at least a large portion of them, would not come into the hands of the suppliers of goods; it is obvious that these suppliers cannot invest their working capital in these bonds, which consequently will be largely held by the investing public who, practically speaking, are outside the transactions altogether. The adoption of a fixed rate for these bonds in all countries would not solve the difficulty, but only displace it.

There is therefore at present no other solution available than that, besides general consultation respecting participation in the great international credit organization, each of the lending countries shall provide its share calculated in its own currency. This is also feasible because each country will naturally supply what it can from its home produce, or what it can secure in the world's commerce by means of transit through its own country.

The value of the goods offered will thus already be established in the currency of each lending country, and a borrowing country can in this way import goods from each of these countries, receiving an invoice of their value in the currency of that particular country. Each of the lending countries will then have to create an organization,

either independently by the combination of its bankers with the bank of issue, or with the support of its own Government, in order to procure in the country itself the funds required to pay the suppliers of the goods, so that the credit to the borrowing countries can thus be exclusively given in the form of goods, on condition they are paid for within a period determined when granting the credit.

In this manner the possibility of having the bonds of each of the lending countries placed on the international investment market by each of them reciprocally, need not be excluded, for these bonds would actually represent the debt of the lending countries themselves, secured by the claim of the lending country on one or more of the borrowing countries, which claim will in turn naturally be covered by special guarantees on the part of the borrowing countries. Exactly in the same way as one now looks for international investment in debenture bonds expressed in other currencies, as for instance debentures of American railways and industrial concerns have been much sought after in Holland for many years past, there will in the future be the possibility of purchasing these debenture bonds, arising from this credit organization, in other countries. The speculative element would even be an important factor in the transaction. A Dutch investor might consider, for instance, that there was great likelihood that the pound sterling or the Danish Crown would increase in value; this

would certainly be a motive for him to purchase, in England or Denmark, the bonds of this credit organization, at the price in the pound sterling or in Danish Crowns, for the purpose of investment.

If such an international credit organization is to be successful, the scheme must be planned on a large scale. It is not a question of granting a number of separate credits, but the resuscitation of whole nations. Hundreds of millions, if not several milliards, will be required to effect this. The whole of the sum estimated for the scheme will naturally not be required at once, if only for the obvious reason that it is not possible to supply all at once all the goods required by the borrowing countries. This will require time, both for the manufacture of the goods, for harvesting the crops and for their subsequent transport. The money markets of the various lending countries need therefore not be suddenly oppressed with the whole amount of these issues, so that the absorbing power of the investment markets in those lending countries will have a better chance. On the other hand, however, the organization of this credit supply will from the very beginning have to be so large that the combined assistance given to the borrowing countries will really be sufficient to provide them fully with the means of revival.

Another principle that will have to be observed in the granting of these international credits is, as already briefly

stated above, that these credits must not be granted with a view to reaping great profit from the investment. The interest to be paid on these debenture bonds will have to correspond with the rate of interest ruling on the money markets of the various lending countries. It may therefore be assumed that the interest of the debentures will be at least 6 %. Their attraction as an investment will not however have to be looked for in a high rate of interest, but rather in the high degree of certainty of the proper repayment of the moneys advanced, and for this certainty the borrowing countries will have to give special guarantees.

This means that the international organization will have to be on such a scale that it will no longer suffice for separate credits from the inhabitants of a lending country to be granted to the inhabitants of a borrowing country. One will have to proceed on much more fundamental lines than was formerly observed in international commercial traffic. From these credits will have to be excluded the supply of goods which are not urgently needed for the reconstruction of the borrowing countries — goods which Americans have so typically termed „non-essentials“. The supply, for instance, of certain articles of luxury must not be financed by these credits, for it is in the interest of all that the resources of a borrowing country are not wasted on useless goods. The lending countries will therefore have to create a central organization in which each of them is represented, having its seat at some place well in the centre of Europe, in order to

ascertain what kinds of goods the lending countries could supply and which of them can be considered essentials. On the other hand an organization will also have to be created in the borrowing countries whose duty it will be to determine, after a thorough enquiry, what kinds of goods are really needed in the borrowing countries, and what special guarantees can be furnished for the repayment of the credits. In the borrowing countries the Governments will have to stand behind these organizations and in those countries whose currency is most depreciated, guarantees will, inter alia, have to be given in the form of pledge on the import and export duties, as has been repeatedly done in practice, and with great success, in the case of loans to Turkey and China. The Governments of the borrowing countries are naturally justified in giving such special guarantees, because the supplies they are to receive may be looked upon as of vital importance, not only for a few manufacturers but for the entire population of the borrowing countries.

It will therefore really be a question of general importance that this organization, both on the part of the lending countries and on that of the borrowing countries, shall be founded on firm principles and one will particularly have to avoid the waste of energy which would result from rivalry in the granting of partial credits in which only the most forward gain the greatest profit but where the interests of the whole are certainly not safeguarded, as they would be in a definite, universal organization. It

is therefore not wise that partial credits are already being given to various countries separately, especially if an end has not been made of the fundamental mistakes still being committed, as described in Chapters I and II. Pouring water into a barrel of which the bottom continues to leak as it does now, can never lead to the object in view and only means the loss of what is poured in.

There is another question which must, especially for the lending countries, be borne in mind. It may be remarked that many of the lending countries themselves will be faced with great difficulties in their own countries, that they also may be forced to incur great expenditure, that they also have already reached the limit of permissible issue of floating Government debt and that the creation of fresh credits in their own country on behalf of the borrowing countries will therefore lead to a continuation of the creation of floating debt and to the further issue of circulation media, all of which will tend to promote inflation in the country itself and the consequent further forcing up of prices.

Such a remark would be quite justified; these disadvantages will arise and each of the lending countries will therefore have to face them. One must however take into consideration that even the lending countries will ultimately only be able to return to normal paths if the commercial and world traffic in general has been adequately restored. If the condition of the countries in distress were to continue

for any length of time as it is at present, or even if a single one of them were to come to a state of complete ruin, this will react so violently on all the countries which are now apparently still in a favourable position, the disorganization resulting in unemployment, famine, political riots and disturbances throughout the world will increase to such an extent, that the lending countries so called will also be swept into the coming misery, or at any rate will suffer severely from their effects. Neither in this case need we put forward sentimental arguments, although we need not overlook the humane duty of helping others. Even in this case we can keep on a strictly material plane and still have to come to the conclusion that the disadvantage of increasing misery and increasing disintegration of the world will be so much greater than the otherwise undeniable disadvantage of a temporary inflation in the countries rendering aid, and that one will have to accept the latter disadvantage resignedly before better conditions, in their own country also, are attained.

A certain contradiction may be felt in the fact that a country rendering aid will be prepared to advance credit to a neighbouring country in distress and yet will wish to exercise strict censorship on the creation of credit funds on behalf of its own State and of its own Municipalities. After serious consideration one will, nevertheless, be forced to the conclusion that those credits are advanced to foreign countries for productive ends, and that it is precisely the

solution of the home problems which can in the long run only be found if one is prepared to assist in restoring order in the countries around us, which must eventually remain our customers and who in turn must be able to supply the goods which we shall urgently require for our own domestic and industrial use.

If the importance of this is not sufficiently realized in the countries rendering aid, a severe retrogression will also take place in these countries, with consequent unemployment and further dislocation of the entire social and economic machinery.

IV. The institution of an organized international system of barter.

The measures described in I—III, even if they are immediately taken in hand, cannot be carried out at once, as very extensive preparations are necessary. In the meantime the need in certain countries is daily growing more insistent, especially in those countries whose currencies suffer from severe depreciation or have practically become valueless. These countries can no longer, as a matter of fact, buy in foreign countries. They are thereby greatly impeded in the manufacture of products and articles which could certainly be finished if only a few ingredients and materials could be obtained on credit from abroad.

By means of the so-called "finishing traffic" a certain amount of relief is already given here and there to foreign countries; a credit is for instance granted for the supply

of hides on condition that the leather or leather wares manufactured from them is resold to the country that granted the credit. The assistance thus rendered is however by no means sufficient and there are, besides, but few cases in which the finishing traffic can be carried out in such a simple manner. The supply of raw materials on the one hand and of the finished products on the other will, for the greater part, have to be led into entirely different channels. A firm of electrical engineers is, for instance, able to make electrical machinery, which cannot be completely finished for want of silk for insulating purposes. Now it is obvious that a silk spinner cannot supply silk on condition that he shall have the electrical machines in return. The silk spinner is not therefore prepared to supply his silk on credit, as he has not sufficient guarantees that he will eventually obtain payment for it. Moreover, it is quite possible that the silk spinner does not wish to supply on credit at all, because he wishes to keep his funds floating in his own business.

Germany and Austria are now in such a position that it is only with great difficulty that they can acquire payment media in foreign countries; at the present level of their rates of exchange they would have to pay 10 and 25 times the value in Marks and Crowns respectively for purchases abroad, assuming that the foreign exporters are still prepared to accept Marks and Crowns, which is certainly not, as a rule, the case at the present moment. Under point I we have moreover seen how the sale of

Marks and Crowns persisted in for a long period of time, was one of the main causes of the present wretched conditions, so that for this very reason a further export of Marks and Crowns is to be avoided. Only by way of exception can any individual abroad be found who is prepared, under the present circumstances, to grant a temporary credit to the inhabitants of either of the Central European Empires. Industry in these States will therefore be reduced to a standstill, and yet production is required more than ever to permit of export, from the proceeds of which further raw materials, foodstuffs, etc. can be paid for.

In these Central Empires there are still a number of articles which are suitable for sale to foreign countries, thus producing means of payment for essentials. We have already seen however how the Central Empires are wasting these resources by accepting their own depreciated Marks and Crowns in return for these goods sent abroad. It is amazing to see countries which formerly excelled in organizing power, now permitting this chaotic "drainage of goods" and allowing their last energy for export to be exploited recklessly.

This „Entgüterung" or drainage of goods is seemingly an advantage for the purchasing countries, but in reality it is also a disadvantage. It is a dumping of the worst kind, not engineered by the exporting countries but enticed by the importing countries. In the Netherlands, Belgium, France, the Scandinavian countries, etc. these goods from the Central States are being bought up in large quantities.

In the first place, large quantities of superfluous merchandise are thus purchased from sheer bargain hunting, but this flood of cheap goods must have a disastrous influence on the trade and industry of the importing countries, such as is, quite rightly, feared in consequence of dumping from abroad.

An unhealthy state of things has therefore been created on both sides, in the country of the seller and in that of the buyer, and the sooner it is remedied the better.

This can be done by instituting an organized system of barter. One must, in principle, revert to primeval times when settlement did not yet take place on the basis of a system of currency. Now that money has, for those countries, been discarded as an intermediary, a new intermediary will have to be discovered. For this purpose we can make use of a new form of exchange, which we shall call the *barter institution*.

The simplest form will be that two countries set up such a barter institution between them. Take Germany and the Netherlands as an example. Germany would have to prepare a list of the goods she wishes to buy, and the Netherlands would state the quantities which they would eventually be able to supply to Germany. Germany would, further, have to furnish a list of what she could deliver immediately, and what within a comparatively short time, say three months to a year, after the harvest or completion of the process of manufacture. All these enquiries and offers on either side will have to be registered at the Barter Institute.

On registration, the value will have to be determined, for which purpose the Mark now in circulation can naturally no longer serve. The value could therefore be fixed, for both parties, in Dutch guilders or, if one has not sufficient confidence in the stability of the value of the guilder, a new unit of account can be selected, e.g. a fictive Gold Mark or a fictive Gold Guilder, which would, in the end, naturally come to the same thing. These offers and, when eventually carrying out the deal, the delivery of the goods could then be cleared for their value, as is constantly taking place in contango business, when dealing in futures and between bankers. Large amounts are thus mutually exchanged, by striking them off on either side of the account and only actually paying the insignificant balance left, such final settlements frequently taking place between two parties who originally had nothing to do with each other. In the case of bankers' clearance for instance, Bank A may be required to pay a debit balance to bank F, although A had not originally owed F anything and had perhaps even done no business with F.

Seeing that the same unit of account can be adopted for all transactions, either party is certain of obtaining the full intrinsic value of the goods supplied by him and will no longer have paper money palmed off upon him which on subsequent re-issue to foreign countries may only possess a part of the value at which it was accepted in payment.

Through the intermediary of the Barter Institute it will be again possible to advance credit on goods to be delivered

at some future date. Indeed, if it can be reasonably proved that the electrical engineers in Germany will be able to deliver a certain number of machines within six months, for which machines they have already found buyers in Holland, provided the silk spinner will only supply the silk, the bankers and other money-lenders may, in combination with the Barter Institute, render financial help in order to pay cash to the silk spinner, thereby granting credit to the engineers.

Both the electrical engineers in Germany and the buyers of the machines in Holland can apply for this assistance from their bankers; a legal form can readily be found and from a financial point of view adequate guarantees will certainly be found on which the money-lenders can base their credit.

Each of the parties on either side may then convert the value in the unit of account of the Barter Institute into the currency of his own country. The following example will explain the method in which this is done:

The engineers' production cost is x ; on delivering the goods they will, over and above this, make a profit of y . From x they will pay the cost of all the raw materials, wages, etc. and y then ultimately remains as a profit at their disposal. They can convert this y into Marks at the rate of the day, because other persons in Germany will also require a sum of y to purchase goods abroad. Should the manufacturers not require Marks for their y , they may themselves purchase so much the more goods

from abroad, or they will on the next occasion require so much less credit from the banker who had previously granted them credit.

Similar calculations in fictive units of account were done on a large scale a few centuries ago through the *Amsterdamsche Wisselbank* (Amsterdam Bank of Exchange) in the United Provinces of the Netherlands and through the *Hamburger Wisselbank* (Hamburg Bank of Exchange) at Hamburg, the latter only being transferred to the *Reichsbank* as recently as 1875. These institutions carried out international settlements and clearances in the Bank-guilder and the Banco-mark with great success, both fictive units of account possessing a remarkable stability among the numerous kinds of money in circulation in those days. The Amsterdam Wisselbank was even the principal settling institution for the whole of Europe for more than 100 years. ¹⁾

This Barter Institute will also be able to act as intermediary for new countries which do not even yet possess a system of currency, such as Czecho-Slovakia and Poland. The so-called bills on Prague and Warsaw are scarcely negotiable on the open market; by means of the unit of account of a Barter Institute these countries could easily be connected up with the world's money traffic.

¹⁾ ADAM SMITH, "Wealth of Nations", Book IV, Chapter III. Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, "Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands", London 1673, Chap. II, p. 99; Montesquieu, "Esprit des Lois", Liv. XXII, Chap. I. In my book: "On Chinese Currency I" (J. H. DE BUSSY, 1912) I have given more information on this subject.

If the traders in the various countries take part in this barter institution this must, as far as possible, be done voluntarily. The dealers' own interest will induce them to join, for it is obvious that every one in Germany and the Netherlands has a personal interest in the resumption of normal conditions; it is in the baker's interest that the electrical engineers can keep their hands employed and thus enable them to buy his bread, and it is in the engineers' interest that the baker should obtain sufficient flour to make bread for them and their workmen.

Some pressure will, however, have to be exercised to set the thing going, the further drainage of goods from Germany against the ruinous payments in Marks will, for instance, have to be prevented. Prices in Germany will therefore have to be fixed afresh for deliveries to foreign countries and these supplies will have to be led through the Barter Institute, though the buyers and sellers in the various countries will otherwise be at complete liberty to open up business relations with each other.

It is to be hoped that the advantage of such a Barter Institute will soon be realized in Germany and Austria, and that they will once more show enough organizing power to carry out the good resolutions taken in this direction. Improved conditions will then soon set in for these sorely afflicted countries and their financial strength will proceed towards a recovery which, in the end, will also benefit their powerful creditors.

CHAPTER IV.

The Ways and Means of Reconstruction.

V. The Restoration of the Currency and of the Exchange.

The system of barter clearing will chiefly have to serve in the period during which the currency is so disorganized and the exchange so depreciated that the countries suffering from this evil are in danger of being cut off from the world's traffic.

If the high road to recovery has been taken, one of the great problems to be solved first will be the restoration of the currency and the exchange.¹⁾

We will now take Austria as example because the conditions there are most desperate.

The Austro-Hungarian Bank has issued 50,582,595,227 Crowns in bank-notes and has a further sum of 7,235,850,446 Crowns in liabilities payable on demand. Against this we find assets consisting of 325,097,376 Crowns in gold and silver and in foreign gold bills and gold notes (see Bank Return for Nov. 15, 1919) and further, as the principal asset items: Discounted bills 5.8 milliard Crowns, Loans

¹⁾ For the purposes of this essay the former Empire of Austria-Hungary is taken as a whole under the name of Austria; this treatise would be too complicated if in expounding the theory the division into the various states were constantly referred to. If such an organization is eventually created, the division into new states will naturally have to be observed.

against securities 8.9 milliard Crowns and a total of more than 43 milliard Crowns of claims on the State. The gold cover of the liabilities is therefore 5.71 % or slightly more than $\frac{1}{2}$ %; the further cover is in bills discounted and loans against securities of about 24 %, and about 76 % in claims on the countries which composed the former Austro-Hungarian State.

The balance-sheet naturally balances; against the liabilities there are assets to an equal amount. Must it therefore be concluded that the liabilities represent 100 % of value? Not in the least, of course, and no one is bold enough seriously to make such an assertion and, moreover, the price of the Crown, both as compared with the prices of goods and on foreign markets, adequately proves this. And yet we must not see the position blacker than it really is, and one will, in the first place have to inquire as to the relative value in which these Crowns were created, both on the credit side (the side of the liabilities) and on the debit side (the side of the assets.)

The Crown is, in name, a monetary unit which was equal to the value of 0.304878 of fine gold; before the war this value was accepted as really existing, because for the nominal crown one could either obtain the precious metal or a bank cheque in foreign currency, and because one could, throughout the community, buy goods and services for the Crown money which in value were equal to the nominal Crown value.

Very soon after the outbreak of war Austria exhibited

one of the worst examples of a reprehensible administration of the finances, into which direction the Austro-Hungarian Bank was dragged along. The Government constantly issued more loans without really placing assets against them. In spite of all sophistry that the money was distributed among the public, more and more money was being artificially created, the greater part of which was being devoted to non-productive ends and intended to disappear by destruction. Against the State's increasing acknowledgements of debt was placed a counter value of . . . nothing at all, and as more and more media of payment had to be created against the constantly growing issue of acknowledgements of debt by the Government, the bank of issue constantly issued more notes which, as their counter value, had Government debt acknowledgements, representing . . . nothing whatsoever. It soon came about therefore that the gold value was no longer in proportion to the nominal value of the Crown notes issued and this deterioration has reached its nadir in the balance of the Austro-Hungarian Bank as it stands to-day, viz. that against 58 milliard crowns in liabilities payable on demand there is slightly more than $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ as gold cover and 76% in Government bonds of very inferior value.

This is how it came about that two kinds of payment media have been brought into use side by side: viz. the gold Crown, still existing in the gold pieces actually present which, if still in the possession of the public, are anxiously kept concealed and of which there is pro-

bably a certain limited amount deposited in the vaults of the Austro-Hungarian Bank, though for the rest it has merely become a fictive unit of account. Alongside this we have the paper Crown, whose value has become liable to very great fluctuation and which has, practically speaking, ended by being worth nearly nothing. This paper Crown has thus, through the force of circumstances, come into existence outside every legal regulation, for the law does not even recognize the paper Crown. Nevertheless the paper Crown soon became the sole medium of circulation, either in the form of bank-notes or in the form of Government „currency” notes, or in the form of credit balances at the bankers, against which one can draw cheques or transfers.

It goes without saying, however, that goods and service possess a definite value in themselves, as separate from an existing system of currency; their price is only expressed in the unit of that currency. Now these goods and services can only be delivered against a real counter value, and now that the value of the currency unit in circulation has fallen, the value of the goods and services must necessarily be paid for in so many more currency units. The fact that a greater number of currency units (in this case paper Crowns) must be paid for goods and services, need not mean that the receiver obtains payment for his goods and services greater than their real value. It may even occur that the greater number of currency units do not even represent

a higher value as compared with the former payment.¹⁾

Now this has taken place in a great degree in Austria, and this owing to another cause. I have already referred above to a common phenomenon that on the depreciation of a country's own currency the rise in prices in that country does not keep pace with the depreciation of the currency abroad. The state of things has in this connection proceeded so far in Austria that, even if the purchase price of goods and of the labour wages in the country itself had already reached 25 times the former cost, the receiver of this 25 times does not even possess the same purchasing capacity as he would have acquired with his single gold Crown before the war. Even at 25 times the paper Crown no foreign country will sell anything to the Austrian; but if an Austrian to-day were still able to hand over gold Crowns, then the merchandise of the whole world would still be at his service.

Austria has therefore given the most positive proof that a rise in price and wages are of no use whatsoever if steps cannot be taken to prevent the further depreciation of a country's own currency, which was brought about by the creation of more and more artificial buying power.

¹⁾ This is why tables of what are termed Index Numbers can give such an incorrect representation of the state of things if care is not taken to distinguish how much of the apparent increase in price, as expressed in the nominal quantity of the medium of exchange, is to be attributed to the depreciation of the country's own currency.

With this increased purchasing capacity one could, in Austria, apparently pay higher prices and wages; but this was only apparently so and every one can now see how this appearance was deceptive: the increase in prices and wages could not even keep pace with the depreciation, but on the contrary gave it a further push downwards. The increased expenditure rendered the creation of still more artificial purchasing power necessary and the race in the wrong direction between increase of wages and depreciation of currency, became more and more fatal to the interests of the whole State and its inhabitants individually, until the depreciation has now practically fallen to zero and the increased prices and wages have brought no sign of relief, indeed, on the contrary, large classes of the population which could not participate in the general increase, such as officials, schoolmasters, and those who live on their interest or pension, have been made paupers and the country has been brought to the edge of the abyss. Many Austrians are dying of hunger, and now perish of disease and exhaustion, because they can no longer supply gold Crowns. Many of them must now be kept alive by alms; and yet if they were able to acquire gold Crowns, they would be saved from this misery.

In this wretched position and in the excessive depreciation of the Crown, however, also lies the remedy if one will only have the courage to look at things without prejudice and to see the facts as they really are. In the

first place, one will have to take into account that the greater part of the crowns were issued when the Crown had already depreciated, hence when it was already certain that no further gold Crowns could be issued. The Crowns issued during, and especially after, the war were therefore paper Crowns from the very first; the first receiver of such Crowns has therefore already given as counter value for them either an object on an equal footing, such as the new Government Debt Bonds, or his goods and services at an increased price in Crowns; in both categories of cases the receiver of the Crown notes was perfectly aware that he only received an inferior paper Crown in payment. Further, selling such crowns to foreign countries against a constantly diminishing value in the foreign currency made it obvious that the foreign buyer had only acquired depreciated paper Crowns.

The holders of all these Crowns thus have virtually no right to demand the eventual repayment of their paper Crowns on the basis of the gold Crown; if this were done such holders would pocket an entirely unearned — and undeserved — profit at the expense of Austria, and the burden for Austria would be so immense that she would never be able to extricate herself from her present difficult position.

One will however have to distinguish between claims in Crowns dating from different periods. The pre-war Government debt was really incurred at their gold Crown value

(or other nominal gold value before the introduction of the Crown); the parties who acquired and held them at the time had therefore paid the full gold value for them. A clause has consequently been inserted in the Peace Treaty that Austria must continue to pay the interest and amortization of such bonds in gold Crowns to the holders in the Entente Countries; this stipulation is in itself by no means unreasonable. The same would apply to claims in the form of bank balances, deposits, supplies on credit and other credits dating from the time when the Crown still had a gold value. An arrangement has, for instance, been made between Germany and the Dutch holders of balances in Marks dating from before the war, according to which these balances were converted into new acknowledgements in Dutch guilders. This arrangement was also perfectly fair, but no holders of newly acquired Mark balances were, however, allowed to participate in this arrangement, seeing that they had voluntarily purchased these balances at a moment when they knew that the Mark no longer possessed its gold value. It will therefore be perfectly fair to demand that Austria should ultimately once more fulfil her obligations on the gold basis towards holders of claims who have retained the same claims since the time when the Crown could be considered to have possessed its gold value. It will frequently be difficult to draw the line, but in every arrangement there are border cases which, individually, would be unfairly treated. A court of arbitration could be established for such cases.

The remaining holders of claims in Crowns acquired during the depreciation may not however receive payment at the full gold value of the claims. One will therefore clearly have to establish that they are only holders of paper Crowns and have never been anything else. In view of the restoration of the currency and banking system in Austria one will therefore have to accept as a fact that the present circulation of Crowns consists entirely of paper Crowns. This makes the solution of the problem much simpler.

Recapitulating, we can give the following analysis of the present condition and of the direction in which the solution will have to be found:

Austria has, according to the present Mint Acts, a gold Crown, which is no longer to be found in circulation. A comparatively small quantity is still to be found in the vaults of the Austro-Hungarian Bank in the form of gold pieces and in the form of silver pieces, and to a certain extent even in the form of subsidiary coin. There is probably a small quantity in the hands of private individuals, who have carefully concealed them.

This gold Crown must be retained, also for the future, as a unit of account, as in former times the Bank-guilder and the Banco Mark played the part of fictive unit for many years. In this manner a fixed monetary unit and unit of account is retained for the future.

Side by side with this there is in circulation the paper Crown

which, at the present moment, together with the Scheine of the Kriegsdarlehenskassen and the Government Currency notes, amount to more than 60 milliard Crowns. This figure includes the credit balances in the hands of the Austro-Hungarian Bank, but not the credit balances in the private banks, against which cheques and transfers can naturally also be drawn.

As the first and absolutely necessary step to arrive at an arrangement it must be resolved that no further artificial purchasing power shall be made and consequently that no further circulation media shall be created against fictive assets; if such a decision cannot be arrived at, every attempt at restoration will be futile.

One must therefore arrive at this determination, and in the course of my further argument, I shall therefore assume that this will actually take place.

These 60 milliard Crowns can thus for the time being be quietly left in circulation; they will, however, almost exclusively serve for the home circulation, and will consequently play no part of any importance as medium of payment to foreign countries. These paper Crowns are to continue to circulate at their depreciated value, and all payments which are now being made with them shall for the present continue to be made by their means. For instance, the wages, rents and the countless other daily payments in social intercourse will have to continue in these Crowns and where one formerly paid tens of Crowns one will have to pay hundreds of these paper Crowns.

We shall then see the same phenomenon in Austria as in Portugal, where even small payments are expressed in thousandths of reis (milreis); the thousand has there taken the place of a former unit.

In the meantime, we can accept as a fact that those 60 milliards of paper Crowns are not all required for the daily circulation; a large number of the notes will be hoarded up or held abroad. In view of this we can already take the first step towards restricting this sum of 60 milliard Crowns; they are actually a Government debt, and in this form bear no interest. Now make it possible to exchange these Crowns into a long-term Government Debt, redeemable say, within 60 to 100 years. Let this Government Debt bear interest at, say, $2\frac{1}{2}\%$, both interest and amortization being made payable in the same paper Crowns, or in the other value in which these Crowns will in the future be paid. The holders, who at the present moment have holdings which bear no interest whatsoever, and which they do not even wish to use as a means of payment, will therefore immediately gain an advantage in taking up this Government Debt, and their wealth is not diminished because this Government Debt will continue to follow, step by step, the value of the paper Crowns.

There is therefore every probability that this very great sum of paper Crowns issued will thus already be considerably reduced. Nevertheless there will nominally remain in

circulation a far greater amount than there was before the war; now if this amount, taking the depreciation into account, is converted to the nominal value of the gold Crown, it will appear that the actual circulation need not be so much greater than it was before the war. Now assuming that the depreciation, when the conditions have somewhat improved, can be taken as $\frac{1}{3}$ rd. or $\frac{1}{4}$ th. of the former value, the circulation can then without difficulty continue to be 3 to 4 times what it was before the war, even if one does not take into account the fact that the prices of the goods have increased owing to causes attached to the goods themselves (shortage), which in itself would necessitate a greater circulation of payment media. Under the circumstances one would even be justified in saying that a circulation of 5 to 6 times the pre-war figures could not for the present be considered abnormal.

Every effort should, however, be made to bring, side by side with the paper Crown, a gold Crown into general use. This can only be done by temporarily creating a fresh credit for Austria, which will require the help of foreign countries. It seems to me that the best method will be as follows:

A new Bank of Issue should be established and this Bank should take exclusively the gold Crown as its basis for its own business. The Bank will therefore permit of the opening of accounts with the Bank in gold Crowns. Now if a foreigner wishes to advance a credit to an Austrian the former will calculate that credit in the form of goods,

materials, etc. which will only be paid at some later date, the goods will be invoiced in gold Crowns; the Austrian therefore accepts the liability to pay, after a certain period, say 3 or 6 months to 1 year, the amount in gold Crowns to the party who granted him the credit; he may even accept a bill to that effect which may be declared discountable in the trade. The Austrian will naturally only be granted this credit if he can make plausible that he will be in a position to repay the sum when the credit matures. The Austrian may, amongst other ways, do this by manufacturing to a finished product the raw materials supplied to him on credit, which he could then again supply to foreign countries. If this is done he will in the meantime have been able to pay his workmen and on the delivery of the articles finished by him to foreign countries he will receive sufficient counter value to cover all his expenses, to pay his debt for the materials supplied on credit, and a surplus of profit will remain which permits him to form fresh capital. His account with the bank will therefore eventually show a credit balance against which he can purchase fresh materials, etc.

If many Austrians, each in their trade and industry, act in this manner they will, if at first assisted by credits from abroad, all together be able to save a considerable capital annually, which can be expressed in gold Crowns. They can all, and with them all their co-operators, both intellectual and manual, join in fresh savings and the formation of new capital, which is in glaring contrast with the

method followed during the war and after the armistice, when money was wasted and capital destroyed on a huge scale.

This financial reconstruction may also be greatly assisted on other lines. The foreign countries might begin by generously supplying the new Bank of Issue with funds, both by putting up the share capital and by placing other funds abroad at the Bank's disposal, as f.i. the £ sterling in England, the dollar in America and Guilders in Holland. The new Bank of Issue could then advance its own credits in gold Crowns which the Austrian producers might require to resume work. The Bank could in this way draw upon the funds placed at its disposal in England in £ for the payment of the raw materials to be supplied by England.

The new Bank of Issue could thus immediately set a gold-exchange system into operation. The Bank could even go as far as to bring its own notes, made out in gold Crowns, into circulation in Austria against the cover of the funds placed at its disposal in other countries. The Bank will however only be able to do this if it will take the greatest possible care that its gold Crown notes in Austria are only issued for productive purposes, so that only real negotiable value in goods and products will stand against the notes issued. The Bank will therefore have strictly to guard against the notes issued by it being used for loans to Governments and Corporations etc. which would again serve to increase the artificial purchasing capacity. If this is done, the new Bank will in a very brief space of time be dragged down into the same bog and would no longer be able to answer its purpose.

On the other hand the Bank will also have to take steps to prevent its balances abroad from being liable to the depreciation of the foreign currency; it will for instance have to negotiate with the foreign banks of issue with a view to obtaining the capital to be eventually furnished in a gold deposit.

Absolutely independent persons must be placed at the head of this Bank, and it might even be considered wise to establish this Bank by international co-operation and under international management, as was done in the case of the Bank of Algeciras in Morocco.

The connection between this Bank and the former Austro-Hungarian Bank could be affected in two ways:

In the first place that one or more of its managers should represent it on the liquidation committee of the Austro-Hungarian Bank;

In the second place that it would, on request, be permitted to open accounts in paper Crowns of the said Austro-Hungarian Bank.

This latter operation could be done in the same way as all European banks open accounts for their clients in foreign currency, and as in the Far East the banks also open accounts in silver sycee or in special dollars; in other words, the value of these accounts is entirely at the charge and risk of the customer. Moreover, the Bank itself may not hold these paper Crowns, unless it be by way of purchase against which it shall cover itself by a

sale the very same day. The Bank will therefore have to look upon and treat these paper Crowns very much in the same way as ordinary banks handle foreign currencies in their operations. In this manner the new Bank of Issue will nevertheless be able to render extremely valuable services and facilitate settlements, transfers and clearing in paper Crowns without itself running any risk whatsoever.

The Austro-Hungarian Bank will have to continue with the gradual liquidation of its own affairs, also under the supervision of the new Bank of Issue. Paper Crowns may naturally also be used to pay the former bank its claims, which will also be a factor towards reducing the number of paper Crowns in circulation. If the Austrian nation again sets to work it will ultimately be able to redeem a part of the national debt by means of the taxes it will yield; even the payment of these taxes could be largely effected in paper Crowns and the State could use these paper Crowns to redeem its notes from the Austro-Hungarian Bank and others. In this way the amount of the outstanding notes in paper Crowns will diminish in course of time, until at a given moment the paper Crowns in circulation can be considered not to exceed the actual needs of trade, naturally taking any depreciation then still prevailing into account.

When that moment has arrived one can seriously think of taking the further liquidation in hand as a whole. The Austrian Government will, if in the course of years its credit has been sufficiently restored by the fact that its

subjects have resumed their industrious habits and the Government itself has ceased its extravagant expenditure, with the result that its budget will again truly balance, be able to issue a new gold loan, the interest and amortization of which will be payable in the gold Crowns of the new Bank of Issue. With the gold notes thus obtained it will ultimately be able to redeem all its bonds from the Austro-Hungarian Bank at such a rate of the gold Crown to the paper Crown as may prove to be the current value of the latter at that moment. It is not at all impossible that the value of the paper Crowns then still outstanding has considerably increased as compared with their price in international traffic at the present moment. All notes in paper Crowns of the Austro-Hungarian Bank can then be withdrawn in exchange for gold notes in the same proportion.

Until however this moment definitely arrives the paper Crowns of the Austro-Hungarian Bank and the gold Crown of the new Bank of Issue will have to circulate quite independently side by side, just as if they were currencies foreign to each other. During the whole of this period no direct connection may be made between them in order to avoid the possibility of the gold Crown being dragged down from its pure and solid standpoint to the level of the paper Crown.

Prof. Dr. Landesberger, in the *Neue Freie Presse* of October 19, 21 and 22, 1919 expounded a system for the

solution of the banking and exchange problem in Austria, in which many similar ideas are put forth. I have read this exposé with great interest especially as I saw that we had, on several main points, similar arguments and had reached similar conclusions. I deduce however from the learned writer's proposal, that he would like to see an earlier exchange of the notes of the Austro-Hungarian Bank into the notes of the new Bank of Issue, whereas on the other hand, I must express a grave warning against this being done.

In the years 1911/12 having, at the request of the Four Power Syndicate (United States of America, England, France and Germany) been appointed Monetary Adviser to the Chinese Government, I pointed out in my „On Chinese Currency” Vol. I and II (published by J. H. DE BUSSY, Amsterdam) that we find conditions in China which show some resemblance to those causing the Austrian problem, in that currency of the interior cannot be used for foreign exchange, i. e. settlements with foreign countries. I then elaborated a similar system on behalf of China for the creation of a new bank of issue, which would also partly stand under foreign management, and which was at the same time to create a new gold unit for trade between China and other countries, which gold unit would eventually come into circulation in China itself too. On this occasion I also uttered a warning against any excessive haste in having the existing circulation too swiftly superseded by the new gold unit, before the circumstances were ready for such a change.

Further, I called attention to the fact that in Oriental countries more than one case is to be met with in which circulation media, based on different currency and banking systems, are in circulation side by side. Even in the Netherlands Indian Colonies we have most instructive examples and in my former capacity of President of the Java Bank I myself had to regulate the transfer into circulation of notes and coin to the simple gold standard when the conditions in the various districts were ripe for the change. This arrangement in our Colonies ultimately led to a most satisfactory result, in spite of the manifold problems arising from difference in nationality and customs of the various Asiatic tribes.

In the case of Austria I would therefore advise that great caution should be exercised with regard to the definite reintroduction of a new gold Crown as the only medium of circulation. It does not seem to me impossible for Austria to have two different systems of currency and banking in use simultaneously.

If Austria should in the future proceed to withdraw these paper Crowns, she will have to include in the arrangement the bonds which were issued against payment of the former Crown notes. The principal of these bonds will then have to be reduced to a capital in new gold Crowns in the same proportion as is used in the exchange of the paper Crowns against gold notes, and the interest will, after such endorsement, also be payable in gold Crowns at the reduced amount.

On withdrawing the paper Crowns the prices of goods and wages will naturally have to be fixed at new figures in gold Crowns. It seems to me that this measure need not be so difficult to carry out, seeing that everybody will gradually have become familiar with the idea that there is a double currency in the country, and they will certainly have observed that for a gold Crown they will actually receive several times the quantity of goods they would be able to buy for paper Crowns. The prices of goods in the new gold Crowns will then no longer be quoted at such a high figure, so that the terrifying figures will disappear.

Some difficulty will naturally again arise with border cases, such as salaries and prices which had not greatly risen in paper Crowns; we might quote as an example the salaries of schoolmasters, and the railway fares; in the new gold Crown these will have to be fixed again at about the same normal height, which will also put an end to the anomalous position that these had fallen too low, taking the depreciation of the paper Crown into consideration. Some difficulty may also for a time be experienced in the settlement of debts, though even this difficulty is not unsurmountable; a fall in the value of the Crown was to the disadvantage of the creditor, any recovery or rise to his advantage. These conditions have so frequently occurred in countries with a silver standard, especially Asiatic countries, that sufficient experience has been acquired how one must act in such cases. One could if necessary prescribe

a further taxation of the value of the debts by legislation.

I have paused rather at length over Austria because the course of affairs in that country are so instructive for the estimation of the conditions in all other countries, and also because Austria now most urgently requires that something should be done to relieve her painful circumstances.

Steps of a nature more or less similar to those taken with regard to Austria will however also have to be taken on behalf of other countries. In Germany for instance an excessive amount in Marks has also been issued, the greater part of them when the Mark had already been depreciated. The holders of Marks acquired after the depreciation became operative have therefore no claim to repayment on the basis of the gold Mark.

In Germany we also find the position such that the Mark can no longer serve as a medium of payment to foreign countries, so that other measures are also required there, in the first place the organization of barter trade with foreign countries, the creation of a new gold Mark as a unit of account, the advance of credit by foreign countries on the basis of the gold Mark and, as far as possible, the withdrawal of the Markscheine against a long period Government Debt. This latter has, in one instance, already been done. During the occupation of Belgium Germany had forced her own Mark money upon the conquered territory, and had received the countervalue for them in the form of all kinds of goods and services on the basis of the Franc; it was therefore obvious that

Germany would have to take these Marks back at the rate of Frs. 1.25 the Mark. Now Germany has given a 5 % loan with a period of 20 years against the Markscheine still held by Belgium; the loan is in Marks, but the value of these Marks has been guaranteed by Germany at the parity with the Belgian Franc.

A commencement has therefore been made in Germany with the withdrawal of notes not in actual circulation. If Germany wishes to pursue this road successfully it will however have to stop the further creation of artificial purchasing power and consequently the further issue of Markscheine, otherwise than against really existing value. If Germany does not realize this in time, the famine, exhaustion and general downfall, which now threatens Austria, may be expected to overtake Germany also.

As to other countries the picture is not so clear as in the case of Germany and Austria; in some of them the value of their own currency has also considerably depreciated, and the question is raised whether one ought not to openly and publicly admit the conditions which actually exist, viz. that the gold unit of account has disappeared and that a paper one, different from the former gold one, has come into existence. In some of the other countries they will certainly have to adopt this method of solving the problem of the excessively inflated prices and wages; it is obvious that if the depreciation of the money had not proceeded so far, there would have been no reason for the enhan-

cement of the prices and wages to such a level as is actually seen. For such a country it will, with these high prices and wages, ultimately be impossible to compete in the world's markets, and a large part of its industry and production will have to be stopped, with the resulting increase of unemployment, which in the end will naturally again bring down the wages. Such a country would then however have to pass through a series of necessary hardships, involving great misery for many of its inhabitants. It would therefore be wise to look these causes and effects bravely in the face and to take in time the steps which common sense dictates, in order to allow the new state of things to come about without shock or dislocation, which otherwise will certainly come in spite of the will of the groups concerned.

A few other countries have also seen how their currencies have been somewhat disorganized owing to the present economic situation, though the adverse effects have not yet gone so far that a severe depreciation has arisen by causes on the part of the money. Several of the neutrals can be counted among these.

In all these countries one will have to enquire whether the prices of the goods have increased owing to causes in the goods themselves (shortage, difficulties of production, high costs of transport) or to causes embodied in the money, or even owing to both causes together, in which case one will have to ascertain which of the two has

had the greater influence. In Germany, Austria and Russia, for instance, the excessive creation of purchasing power has been the principal cause of the prices being forced up; in the neutral countries on the other hand, shortage has aided the increase most. The condition of their currency does not therefore require the neutrals to take such steps as described above; if they can again resume their work and recommence exporting to countries vis-à-vis of which their balance of trade is unfavourable for the time being, their exchange will again rise. Under one express condition however: that their Governments and Corporations shall also cease to create artificial purchasing power and that a price basis for goods and labour shall cautiously be introduced, without too great a delay. When estimating the volume of their issue of circulation media, two facts will certainly have to be taken into account, viz. that the prices of goods probably to a considerable extent have increased owing to a cause in the goods themselves (shortage, high cost of transport etc.) and that a portion of the circulation is being hoarded or has been removed to escape taxation („Steuerflucht“) and does not therefore actually form part of the circulation. If various of these influences disappear, the issue of the circulation-media will be reduced by this reason also. A strong taxation to make good the expenditure during the war will, if wisely applied, also assist in this direction.

I should like to call attention to a special point, which again concerns Germany.

We have seen that in this country considerable increases in the capital of large concerns have repeatedly taken place during the last few months, by means of issues on the open market in Marks. These concerns thus receive these new Marks in the depreciated value of this medium of payment. This involves a grave watering down of the capital, greatly to the disadvantage of the old shareholders, who formerly contributed to the capital in gold Marks, unless of course the new shares are issued at a very high premium, which is not the case. We have here therefore not only an unfairness towards certain groups of old shareholders, but a much greater economic disadvantage, viz. that the object of increasing the strength of the concern by increasing the capital has failed entirely. For the reconstruction of a country after the losses of war, which is surely the object here, such a method is, to put it mildly, unwise. The new issues of shares should take place either in gold Marks, by means of warrants on which the dividend would also be payable on the gold Mark basis, or it should expressly have been stated that the issue was made in paper Marks and that the dividend on those shares would also be paid in paper Marks only, or in the value which might eventually supersede these paper Marks. In the way the issues have now taken place, they can only lead to further weakening of the country's position.

CHAPTER V.

International Co-operation indispensable.

The question is now, how is it possible to adopt these ways and means of reconstruction?

That all creation of artificial buying power (I) is to stop must be accepted as fundamental principle by those countries which are still guilty of this abuse. They must do so by revising their actions and their economic policy. When doing so they will probably require the assistance of foreign countries in order to enable them successfully to combat the high cost of living within their own territories.

The institution of an organized system of barter (IV) can be brought about even between two countries; the extension of such a barter organization to more than two countries may also be aimed at by the co-operation of *several* countries *separately*.

However useful and even necessary the taking of steps in both these directions may be, they alone are not efficacious enough to solve the general chaos. More drastic measures will be needed, viz. revision of the debts (II) and a general international credit organization (III).

This can only be done by the generous co-operation of *many* countries.

It is obvious that many of them will be involved in the revision of the debts, and each of them individually will consider it of vital interest to know to what extent they can count on making good their claims. It is not only in the debtor's interest but also in that of the creditor, for the latter will in the end also suffer not only because his debtor will not have been able to pay his debts, but because this unbearable load of debt will prevent the debtor from picking up strength again and will finally crush him both as purchaser from and as supplier of goods to the creditor.

The credit organization more particularly can only, under the present circumstances of the world, be brought about by the co-operation of *many* countries.

This is not only due to the fact that colossal sums will be involved, but also in view of another reason which particularly must not be lost sight of. The case will certainly occur, has, indeed, already occurred, that a group in one of the lesser countries, among the neutrals for instance, is prepared to grant considerable credit to the inhabitants of other countries who urgently need this help. The smaller country cannot and may not, however, grant such credit if it runs the risk of being, at some subsequent date, pushed aside by some greater country or new lender of credit, after it has already given its good services. Even private lenders in mighty America may find them-

selves placed in the same difficulty. In trade generally credits are frequently given either on condition that special security is provided in the form of some pledge or mortgage, or on condition that if these special sureties are not demanded, the debtor may not give any other party preference over his assets.

How can one now proceed to advance large sums on credit if there is a great likelihood that a subsequent and stronger lender may demand and obtain special privileges or pledges for himself alone, to the detriment of those who had been, from the very first, prepared to render assistance? In the case of Germany the case is even more difficult because the amount of the indemnity which this country will have to surrender has not even been fixed. This will render things doubly difficult, especially as long as the Commission des Réparations has the power of seizing property, or goods ready for export, etc. to the disadvantage of lenders in other countries; and the Commission des Réparations can do this by virtue of the very extensive powers vested in it by the terms of the Peace Treaty. How can one expect that a neutral or even an allied lender will be willing to advance credit if the requisition of goods always hangs over his debtor's head just as if the war was still going on, and the lender sees the pledge, which he imagined was his, demanded by another.

The parties advancing credit can only come to an arrangement if they are absolutely satisfied that their claims

will rank with those of more powerful and later lenders, and if they can be assured that their debtor will not be sucked dry before their eyes on behalf of others. One must now know whether one can work at peace conditions or whether it can be feared that on any moment we might re-enter war-conditions, much to the detriment of those who are now prepared to assist in the reconstruction of the shaken world. If it is now genuinely desired that peace should once more reign upon earth, one must also accept the consequences and provide the rest and guarantees necessary for the renewed development of international trade. Only along this road can the countries which have been ravaged by war approach the recovery of rest and prosperity, and only by this means will they ever be able to pay off their debts. If this is not realized in time, the general ruin of Europe will be inevitable.

Only by an extensive international consideration and conference will the way be opened for granting these new credits and for the reconstruction of the world. And *this* conference will now also have to include the neutrals because they are in a position, and will certainly be prepared, in proportion to their resources, to hold out the helping hand. The neutrals themselves may be small and weak in comparison with the greater states, but they have not suffered so much from the war as these great countries and all together they can, also by the great variety of their producing power, certainly afford considerable aid to the larger countries so enfeebled by the war. On

this point the neutrals will have to confer with others, and also with each other, because they will certainly have to supply other countries with goods on credit, if they do not wish to see the output of their own export goods reduced to a standstill, with the consequent misery for their own nations.

An international conference, on a broad basis, must now therefore be made possible, not in the first place in order to lay down terms of peace and indemnities, but in order to prepare a common action towards reconstruction of the world. Not generals and statesmen must here be heard in the first place, but economists and bankers.

Briefly recapitulating, we can therefore say that the following steps should be taken:

(a) at their own initiative and relying on their own efforts:

1. Each country individually should take steps to make an end of the senseless creation of artificial buying power; this must be done before any other reconstructive act, because such reconstruction is absolutely unachievable unless this evil is not primarily suppressed.

2. Several countries will jointly have to come to an arrangement for the organization of an interstate system of barter. The countries with a deeply depreciated exchange should themselves take the initiative in conjunction with their neighbours who are still able to supply on credit. If the countries with a depreciated exchange delay

any longer before taking steps in this direction, the neutrals will then also have to assume the task. Here in the Netherlands we intend, in the course of the next few weeks, to create an organization which will undertake this function with the neighbouring countries, in the hope of producing some result by means of this initiative.

(b) in co-operation with many countries:

3. The revision of the debts will have to be considered. This will for many undoubtedly be a very delicate point. If they do not now bravely face this problem, it will in a few years' time rise up as a crying need before the horrified eyes of the world, when irresolution and hesitation to look things in the face have brought far greater disorganization and misery upon mankind.

4. The problem of the granting of credit in general will have to be considered internationally, in order eventually to permit the granting of credit by countries separately and their citizens individually.

For the measures described under 3 and 4, international collaboration is undispensible and public opinion in various countries is clamouring more and more for action to this end.

It is therefore to be hoped that an international conference to take the necessary steps will no longer be delayed.

The governments of the various countries should take the initiative towards this end. If for state or political reasons the governments cannot take the first step in this

direction, we trust that bankers and leading businessmen in the various countries will be able to meet and submit the matter to general discussion, with a view to preparing a scheme of collaboration.

Soon, very soon, for owing to hesitation and delay the need is in many countries most urgent and imperative. In some of them it can be plainly seen, while in many others it is already perceptible to those who have the courage to look at things in the right light.

CHAPTER VI.

An International Address.¹⁾

An attempt has already been made to attain some degree of organization in this direction.

Since the spring in Holland many private conferences have been held with influential foreigners on the question of how the injurious effects of the war could be removed, and subsequently we had the privilege of uniting several well-known economists from the United States, England and France at a meeting held at Amsterdam on October 13th. and 14th. last.

After mature consideration all those present found that

¹⁾ In the preceding chapters the author has put down his own personal opinions and he alone therefore is responsible for the views therein stated and the conclusions drawn from them. This is explicitly mentioned here because this chapter VI contains the substance of a memorandum which was drawn up by the collaboration of several persons from various countries, and which therefore reproduces the collective opinion of these several persons. Now that this memorandum is combined in one book with the author's views, he feels it his duty to put on record that the persons who assisted in drawing up the memorandum are not bound in any way whatsoever by the author's personal views, and he particularly wishes to avoid even the appearance of having spoken in this book, in the name of other collaborators of that memorandum.

they agreed as to the main principles on which normal conditions could ultimately be brought back to the countries ravaged by the war and those whose economic life, though in a lesser degree, has been disorganized by the war. The persons present however considered that they ought to submit the provisional results of their discussions to the opinion of persons from the nearest neutral countries who, we hoped, would be prepared and able to continue the discussion at Amsterdam a few weeks later. At the joint invitation of those present at the meeting of October 13/14, certain persons from Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Switzerland took part in the continued discussion on the 2nd. and 3rd. of November.

Most of these gentlemen had, each on behalf of their own country, been present at the prolonged deliberations on the Peace terms held in Paris during the early months of 1919. They came to Amsterdam, however, without any official instructions whatsoever hence only as private individuals. In view of their former function they could however, be considered to have obtained a clear insight into international conditions.

It was to our great satisfaction that also this second and larger meeting arrived at an agreement with regard to several of the main principles on which we should work towards restoration.

These discussions naturally had to take place privately, especially as they bore no official character whatsoever.

Every opinion therefore expressed at or by the confe-

rence retained a strictly personal character; the individual and personal authority that one might assume each of those present to possess in his own country, was a guarantee that the expression of such an opinion in each of those countries would not pass unnoticed.

It has, on principle, been decided to publish simultaneously in the countries of those persons, who met at these conferences, a number of these main principles, laid down in a memorandum which had been prepared jointly by the persons above mentioned. The main object was however to express in most urgent terms the general desire that a great international conference should be called together, in order to thus lay the foundation for a broader international co-operation towards the reconstruction of the greatly shaken social edifice in practically every country.

It was disappointing that the publication of the views of the conference of November 2nd. and 3rd. had to be postponed for some time in connection with the political events in various countries, as the conference above all wished to avoid the appearance of exercising any influence whatsoever on these political events.

This memorandum has been published in the form of a question and, to a certain extent, in the form of an international advice, and has been addressed in each country by the signatories to their own Government¹⁾;

¹⁾ See the note on following page.

in each country the memorandum has been signed by a limited number of persons in that country, amongst which members of the conferences of October 13/14 and Nov. 2/3.

It has also been published in some neighbouring countries of which no person was present at these private conferences.

The memorandum has been published in most of these countries on Thursday, January 15, 1920 (in England on the 16th, and in France some days later).

1) In the United States of America the memorandum has, with a view to local conditions, not only been handed to the Government, but also to the Commission des Réparations and to the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. Accordingly the first sentence, in America, runs as follows:

The undersigned individuals beg leave to lay before their Government, the Reparations Commission, and the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, the following observations, and to recommend that the Chamber of Commerce of the United States designate representatives of Commerce and Finance to meet forthwith (the matter being of the greatest urgency) with those of other countries chiefly concerned, which should include the United Kingdom and the British Dominions, France, Belgium, Italy, Japan, Germany, Austria, the neutral countries of Europe, the United States, and the chief exporting countries of South America, for the purpose of examining the situation briefly set forth below and to recommend upon the basis of authentic information what action in the various countries is advisable among the peoples interested in reviving and maintaining international commerce.

The memorandum runs as follows: 1)

The undersigned individuals beg leave to lay before their Government, a proposal that the Governments of the countries chiefly concerned, which should include the United States, the United Kingdom and the British Dominions, France, Belgium, Italy, Japan, Germany, Austria, the Neutral countries of Europe and the chief exporting countries of South-America, should be invited forthwith (the matter being of the greatest urgency) to convene a meeting of Financial representatives, for the purpose of examining the situation, briefly set forth below, and to recommend, in the event of their deciding that co-operative assistance is necessary and advisable, to whom and by whom assistance should be given and on what general conditions.

They venture to add to the above recommendation the following observations:

The war has left to conqueror and conquered alike the problem of finding means effectively to arrest and counteract the continuous growth in the volume of outstanding money and of Government obligations, and, its concomitant, the constant increase of prices. A decrease of excessive consumption and an increase of production and taxation are recognized as the most hopeful, — if not the only, — remedies. Unless they are promptly applied, the depreciation of money, it is to be feared, will continue, wiping out the savings of the past and leading to a gradual but

1) Regarding United States, see note on preceding page.

persistant spreading of bankruptcy and anarchy in Europe.

There can be no social or economic future for any country, which adopts a permanent policy of meeting its current expenditure by a continuous inflation of its circulation and by increasing its interest-bearing debts without a corresponding increase of its tangible assets. In practice every country will have to be treated after careful study and with due regard to its individual conditions and requirements. No country however, is deserving of credit, nor can it be considered a solvent debtor, whose obligations we may treat as items of actual value in formulating our plans for the future, that will not or cannot bring its current expenditure within the compass of its receipts from taxation and other regular income. This principle must be clearly brought home to the peoples of all countries; for it will be impossible otherwise to arouse them from a dream of false hopes and illusions to the recognition of hard facts.

It is evident that Germany and Austria will have to bear a heavier load than their conquerors, and that, in conformity with the Treaty of Peace, they must bear the largest possible burden they may safely assume. But care will have to be taken that this burden does not exceed the measure of the highest practicable taxation, and that it does not destroy the power of production, which forms the very source of effective taxation. For the sake of their creditors and for the sake of the world, whose future social and economic development is involved, Germany and Austria must not be rendered bankrupt. If, for instance upon close

examination, the Commission des Réparations finds that, even with the most drastic plan of taxation of property, income, trade and consumption, the sums that these countries will be able to contribute immediately towards the current expenses of their creditors will not reach the obligations now stipulated, then the Commission might be expected to take the view that the scope of the annual contribution must be brought within the limits within which solvency can be preserved, even though it might be necessary for that purpose to extend the period of instalments. The load of the burden and the period during which it is to be borne, must not, however, exceed certain bounds; it must not bring about so drastic a lowering of the standard of living that a willingness to pay a just debt is converted into a spirit of despair and revolt.

It is also true that amongst the victorious countries there are some whose economic condition is exceedingly grave, and who will have to reach the limits of their taxings-powers. It appears therefore to the undersigned, that the position of these countries, too, should be examined from the same point of view of keeping taxation within the power of endurance, and within a scope that will not be conducive to financial chaos and social unrest.

1) The world's balance of indebtedness has been upset and has become topheavy and onesided. Is it not necessary

¹⁾ In America the paragraph beginning with the words: "The world's balance of indebtedness" and winding up with the words: "towards a cure?" have been left out.

to free the world's balancesheet from some of the fictitious items which now inflate it and lead to fear or despair on the part of some, and to recklessness on the part of others? Would not a deflation of the world's balance-sheet be the first step towards a cure?

When once the expenditure of the various European countries has been brought within their taxable capacity, (which should be a first condition of granting them further assistance), and when the burdens of indebtedness, as between the different nations, have been brought within the limits of endurance, the problem arises as to how these countries are to be furnished with the working capital necessary for them to purchase the imports required for re-starting the circle of exchange, to restore their productivity, and to reorganize their currencies.

The signatories submit that, while much can be done through normal banking channels, the working capital needed is too large in amount and is required too quickly for such channels to be adequate. They are of opinion therefore that a more comprehensive scheme is necessary. It is not a question of affording aid only to a single country, or even a single group of countries which were allied in the war. The interests of the whole of Europe and indeed of the whole world are at stake.

It is not our intention to suggest in detail the method by which such international co-operation in the grant of credit may be secured. But we allow ourselves the following observations:

1. The greater part of the funds must necessarily be supplied by those countries, where the trade balance and the exchanges are favourable.
2. Long term foreign credit, such as is here contemplated, is only desirable in so far as it is absolutely necessary to restore productive processes. It is not a substitute for those efforts and sacrifices on the part of each country, by which alone they can solve their internal problem. It is only by the real economic conditions pressing severely, as they must, on the individual that equilibrium can be restored.
3. For this reason, and also because of the great demands on capital for their own internal purposes in the lending countries themselves, the credit supplied should be reduced to the minimum absolutely necessary.
4. Assistance should as far as possible be given in a form which leaves national and international trade free from the restrictive control of Governments.
5. Any scheme should encourage to the greatest extent possible the supply of credit and the development of trade through normal channels.
6. In so far as it proves possible to issue loans to the public in the lending countries, these loans must be on such terms as will attract the real savings of the individual; otherwise inflation would be increased.

7. The borrowing countries would have to provide the best obtainable security. For this purpose it should be agreed that :
 - a. Such loans should rank in front of all other indebtedness whatsoever, whether internal debt reparation payments or interallied governmental debt.
 - b. Special security should be set aside by the borrowing countries as a guarantee for the payment of interest and amortization, the character of such security varying perhaps from country to country, but including in the case of Germany and the new States the assignment of import and export duties payable on a gold basis, and in the case of States entitled to receipts from Germany, a first charge on such receipts.

The outlook at present is dark. No greater task is before us now, than to devise means by which some measure of hopefulness will re-enter the minds of the masses. The re-establishment of a willingness to work and to save, of incentives to the highest individual effort and of opportunities for every one to enjoy a reasonable share of the fruit of his exertions must be the aim towards which the best minds in all countries should coöperate. Only if we recognize that the time has now come when all countries must help one another, can we hope to bring

about an atmosphere, in which we can look forward to the restoration of normal conditions and to the end of our present evils.

In conclusion the signatories desire to reiterate their conviction as to the very grave urgency of these questions in point of time. Every month which passes will aggravate the problem and render its eventual solution increasingly difficult. All the information at their disposal convinces them that very critical days for Europe are now imminent and that no time must be lost if catastrophes are to be averted.

In the various countries the signatories to the memorandum have been the following persons:

AMERICA. (UNITED STATES OF)

WILLIAM H. TAFT, *Former President of the United States.*

ELIHU ROOT, *Former Secretary of State, and ex-Senator.*

HERBERT HOOVER, *Former Director U.S. Food Administration.*

MYRON T. HERRICK, *Former Ambassador to France.*

HARRY A. WHEELER, *Former President United States Chamber of Commerce, and Chairman International Trade Conference of U.S. Chamber of Commerce.*

ALFRED E. MARLING, *President New-York Chamber of Commerce.*

WILLIAM FELLOWES MORGAN, *President New-York Merchants Association.*

FRANK A. VANDERLIP, *Chairman Banking Committee New-York Chamber of Commerce.*

PAUL M. WARBURG, *Chairman Acceptance Council and Committee on Banking of New-York Merchants Association, and former vice Governor Federal Reserve Board.*

R. S. HAWES, *President American Bankers Association.*

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A. BARTON HEPBURN, *Chairman Chase National Bank, New-York.*

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L. L. RUE, *President Philadelphia National Bank.*

JAMES B. FORGAN, *President First National Bank, Chicago.*

FESTUS J. WADE, *President Mercantile Trust Company St. Louis.*

F. O. WATTS, *President Third National Bank, St. Louis.*

JOHN SHERWIN, *President First National Bank, Cleveland.*

A. W. MELLON, *President Mellon National Bank, Pittsburgh.*

EMORY W. CLARK, *President First and Old Detroit National Bank.*

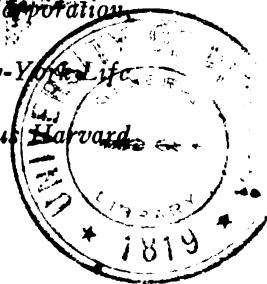
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R. G. RHETT, *President Peoples National Bank, Charlestown, South Carolina, Cleveland.*

H. DODGE, *Partner Phelps Dodge Corporation, New-York.*

DARWIN P. KINGSLEY, *President New-York Life Insurance Cy.*

CHARLES W. ELIOTT, *President emeritus Harvard University.*



- ARTHUR T. HADLEY, *President Yale University.*
 H. P. JUDSON, *President University Chicago.*
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 EDWIN R. A. SELIGMAN, *Professor Economics, Columbia University.*
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 HERBERT FLEISCHHACKER, *President Anglo and London Paris National Bank San Francisco.*
 HENRY SUZALLO, *President University of Washington Seattle.*
 J. P. MORGAN, *Partner of J. P. Morgan and Company, New-York.*

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- C. C. ANDERSEN, *Chairman of the Socialistic Party in the Landsting (Upper House).*
- F. I. BORGBJERG, *Member of the Committee of the social group of the Rigsdag (parliament).*
- I. C. CHRISTENSEN, *Chairman of the Venstre (liberal) Party of the Folketing (Lower House).*
- C. C. CLAUSEN, *Chairman of the Merchants' Guild.*
- C. M. T. COLD, *Chairman of the Danish Steamship Owners Society.*
- A. FOSS, *Chairman of the Board of Industry.*
- E. GLUECKSTADT, *Managing Director of the Danske Landmandsbank.*
- J. KNUDSEN, *Chairman of the Conservative Party in the Folketing.*
- M. MYGDAL, *President of the board of Agriculture.*
- A. TESDORPF, *President of the board of Agriculture.*
- A. NIELSEN, *President of the board of Agriculture.*
- J. P. WINTHER, *Managing Director of the Nationalbanken in Kopenhagen.*
- J. LAURENSEN, *Managing Director of the Nationalbanken in Kopenhagen.*
- C. USSING, *Managing Director of the Nationalbanken in Kopenhagen.*
- M. RUBIN, *Managing Director of the Nationalbanken in Kopenhagen.*
- W. STEPHENSEN, *Managing Director of the Nationalbanken in Kopenhagen.*
- J. PEDERSEN, *Chairman of the Venstre Party of the Landsting.*
- E. G. PIPER, *Chairman of the Conservative Party of the Landsting.*

C. SLENGERIK, *Chairman of the Radikal Venstre Party of the Folketing.*

H. TRIER, *Chairman of the Radikal Venstre Party of the Landsting.*

FRANCE. ¹⁾

RAPHAEL GÉORGES LÉVY, *Economiste, Sénateur.*
DARCY, *Président du Comité des Houillères de France.*

ROGER LEHIDEUX, *Président de l'Union Syndicale de Banquiers de Paris et de la province.*

PETIT, *Président Tribunal de Commerce.*

CHARLES LAURENT.

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Lord INCHCAPE G. C. M. G., K. C. S. I., *Chairman of the National Provincial and Union Bank Ltd., and Chairman of the Peninsula and Oriental Steam Navigation Co.*

WALTER LEAF Esq., *Chairman of the London County and Westminster Bank Ltd.*

¹⁾ The French signatories have prefixed the following reservation to their signatures:

„Il est bien entendu q'un délai raisonnable doit être accordé à
„chaque pays pour ramener ses dépenses courantes au niveau de
„ses recettes provenant des impôts ou d'autres sources normales de
„revenus et que les recommandations sub a. du paragraphe 7 ne
„peuvent recevoir d'application pour chaque cas particulier que
„dans la mesure où elles sont conciliables avec la solidité et
„l'ancienneté du crédit des états”.

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Sir CHARLES ADDIS, *Chairman of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation Ltd., Director of the Bank of England.*

EDWARD C. GRENFELL Esq., *Senior Partner of Messrs. Morgan Grenfell & Co. Ltd., Director of the Bank of England.*

The Hon^{ble} ROBERT H. BRAND, C. M. G., *Partner of Lazard Bros & Co. Ltd., Director of Lloyds' Bank Ltd.*

The Right Hon^{ble} Lord ROBERT CECIL P. C., K. C., *Formerly Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council of the Allies, Formerly Assistant Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.*

The Right Hon^{ble} H. H. ASQUITH, P. C., *Formerly Prime Minister.*

The Right Hon^{ble} Sir DONALD MACLEAN K. B. E.,
Leader of the Liberal Party in the House of Commons.

The Right Hon^{ble} J. H. THOMAS, M. P., *Leader of the Labour Party.*

The Right Hon^{ble} J. R. CLYNES, M. P., *Leader of the Labour Party.*

VISCOUNT BRYCE, G. C. V. O., O. M., *Formerly Ambassador to the United States.*

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C. E. TER MEULEN, *Banker, Member of the Firm Hope & Co.*

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Dr. D. FOCK, *President of the Second Chamber of Parliament.*

Jhr. Dr. W. H. DE SAVORNIN LOHMANN, *President of the High Court of Justice.*

A. W. F. IDENBURG, *Formerly Minister of Colonies, Governor-General of the Netherlands East-Indies.*

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E. P. DE MONCHY Rzn., *President of the Rotterdam Chamber of Commerce.*

C. J. K. VAN AALST, *President of the Amsterdam Bankers Association.*

G. H. HINTZEN, *Banker, Member of the firm R. Mees & Zoonen, Rotterdam.*

F. M. WIBAUT, *Socialistic Alderman of Amsterdam.*

G. M. BOISSEVAIN, *Economist.*

E. HELDRING, *Manager of the Royal Netherlands Steamship Company.*

Prof. Dr. G. W. J. BRUINS, *Rotterdam.*

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 J. TANDBERG, *Bishop of Christiania.*
 FRIDTJOF NANSEN, *Professor of University of Christiania.*
 H. LOEKEN, *Governor of Christiania.*
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 G. A. JAHREN, *Leader of the Conservative Party.*
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 G. KAMPSTRUP HEGGE, *Manager Norske Creditbank.*

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 C. E. KINANDER, *President National Debt Office.*
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 A. VENNERSTEN, *President Swedish Industrial Association, Formerly Minister of Finance.*
 K. A. WALLENBERG, *President Chamber of Commerce of Stockholm, Formerly Minister of Foreign Affairs.*
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 L. H. KVARNZELIUS, *Member of Parliament, Leader Liberal Party.*
 E. TRYGGER, *Member of Parliament, Leader Conservative Party, Formerly Member High Court of Appeal.*

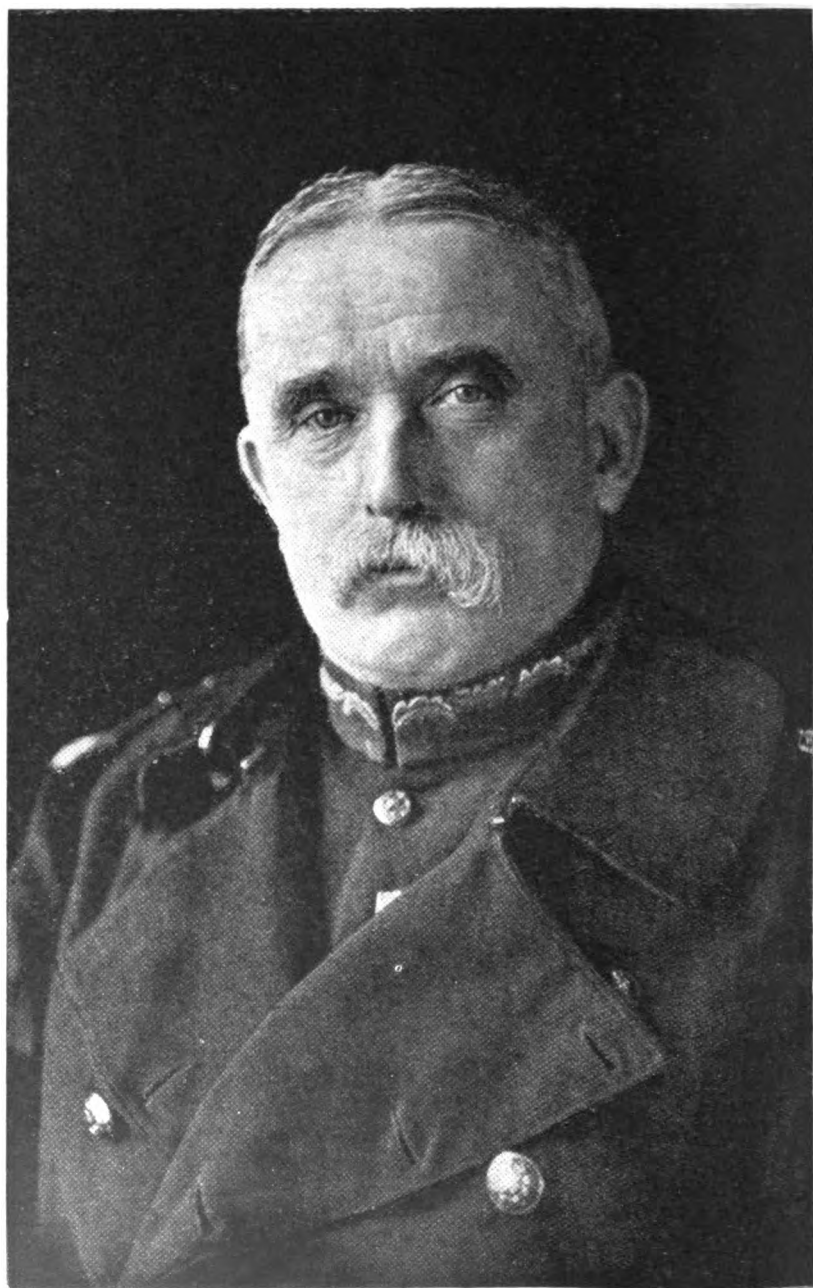
- K. G. CASSEL, *Professor Political Economy.*
 D. DAVIDSON, *Professor Political Economy.*
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-

The battle once more demonstrated the splendid spirit, gallantry and devotion which animates the officers and men of His Majesty's forces.

—*Sir John French's latest
despatch on the Battle
of the Aisne.*



[Photo: Reginald Ivines.]

FIELD-MARSHAL SIR JOHN FRENCH
Commander-in-Chief of the British Expeditionary Force.

MEN OF THE MOMENT SERIES, No. 3.

THE LIFE OF SIR JOHN FRENCH

By HAROLD F. B. WHEELER

*Author of "The Life of Lord Kitchener," "The Life of Sir John
Jellicoe," &c., &c.*



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The Life of Sir John French.

FOREWORD.

BEFORE me as I write are the portraits of two men, separated in point of time by a century, but linked together by that subtle bond of sympathy that can exist, on one side at least, between the living and the dead. The one was the greatest general of his age; the other is undoubtedly the most brilliant cavalry leader of the present day. I refer to Napoleon I. and Sir John French.

In 1814 the little Corsican lad who had assumed the Imperial purple in the cathedral of Notre Dame, at Paris, who had made Western Europe his footstool, was at bay. The triumphal entry into Moscow had been succeeded by the march of humiliation. It was the beginning of the end. The Leipzig Campaign of 1813 brought the debacle appreciably nearer. Prussia, crushed at Jena, flung down the gauntlet and joined Russia; Sweden and Austria followed. The result was disastrous to Napoleon. Compared with the number of men in the field at the present moment, the famous Battle of the Nations was really the assemblage of an army of Lilliput. The Emperor concentrated some 190,000 troops, the Allies about 300,000. After four days' fighting the French army was reduced to 70,000; the remainder were dead, wounded, missing, prisoners, or deserters to the victors.

On the 9th November, 1813, Napoleon arrived in Paris, discomfited but not crushed; on the 26th January, 1814, he left the capital for his supreme effort. France was invaded. Blücher was hurled back at Brienne; at Braye, Montmirail, and Château-Thierry victory attended the tricolour. But stealing up from the South, piercing the Pyrenees, were the ragged battalions of Wellington. When the Emperor was told that Paris had capitulated he said the thing was impossible. Well, the impossible had happened, as it has happened since.

In 1914 France is again the scene of strife, but statecraft has brought about important changes, and science has altered

the conditions of warfare. Prussia, now a kingdom of the German Empire, remains an ally of Austria. Russia, as a member of the Triple Entente, is fighting in behalf of France and Great Britain. Sweden is neutral.

The Commander-in-Chief of the British Expeditionary Force is a fervent admirer of Napoleon the general. With his work as a statesman he has little or no concern—perhaps because a soldier has no politics. He is necessarily the servant of all castes, even of the peace party, whose interests he protects with scant acknowledgment. This bond of sympathy, which I have already noted, is particularly apposite. A recent caricature of the Kaiser represents him as sitting on a horse, clad in the famous uniform inseparably associated with *le petit Caporal*, but with the hat many sizes too big and the grey overcoat trailing on the ground. "It is Napoleonism once again," said Mr. Bonar Law in the House of Commons on the 6th August. "Thank Heaven, so far as we know, there is no Napoleon!"

If Sir John French were to try on the Emperor's uniform it would scarcely be a misfit. It would be Napoleon without the Napoleonism. Quite apart from metaphor, the British Commander-in-Chief who is now acting with General Joffre in the biggest campaign in the world's history, is of a similar build to the Emperor, although he bears no facial resemblance to him. Napoleon's favourite arm was artillery; that of Sir John French is cavalry, which branch of the service he has revived and perfected to a very considerable extent. The latter has not only studied the Emperor's campaigns by the usual means of maps and books. He has got much nearer to the original sources by traversing the sites of many of his most important battles. This means that he is no stranger to the continent of Europe, and it may well be that his interest in the Napoleon cult will stand him in good stead. Belgium, the scene of his hero's last fight, where he sheathed

his sword for ever, is again the cockpit of Europe. Many of its towns and villages lie in heaps, and its pleasant fields are seamed with the tracks of artillery wag-gons. The pleasant field of Waterloo, where the maize grows thick, has already been overrun by German troops.

One of the maxims of Napoleon may well be used to sum up the military characteristics of Sir John French. "The first qualification in a general-in-chief," says the Emperor, "is a cool head—that is, a head which receives just impressions, and estimates things and objects at their real value. He must not allow himself to be elated by good news, or depressed by bad. The impressions he receives either successively or simultaneously in the course of the day should be so classed as to take up only the exact place in his mind which they deserve to occupy; since it is upon a just comparison and consideration of the weight due to different impressions that the power of reasoning and of just judgment depends.

"Some men are so physically and morally constituted as to see everything through a highly-coloured medium. They raise up a picture in the mind on every slight occasion, and give to every trivial occurrence a dramatic interest. But whatever knowledge, or talent, or courage, or other good qualities such men may possess, nature has not formed them for the command of armies, or the direction of great military operations."

Sir John French neither uses rose-coloured spectacles nor smoked glasses, and he is invariably level-headed. It was Christian de Wet, himself a military genius of no mean order, who remarked of French that "he is the one Boer general in the British Army," thereby paying him the highest compliment he could call to mind.

A rigid disciplinarian, he is called in the Army "Silent French." At Aldershot he once had occasion to reprimand a private. "Old French don't bark a bit," said the soldier in question to a friend, "but don't 'e bloomin' we'll bite!"

The Commander-in-Chief of the British Expeditionary Force has no characteristics that suggest a machine other than an amazing capacity for sustained effort. If you have the time and opportunity to read what he has said and written on the Mounted Wing of the Army you will appreciate his belief in initiative and elasticity. "My conception of the duties and functions of the mounted arm is not

to cut and to hack and to thrust at your enemy whenever and however he may be found. The real business of cavalry is so to manœuvre your enemy as to bring him within effective range of the corps artillery of your own side, for which a position suitable for battle, and commanding a field for an infantry engagement, if necessary, would previously have been selected."

It may be that he is not intimately acquainted, in the strictest sense of the term, with the French and Russian Armies, but he has had special opportunities of studying them at first hand in their home countries. In 1907 the General went to Russia to inspect the Czar's legions at work, and for several years he has followed the French cavalry manœuvres at Chalons, a place which has since been held by both the Allies and the Germans.

Sir John's one hobby is hunting, and although he has had one or two accidents while chasing the fox, he has never been wounded when in pursuit of the enemy. When one considers that he took part in the Sudan Campaign, and was "in perils oft" throughout the arduous Boer War, it must be admitted that this immunity from shot and shell is very remarkable. It seems characteristic of great leaders, for neither Napoleon nor Wellington were seriously wounded throughout their long and arduous campaigns.

"The wind bloweth where it listeth," and the political weathercock changes with bewildering frequency. In the light of after events, the following passage from a speech made by Sir John French at the London Guildhall on the 9th November, 1910, rings with the dull, leaden sound of base coin, although it was doubtless true at the time it was uttered.

"British and German soldiers," he averred, "have always been, and I hope will always be, on terms of the utmost friendship, cordiality, and mutual esteem. The warmest welcome is always accorded to British officers at German manœuvres, and I am sure nothing but the kindest and most friendly feeling inspires either one or the other."

In April, 1913, at the London Chamber of Commerce dinner, the General's remarks were words of warning:

"I think there can be no doubt that, with Europe and indeed the world in its present temper, our responsibilities are more likely to increase than to decrease. . . We must look to the future. We must

prepare for what is coming, and I think everybody will agree that in the future our responsibilities will rather increase than decrease, and that is what we have to look for and provide for.

"The danger-point changes constantly, but it is nearly always over-sea, and it is upon the danger-points we fix our earnest attention. When my fellow-countrymen try to sum up our military needs and wants I urge them to take the widest and most comprehensive view of our responsibility throughout the whole of our great Empire, and not to confine themselves to only one point here and another point there."

A marked characteristic of Sir John French is his sense of humour. His wit is keen, but it is not barbed. It never leaves a nasty wound.

"I would be fighting you if I had not got consumption," said a Boer whose house the General entered during the South African campaign. "Oh, I am sorry to hear that you are ill," French retorted, with a kindly smile and the suspicion of a twinkle in the eyes. "I hope you will soon get better."

When he was labouring in the old War Office in Pall Mall he was rather fond of visiting the House of Commons, especially when a military debate was on. After one of these sittings he casually remarked to a friend, "I think I shall turn politician." "What on earth do you mean; what do you know about politics?" asked the other, in considerable amazement. "Quite as much as most of those who have been speaking to-night know about the Army," replied Sir John.

A word or two regarding General Joffre, Chief of the French General Staff, with whom Sir John is now acting, may be useful. He and French are of the same age—sixty-two years—and both are men of few words; indeed, the former is known as Joffre the Taciturn, and the latter as Silent French. Physically there is marked contrast between them, for

although both are stout, Joffre towers above his colleague. He served as Second-Lieutenant in the Franco-Prussian War, and commanded a battery during the siege of Paris. Most of his time has been taken up with the engineers, and he has been responsible for many defences in France and her colonies. The fortress of Diego Suarez, Madagascar, is a monument to his genius in this particular direction. Joffre is a man who takes nothing for granted, and holds chance and good fortune in abhorrence and only worthy of belief by fools and the grossly incompetent. As events have shown, he is "an organiser of victory." It is an open secret that the smooth working of the French mobilisation is due to his foresight, precautions, and hard work. "What Joffre

says is done" is a proverb in the French Army, and he is held in the highest esteem by both officers and men.

I have no means of checking the authenticity of the following story other than by saying that it is derived from what is usually a reliable source. Shortly after hostilities had begun an elderly gentleman with a white moustache was waiting to cross Whitehall, when a patrol of Scouts halted quite close to him. The gentleman smiled at the lads, but the leader,



"HERR ATKINS IN A HURRY."

A German Caricaturist's notion of the British soldier's demeanour at the front.

mistaking this silent expression of approval for a sneer, promptly rounded on him. "It's all very well for you to grin," he said; "we're doing our best for our country, anyway. What have you done?" At this juncture a policeman who happened to be passing whispered something to the Scout, who immediately began to apologise profusely for his rudeness. The gentleman, who good-naturedly replied, "That's all right," was Field Marshal Sir John Denton Pinkstone French, K.C.M.G., G.C.B., K.C.B., G.C.V.O., D.C.L., LL.D., Commander-in-Chief of the British Expeditionary Force, the most important and assuredly the most responsible position that it is possible for a British military man to hold.

The Midshipman who Became a Soldier.

LIKE Wellington, Nelson, and Kitchener, Field-Marshal Sir John French was born in one of those little out-of-the-way places associated solely with the quiet pursuits of country life. Ripple is a pleasant village in Kent which requires a keen eye to discover on the map. Here, on the 28th September, 1852, the only son of Captain French, R.N., and Margaret, daughter of William Eccles, made his first tiny commotion in the world.

The boy, who was christened John Denton Pinkstone, had the misfortune to lose both parents at an early age, and after the first easy lessons of childhood had been learned as he sat beside his eldest sister, he was sent to a preparatory school at Harrow, not the great national institution which crowns the hill, but a much humbler establishment in the vicinity. Like the present Secretary of State for War, French neither went to a public school nor entered the lecture room of a university college. Of his scholastic successes or lack of them we know nothing, but of his kindness of heart, which is far more important, one delightful little glimpse is afforded us by one of his mother's maids.

"One morning," she relates, "in the depth of winter, when I went downstairs I found Master Johnny kneeling on the dining-room hearth trying his best to light the fire. He said, in a tone of disappointment, 'I meant to have a good fire for you, but the wretched fire won't burn.'"

His hobby, strangely enough, was preaching, but, as the above anecdote shows, it did not merely begin and end with a praiseworthy desire to make other people better. His religion was put into practice.

When the time came for him to put away childish things the question of a career for "Master Johnny" had to be considered. The easiest way of solving this important problem is usually the one that shows least discernment; it is to put the lad into the same profession or trade as his father. I do not mean to assert that this was necessarily the method followed in the particular case under consideration. It is nevertheless a fact that young French was ear-marked for the Navy, just as Field-Marshal Sir

Evelyn Wood had been before him. He was sent to Eastman's Naval Academy at Portsmouth to study for the entrance examinations that would admit him to the "Britannia." He passed successfully, and served for four years as a cadet and midshipman on board H.M.S. "Warrior," which was one of the squadron of iron-clads to which the ill-fated "Captain" was attached when she went down in a furious gale in the Bay of Biscay on the 7th September, 1870.

The disaster must have made a lasting impression on the mind of young French. Those were not the days of super-Dreadnoughts and battle-cruisers. The "Captain" had a displacement of 4,272 tons, and was an experiment. The designer was Captain Cowper Phipps Coles, who perished with his vessel. At that time the ships of our Navy used canvas as well as steam for motive power. In addition to carrying two revolving turrets fitted with six guns, also the invention of Coles, other novelties had been introduced by lowering her free-board—in other words, the height of her sides from the surface of the water—which was only nine feet, and dispensing with a keel. A hurricane deck connected the raised forecastle and after-part. The plain cause of the disaster was her instability. She turned turtle as she was buffeted by the angry waves and went down with 600 of her crew.

Midshipman French eventually decided that he was far more suited to the Army than to the Navy. He left the sea, and entering the militia, obtained a commission as lieutenant in the 8th Hussars, which regiment he entered in 1874. Anent this change an excellent story is told.

A number of naval officers were dining with some military men, when one of the former remarked, "You haven't got a single leader worth a cent with the exception, that is, of one man, French, and he's a sailor!" "Yes," retorted a soldier, "he was in the Navy just long enough to see what a rotten service it was. Then he chucked it, and went into the militia, where he learnt to be what he is now!"

In this earlier phase of French's career there is also a subtle connection with his hero. Although I must frankly admit that I have never been able to prove the authenticity of the story, Sir William Fraser states that "one who had very good means of knowing" told him that

when Richard Lawley, later Lord Wenlock, was at school at Brienne, the latter was shown a letter by Napoleon addressed to the British Admiralty asking to be allowed to enter the Navy. Had this been carried out what a change it would have made in Europe's history!

The young soldier's service with his first regiment was not of long duration. He was gazetted lieutenant on the 28th February, 1874, and transferred to the 19th Hussars on the 11th of the following month, where he remained until he commanded it. He became adjutant on the 1st of June, 1880, and in April of the succeeding year accepted a similar position in the Northumberland Yeomanry, in which he served for four years, rejoining the 19th Hussars as major in September, 1884.

French's first experience of active service was in the Sudan Campaign of 1884-5. As I have already given details in another volume of this Series* of the causes which led up to this abortive expedition, there is no need to go into the matter at considerable length. Let me remind you that Gordon had left England for Egypt in the middle of January, 1884, and as Governor-General of the Sudan had arrived at Khartoum, where he was studiously neglected by the British Government. Asked by Sir Evelyn Baring (now Earl of Cromer) why he was staying there, he promptly answered, "because the Arabs have shut us in and will not let us out." Again, "through having so often promised the people of Khartoum that assistance would come, we are now as liars in their eyes."

The British Government still delayed. "Time," Wolseley had written to Sir Henry Gordon, "is a most important element in this question; and it will, indeed, be 'an indelible disgrace' if we allow the most generous, patriotic, and gallant of our public servants to die of want, or fall into the hands of a cruel enemy, because we would not hold out our hands to save him." This letter was shown to the Cabinet, who dealt with the matter so leisurely that when it was finally determined to "do something" the ensuing delays spelt irretrievable disaster.

Over sixteen hundred miles separated Alexandria from Khartoum. Railway, steamer, and camel corps were alike requisitioned, but progress was all too slow, and illness broke out, with the result that

the main body arrived at Dongola a month later than had been anticipated by Wolseley. However, he had received a note from Gordon saying that his steamers awaited the expedition at Metammeh. This determined the Commander-in-Chief to send a picked force across the Bayuda Desert under Sir Herbert Stewart. On the 30th December, 1884, the latter left with the camel corps of 1,100 men, and with him went Major French, now second-in-command of the 19th Hussars. Stewart reached the Gakdul wells and occupied them, and after the remainder of his force had been picked up, numbering in all probably 2,320 men, including about 120 officers, the march across the desert was begun on the 8th January, 1885. Eight days later it became very obvious that they were not to be allowed to reach their objective unmolested, but a force of 11,000 of the enemy was scarcely anticipated. Yet this was the number, drawn from Berber, Omdurman, and elsewhere, which confronted Stewart's little band at the wells of Abu Klea. No main attack was made during the night by either party, although the Arabs fired repeatedly into Stewart's hastily-formed zareba. On the following morning the gallant Stewart, forming his men into a square, with the camels and guns in the centre, the Guards and Mounted Infantry in front, the Heavies, Naval Brigade, and Sussex Regiment in the rear, set out to attack the enemy. What followed has been described by the author of *The River War* as "the most savage and bloody action ever fought in the Sudan by British troops. Notwithstanding the numbers and the valour of the Arabs, that they penetrated the square, and that they inflicted on the troops a loss of nine officers and sixty-five men killed, and nine officers and eighty-five men wounded—ten per cent. of the entire force—they were driven from the field with great slaughter, and the Desert Column camped at the wells." It was at Abu Klea, where he was fighting as a volunteer, that Burnaby, one of the most intrepid of British cavalry officers, was struck down by an Arab spear.

On the following day, after marching a considerable distance in the night, the column was attacked by the enemy. Sir Herbert Stewart was wounded, together with about seventy others. Notwithstanding this he hastily threw up a couple of redoubts, and depleting his

* See *The Life of Lord Kitchener* ("Men of the Moment" Series, No. 1), pp 10-15.



On the Road to Elandsbaai on the Day of Battle.

force by withdrawing enough men to garrison the place, advanced in hollow square, to the utter discomfiture of the enemy. While reconnoitring along the Nile in the direction of Metammeh some of Gordon's steamers were seen coming down the river. One of them bore a letter from the General dated the 14th December. "We may expect a catastrophe in the town in or after ten days," it ran. "This would not have happened (if it does happen) if our people had taken better precautions as to informing me of their movements; but this is spilt milk."

Sir Charles Wilson, who had now assumed command, after a delay which has been accounted for in a variety of ways with little real satisfaction, eventually embarked a few officers and men on two of the steamers and proceeded in the direction of Khartoum. A rain of shot from the Dervishes made the voyage anything but pleasant, and the "Bordein" ran aground twice. You know the remainder of the story. Gordon had been murdered forty-eight hours before Sir Charles Wilson reached Khartoum.

French and the others remained at Metammeh. On the 15th February Sir Redvers Buller, the new commander of the Desert Column, reached Abu Klea, and was successful in getting into touch with Wilson's troops and leading them back to Korti. Buller was deeply impressed by the soldier-like qualities displayed by French, and mentioned him in despatches, to this effect:

"I wish expressly to remark on the excellent work that has been done by a small detachment of the 19th Hussars, both during our occupation of Abu Klea and during our retirement. And it is not too much to say that the force owes much to Major French and his thirteen troopers."

In February, 1885, French was made a lieutenant-colonel and given the command of his regiment. Six years later he saw service in India, and in 1893 was employed as Assistant-Adjutant-General of Cavalry on the Staff, in which position he remained until August, 1895, when he was appointed Assistant-Adjutant-General at the War Office, where he had the opportunity of superintending the full introduction of what is known as the squadron system, which he had first established in his own regiment. His next promotion came in May, 1897, when he was given command of the cavalry in

the South-Eastern District, with headquarters at Canterbury. In January, 1899, French, now temporary Major-General, took over the command of the 1st Cavalry Brigade at Aldershot, where he remained until the following September, when he was nominated to lead the Cavalry Brigade in the Natal Field Force as full Major-General. A record such as this conveys nothing to the lay mind of the amount of downright hard work that French put into the service, but it is noteworthy that Sir Redvers Buller would hear of nobody but French as leader of the cavalry in the Boer War. He knew his man, he appreciated what he had done in the Sudan, and he understood exactly what the Major-General had accomplished since that perilous time. The official leader of the cavalry was therefore passed over for the man whose wonderful performances in the manoeuvres of 1898 had been the admiration of most military men.

The First Phase of the South African War.

THE immediate cause of the long-drawn-out agony of the South African War was the ill-considered invasion of the Transvaal by Dr. Jameson and some 600 mounted men in 1895. Instead of there being an armed rebellion of the voteless Europeans, or Uitlanders as they were called—who formed a majority of the population—as Jameson expected, the affair ended in the surrender of the little army and the sending of the famous—or rather infamous—telegram by the German Emperor to President Krüger congratulating him on his success.

Thus the match was applied to highly combustible material, and in 1899 the South African Republic and the Orange Free State broke into a blaze. On the 9th October the Boer ultimatum was handed in, the chief demands being the withdrawal of troops which had reached South Africa since the 1st of the previous June, and the calling back of all troops then on their way.

The result was war, the invasion of Natal and Cape Colony by the enemy, and the unpreparedness of Great Britain.

At that moment General Sir Penn Symons was in command in Natal, but shortly afterwards General Sir George White succeeded him and established his main force at Ladysmith, while Symons concentrated at Dundee, about thirty-five

miles distant, and connected with the former town by railway.

No sooner had General French arrived than he proved himself a most valuable lieutenant to his superior officer. He was ordered to reconnoitre in the direction of Dundee on the 20th October, the fatal day on which Symons was surprised at Talana Hill. The hill had been stormed at considerable loss, a success altogether discounted by the escape of the Boers under cover of the white flag, a species of treachery which they found on many occasions exceedingly useful. The gallant commander, perhaps a little too bold and a trifle careless, had fallen mortally wounded.

French found the enemy posted on a hill at Elands-laagte, sixteen miles north of Ladysmith, but on setting out again on the morning of the 21st he was surprised to find that their strength was altogether out of all proportion to the troops at his command. He retreated and telephoned for reinforcements, which were promptly sent. With them came White, who declined to interfere with the operations already decided upon by his able colleague.

The afternoon was on the wane when the infantry got fairly on the move, covered by the fire of the guns, which speedily found their range and did much effective work. Then the heavens opened and a torrential downpour hampered the movements of the soldiers. Mauser bullets searched out many a gallant man as he sought to secure sure foothold and mount the slippery slopes which led to the enemy's strong natural position protected by huge boulders, which afforded ample cover to the men behind them. When the Tommies had reached the ridge and hand-to-hand fighting became the order, the Devonshire Regiment charged as well as it was possible to do so on sodden grass. Still, they gained the ridge, and were busy with their bayonets when the bugle sounded the "Cease fire" and "Retire." The Boers were playing the same game as they had played to such excellent advantage at Talana Hill, but fortunately the deceit was discovered. The battle was brought to a victorious conclusion for the British by a brilliant cavalry charge. Some 450 Boers were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners, and two Maxim-Nordenfolt guns were captured at a loss of forty-one killed and 220 wounded.

Hoping to intercept the retreating

Boers, of whose defeat at Elands-laagte he had heard, General Yule, who had taken over the command after Symons' fall, not only found the idea impracticable, but was forced to abandon his camp and his wounded and force his way towards White's army, in which he was successful.

French then returned to Ladysmith, and when Sir George White decided not to evacuate the town, but to hold it, the man who had proved his prowess at Elands-laagte managed on the 2nd November to slip out by the last train to leave the place before it was definitely besieged. He made his escape lying under the seat of a carriage—a necessary precaution, because the train was fired at as it proceeded on its journey—and calmly drew out his cigar-case. However, he reached Pietermaritzburg, and was sent to protect Nauwport, an important junction which it was essential to hold if the central portion of the colony were not to be open to the enemy. This French succeeded in doing, although he had a mere handful of men under him for the important work which fell to his lot, and the country was of the most difficult description. He compelled the Boers to abandon a number of entrenched camps, and for weeks held a hill that dominated Schoeman's position before Colesberg, although supplies of every kind, including ammunition and water, had to be dragged up at night. Everywhere else disaster attended the British arms, but French pushed the enemy steadily back without once giving battle. An opinion of the General's masterly tactics is expressed by Mr. J. G. Maydon, who was with French at the time as a war correspondent, in his book entitled *French's Cavalry Campaign*. He says:—"Round Colesberg on a small scale the plan was being tried with complete success that was so shortly to be applied by the Field-Marshal [Roberts] on the grand scale, and which in a few weeks was to revolutionise the whole course of the war. As it happens, the General, who from comparative obscurity had issued to keep aloft and unrepulsed the ancient banner, was to be selected as the executive arm in the wider field so soon to be opened.

You must also read "The Life of Lord Kitchener" and "The Life of Sir John Jellicoe," Nos. 1 and 2 of the "Men of the Moment" series, and uniform with this book. Now on sale everywhere. Price 2d. each.

"Of course the Field-Marshal had measured the value of this little campaign; it did not escape him that here was one who, setting at naught the text-books, was fighting the Boers on the true scientific principle of adapting the knowledge of the past to the needs of the present, meeting arms of great precision and extraordinary effectiveness with scattered formation and ever-shifting front, and thereby neutralising the advantages so conspicuously maintained by the Boers at every other point."

In the second week of December, 1899, French was reinforced by the 10th and 6th Dragoons, who at once made use of his additional strength by attacking Vaal Kop, near Rensburg, on which the enemy was posted. The attempt was successful and the hill captured by the British. On the 13th, two days later, the Boers endeavoured to turn the tables on their victorious antagonist, but although the pickets were driven in, the attempt to capture the main force was a failure. Hurrying on to a place called Kuilfontein Farm, where the Boers had taken up another position, they were again routed. Fighting continued at intervals, sometimes with vigour but more often in a desultory kind of way, until the 29th, by which time the British had been compelled to abandon Vaal Kop. On that day the enemy fell back to Colesberg. The British camp was moved to Rensburg. General French celebrated the first day of the New Year by personally commanding an attack, but his orders to the cavalry, by strange irony, were not carried out satisfactorily, with the result that after a hard fight nothing of consequence had been effected. Fortunately the losses on the British side were few.

Another attack on the part of the Boers was made on the 4th January, to their discomfiture. The only "untoward incident" of any importance connected with the holding of French's extended line occurred when Colonel Watson was somewhat tardily granted permission in the early morning of the 6th to make an attempt on Grassy Hill. It ended in failure, Watson being killed in addition to four officers killed, four wounded, and three taken prisoners, while twenty-five men were killed and 113 captured.

"We were paraded about 1.30 a.m. on the 6th," writes a soldier who took part in the affair, "under Lieut. Colonel Watson and ten other officers. We had orders not to fire a single shot, and if we

were fired on to take no notice, but keep straight on and make no noise. We then started on the advance on Red Hill, which was about a mile and a half away from our camp. When we were about halfway there, we were halted and ordered to fix bayonets, and carry the hill at the point of the bayonet. Soon after starting again we heard a kind of call from a bird (but I believe it was a signal call), and we saw two lights on our right, yet no notice was taken of them. We kept on until about twenty paces from the top of the hill. All this time we were in close column. Colonel Watson called the officers round him, and they were in front of the column when a signal shot was fired by one of the Boer sentries and we lay down flat. About two or three minutes after the first shot was fired, we heard running of feet, and thought it was our own men, but all at once the top of the hill seemed in flames, and the bullets were flying all round us. Still we lay there waiting for the order to charge, but it never came. After lying under fire for about ten minutes, the Colonel gave the order to retire, and the men on the left retired. Major Graham, on the right, gave his men the order to charge—which they did, at a very serious cost. Major Graham himself was shot through the left arm, and the bullet penetrated his side and came out under his right lung. The Colonel was killed, his head being almost blown off by the explosive bullets the Boers were using. The Adjutant was also killed by the Colonel's side."

On the 9th, Slingersfontein was occupied, and after reinforcements had been received by both Briton and Boer, a number of actions and skirmishes took place over a line extending for some fifty miles, but always French prevented the enemy from advancing.

With the beginning of February the time had arrived for French, in accordance with instructions received from Lord Roberts, to make his preparations for the important share he was to take in the relief of Kimberley.

He had shown extraordinary prowess in the field and done all that was expected of him, never sparing himself and setting a wonderful example to his men. On one occasion he did not so much as take off his boots for three days and three nights, but contented himself by snatching a brief interval of sleep when opportunity offered.

From Colesberg to Bloemfontein.

AFTER a visit to Cape Town to consult with Lord Roberts as to the final preparations for the advance into the Orange Free State, French returned to Colesberg and gradually withdrew his troops for that purpose, their places being filled by others under General Clements. At Modder River camp 35,000 British troops were getting ready for the difficult task which confronted them ere Kimberley could be relieved. This is not the place, of course, to enter into all the details of the advance, but to briefly summarise those actions in which General French's cavalry took part. His division consisted of the 6th Dragoon Guards, 6th Dragoons, 2nd Dragoons, 10th Hussars, 12th Lancers, Household Cavalry, 16th Lancers, 9th Lancers, Roberts' Horse, and seven batteries of Horse Artillery, divided into three Brigades. The main rôle was to be played by these troops, whom Kitchener bluntly asserted were to reach the Diamond City even if half of them were left on the road. At all costs they were to get through.

The place appointed for concentrating the cavalry was Ramdam, and by the 11th February 4,890 men were in readiness. They had scarcely set out in the early morning of the following day before the enemy opened fire on them at Waterval Drift, where the Riet River was to have been forded, and French had a narrow escape from death by a bursting shell. However, a sufficient number of men were left to deal with the Boers while the main force, turning sharply east so as to deceive the enemy, pushed on to Dekiel's Drift, a few miles distant. Here another body of Boers was encountered and held in check, although French only succeeded in securing the position in the nick of time, for a few minutes later would have found the passage blocked. Next day the march was resumed, but not before Roberts had ridden up to wish the force God-speed. After a march which made strong men almost fall from their saddles and their horses drop from sheer exhaustion by reason of the pitiless sun, whose rays poured down on them for thirty long and seemingly never-ending miles, the Modder River was reached. Never were men more thankful. The scouts in particular had had a rough

time, for they came upon the enemy where they least expected opposition. Another unforeseen circumstance was brought about by carelessness. Some of the men, seeking solace in tobacco, thoughtlessly dropped lighted matches on the grass of the veldt, which was as dry as tinder. The flames spread with lightning-like rapidity, running here and there in the manner of the fiery serpents of old, and destroying the field telegraph, thereby severing communication with Lord Roberts. Yet these trials, which occurred at the very outset of the advance, were as nothing compared with those that were to follow. Fortunately at Rondevaal Drift and Klip Drift, which French determined to secure ere his men could seek rest and refreshment, the Boers, who were in considerable force, showed but half-hearted opposition. Two Brigades, assisted by the Horse Artillery batteries, speedily secured the passages. Three laagers, 150 wagons, and a quantity of ammunition and cattle were abandoned in the enemy's haste to retreat before the formidable force that confronted them.

The stay of the Cavalry Division at the Modder while they awaited the infantry turned out to be anything but a pleasant experience. A terrific dust storm swept the country, stinging both man and beast, and making the task of skirmishing both hazardous and difficult. Late on the 14th Kitchener and Kelly-Kenny came on the scene with part of the Sixth Division, enabling French and his troopers to make another start on the following morning, their orders being to reach Kimberley that night. In order to deceive the enemy the General followed a route which made it appear as though he was making in the direction of Bloemfontein. The first brush with the Boers resulted in thirteen officers and men being killed or wounded. A little distance on further opposition was offered, and gave way to a charge of the 9th and 16th Lancers, supported by the Horse Artillery. After a short rest French and his men again pushed on, and in the middle of the afternoon Kimberley came into sight. By means of the heliograph communication was established with the beleaguered city, and the good news was flashed back by the garrison that Alexandersfontein, five miles distant from the advancing cavalry, was in the hands of British troops. There was another encounter with the Boers, slight enough as events turned out but suffi-

ciently trying for exhausted troops, and French and some of his men entered Kimberley, the remainder halting without.

On the 16th French attempted to capture the Boers' big gun which had been stationed at Kamfers Dam and was now being hauled slowly along by a force of the enemy north of Kimberley. This the General found to be impracticable with the force at his command, and, contenting himself with securing a laager, a gun, and supplies, which had been abandoned, he returned. Shortly after he had retired for a well-earned and much-needed rest news from Kitchener was brought to him. It directed that he should set out and prevent Cronje, who was in retreat, from seizing the Paardeberg Drifts. If he could hold him in check until sufficient reinforcements were brought up the enemy would be surrounded. "How rare men are!" sighed Napoleon, who was fond of saying that "two-o'clock-in-the-morning men" were seldom met with. Well, here was a man after the great General's own heart. "Wherever French has gone he has done well," says Sir Arthur Conan Doyle in his *Great Boer War*, "but his crowning glory was the movement from Kimberley to head off Cronje's retreat."

The General and some 2,000 men, rather less than more, started at midnight, not particularly fresh but thoroughly determined. The remainder were to follow immediately their poor beasts were fit enough. At last the river was reached and the enemy sighted. The guns were placed in position. Cronje, suddenly discovering his danger, attempted to seize a hill, and was foiled. Then the Boers began to entrench their position, and as they bent their backs to the task the battle raged furiously. On the following morning the British brigades had surrounded them. French had stemmed the tide. On Sunday—a great day for battles—the 18th February, the main attack on Cronje's position, which afforded splendid cover to his men, was begun. When the sun

disappeared darkness fell on a stricken field. There were no fewer than 1,100 British dead and wounded. The terrific fight had not been decisive, notwithstanding the amazing gallantry displayed by officers and men alike. Next morning Roberts came up with additional men, and Cronje's camp was bombarded. On the 27th, the anniversary of Majuba, the Boer commander could withstand the onslaught of bullets and bayonets no longer, and surrendered. There is something truly British in the words that Roberts spoke to the Boer General as he met him. "I am glad to see you," he remarked; "I am glad to meet so brave a man."

An advance on Bloemfontein, the capital of the Orange Free State, was the next item on the British military programme, and again French had an important part to play. The first movement was an attempt to envelop the Boers at Poplar Grove. It failed, largely on account of the slowness of the Cavalry Division. French could not cut the enemy's line of retreat, but was so far successful in that he compelled De Wet to abandon an exceedingly strong position. "In war you can't expect

everything to come out right," was Lord Roberts' only comment, doubtless recognising the fact that the cavalry were fighting with tired horses and on all but empty stomachs. The next tussle with the enemy was again a failure so far as the enveloping process was concerned, although the enemy once more took to flight.

Gradually the British force drew nearer and nearer to Bloemfontein, and French not only secured a range of hills which almost commanded the town, but blew up a railway culvert, which prevented reinforcements coming from Pretoria, and securely prevented supplies from leaving the place before it capitulated or was taken. As a matter of fact the former alternative happened, and on the 13th March Bloemfontein surrendered to French, who had threatened to bombard it if the reply were in the negative.

War Books to Buy and Read.

The British War Diary, 3d.
(With Special Maps.)

**The Life of Lord
Kitchener, 2d.**

**The Life of Sir
John Jellicoe, 2d.**

How to Shoot - . 2d.

**Naval and Military
Terms Explained, 1d.**

Our Wonderful Army, 1d.

Our Wonderful Navy, 1d.

ALL FULLY ILLUSTRATED.

A Great Cavalry Campaign.

WHILE Lord Roberts was at Bloemfontein preparing to march on Pretoria, the capital of the Transvaal, French was busy securing the submission of the Boers outside the city. There was a stiff fight, or rather series of fights, at the Karee Kopjes, the enemy being, as usual, invisible, seeking shelter in dry water-courses and behind boulders. They were put to flight, but their retreat could neither be cut off nor could they be pursued, a condition of things brought about by the nature of the country, the growing darkness, and the ill-condition of the horses. French was also present, although he did not arrive until late, at the disaster at Sanna's Post, where the British losses in wounded and captured numbered no fewer than 559 men, in addition to nineteen killed. He likewise took part in the relief of Wepener.

When everything was ready for the great advance, French's Division, which was attached to the Army of the Centre, consisted of three Cavalry Brigades, a Mounted Infantry Brigade, and the Naval Brigade. They were accompanied by several field batteries, siege guns, 5-in. guns, six horse batteries, and four howitzer batteries. Leaving Bloemfontein in the first week of May, good progress was made, and the march relieved from tediousness by frequent skirmishes and the seizure of Diamond Drift, which opened the road to Kroonstad, the second capital of the Orange Free State.

Some idea of the difficulties encountered by the main army is furnished by the Rev. E. P. Lowry in *With the Guards' Brigade*: "The crossing of the drifts at the two rivers was almost as difficult a task as the overtaking of our ever retreating foes. The railway bridges over both these streams had been blown up by dynamite; some of the stone piers were shattered, and some of the iron girders hurled all atwist into the watery depths below; here and there culverts had similarly been destroyed, and at many a point the very rails had been torn by explosives till they looked like a pair of upturned arms imploring help from Heaven. We noticed, however, when we got into the Transvaal the Transvaalers took pity on their own portion of the line, and studiously refrained from shattering it. Some of them were

probably shareholders. The less serious damages the Railway Pioneers and the Royal Engineers repaired with a speed that amazed us; and our supply trains never seemed to linger long in the rear of us, except when a massive river bridge was broken. Then a deviation line and a low-level trestle bridge had to be constructed. At that fatigue work I have seen whole companies of once smart-looking Guardsmen toiling with spade and pick like Kaffirs, whilst some of their aristocratic officers, bearing lordly titles, played the part of gangers over these soldier-navvies. . . .

"Bridge or no bridge, many a mile of transport waggons, of ammunition carts, of provision carts, with sundry naval guns, each drawn by a team of thirty-two oxen, had somehow to be got down the dangerous slope on one side of the drift, then across the stream, and up the still more difficult slope on the other side. It was a herculean task at which men and mules and horses toiled on far into the night. Meanwhile, when the troops reached their camping ground some miles beyond the river, they found they would have to wait for hours before they could get a scrap of beef and biscuit, and that it would probably be still longer before their overcoats or blankets arrived. For the hungry and shivering men this seemed an almost interminable interval, and for their officers it was scarcely less trying."

After a halt of eight days the army once more began to advance, following French, who, with Ian Hamilton, continuously menaced the enemy. On the 21st May the General crossed the Klip River, but finding the enemy in considerable force was compelled to fall back. Little over a week later, after receiving reinforcements from Hamilton, he hurled the Boers from their strong position at Doornkop.

On the 30th French was at Driefontein, and Johannesburg surrendered. Giving his troops and horses but two days to rest, the General with his cavalry, forming the left of the army, set out on the road to Pretoria. In the region of the lofty Witwatersberg the enemy offered resistance, but were beaten off with some loss. On the following morning, while part of his force was seizing Daspoort Fort, French was pressing forward to secure the Pietersburg railway, when disarmed Boers informed him that Pretoria had fallen. "Thus ended," says Mr. H. W.



The famous "stirrup charge" of the Scots Greys and the Black Watch.

(From a drawing by R. Canton Woodville).

Wilson, "the cavalry's great march of 280 miles from Kroonstad, a distance covered in a fortnight by horses overlaid and in bad condition, with a uniform success and rapidity that cowed the Boers and reflected the utmost credit upon the active and daring General French."

At no great distance from Pretoria, at a place called Pienaars Poort, was General Botha with 10,000 to 15,000 men spread out for some fifteen miles. On the 11th June Roberts set out to

remove the enemy from his fastnesses, the work for French to do being to turn the Boer right. The cavalry, with whom were Hutton's Mounted Infantry, scarcely numbered 2,000 men. They had opposed to them Commandant Delarey, who offered such a stubborn resistance that the British General could make no headway, and had the utmost difficulty to keep his position. For two days he hung on with the grim tenacity of a bulldog, but by the third day the Boers had fallen back sufficiently to enable him to push on

to Tweefontein. The result of the battle was the retreat of the enemy towards Middelburg and the north, but it was far from being the decisive victory that was so essential.

It was obvious that nothing further could be attempted until remounts had been received. When these arrived the cavalymen gave an excellent account of themselves, and after Middelburg had fallen on the 27th July it was held by French. The Natal Army under Buller having formed a junction with Roberts, a movement was begun having as its principal aim the opening of the railway from Pretoria to Delagoa Bay. For the purpose of making final arrangements, Roberts, Buller, French, and Pole-Carew held a conference on the plan of operations at Belfast on the 26th August.

Supported by Pole-Carew, French, with two cavalry brigades, was to threaten Botha's right flank and his line of retreat to Lydenburg. On the 28th he entered Watervalonder, and on the 14th September had taken Barberton and secured forty locomotives, a capture which, to use the words of one who marched with the troops, was "worth to us more than a king's ransom."

"In these last weeks," says the Rev. E. P. Lowry, "there were few casualties among the Boers, because they kept well out of casualty range. They were so frightened they even forgot to snipe. The valiant old President (Krüger) so long ago as September 11th had fled with his splendidly well-filled money bags across the Portuguese frontier, abandoning his burghers who were still in the field to whatever might chance to be their fate. That fate he watched and waited for from the secure retreat of the Portuguese Governor's verandah close by the Eastern Sea, where he sat and mused as aforetime on his stoep at Pretoria, his well-thumbed Bible still by his side, his well-used pipe still between his lips. Surely Napoleon the Third at Chislehurst, broken in health, broken in heart, was a scarcely more pathetic spectacle! Six or seven days later the old man saw special trains beginning to arrive, all crowded with mercenary fighting men from all lands, all bent only on following his own uncorageous example, seeking personal safety by the sea. First came 700; then on the 24th, the very day the Guards entered Koomati Poort, 2,000 more, who were mostly ruined burghers, and who thus arrived at Delagoa Bay to become

like Krüger himself the guests or prisoners of the Portuguese."

To follow the guerrilla campaign which was the closing phase of the South-African War would require the remainder of this book. In October French was at Machadodorp, and on the 14th, after losing thirty-nine men killed and wounded in an engagement on the previous day, arrived at Carolina. He pushed on to Heidelberg, fighting all the time. It was not until the beginning of 1901 that Kitchener instituted the wonderful series of "drives" which eventually swept the enemy into his numerous nets. That in the Eastern Transvaal, the greatest of them all, was entrusted to French, who had seven columns for the task, starting from different points, but keeping in touch with each other. It is not improbable that similar tactics will be used before the conclusion of the Great European War. By the first week of April French had accomplished his task with complete success. He thus summed up the difficult operations when he took leave of the Scots Guards at Vryheid, on the 1st of that month. Incidentally the address is an excellent example of the General's genial way of inspiring his troops:

"The operations in the Eastern Transvaal are brought to a close. . . . The operations from Springs to Ermelo, and from Ermelo to Piet Retief, were conducted under the most trying circumstances and severe hardships. Lying on the ground, which was under water, with no shelter, with very short rations and for some time none at all, you had to exist on the meagre supplies of the district, which were very poor. At one time it caused me the deepest anxiety, as in consequence of the weather all communications were temporarily suspended; but the cheery manner and disposition of this splendid battalion* did a great deal to disperse this anxiety. What struck me most forcibly was your extraordinary power of marching. I have frequently noticed that when the cavalry and mounted infantry were engaged (happily very slightly) in these operations, I have been surprised on looking round to see this splendid battalion close behind and extended ready to take part in the fighting, and have wondered how they got there. Another important item I wish to remark upon

*The Scots Guards.

is the magnificent manner in which this battalion performed outpost duty and night work. On several occasions news has come to me through my Intelligence Department of a meditated attack on the camp of this column, but owing to the skilful way in which the outposts were thrown out and the vigilance of the sentries the attack was never developed.

"Another thing I noticed was the highly disciplined state of the battalion. It is not always in fighting that a soldier proves his qualities. Though at the commencement of the campaign you had hard fighting and heavy losses, the past few weeks stand unsurpassed, I believe, for hardships in the history of the campaign. I thank every officer and non-commissioned officer for the great assistance given to me during these operations. Should your service be required elsewhere, or further hardships have to be endured, I know you will do as you have done before. I wish you all good-bye."

In June French, worn in health but energetic as ever, was entrusted with similar sweeping operations in Cape Colony, where rebels were numerous and sedition plentiful. Finally, on the 31st May, 1902, peace was signed at Pretoria. Unlike so many of his colleagues holding high rank in the service, the General left South Africa with a greatly enhanced reputation. It was recognised beyond question that he was the finest cavalry leader in the British Army.

Like "Bobs," Sir John French is a commander in whom Tommy Atkins places implicit trust. He is quite convinced that, like the King, he can do no wrong. In the trenches soldiers who went through the Boer War and are now with the Expeditionary Force love to relate those little personal anecdotes which so intimately reveal the type of man under whom they are serving. One of them has to do with certain happenings at Strydfontein after an unusually exhausting day. After searching about for some time French and his staff found a house containing one bed. The General willingly surrendered it to an officer. "I don't care where I sleep," he said, as he flung off his boots and stretched himself on the floor. And there he remained until the next morning.

While he was carrying on his notable work in South Africa French was promoted to the rank of Major-General, and was mentioned in despatches many

times. He was made a K.C.B. in 1900, K.C.M.G. in 1902, G.C.V.O. in 1905, and G.C.B. in 1909. From 1901 until 1907 he commanded the 1st Army Corps, becoming in the latter year Inspector General of the Forces and First Military Member of the Army Council, with the rank of General. These offices he retained until recently, resigning them owing to the Curragh episode. Sir John French became a Field-Marshal in 1913.

To the Rescue of Gallant Little Belgium.

THE importance of a news item in the *London Gazette* is not to be assessed by the amount of space it occupies. For instance, in its issue of the 4th August, 1914, there appeared the following paragraph:

"Field-Marshal Sir John D. P. French, G.C.B., G.C.V.O., K.C.M.G., to be Inspector General of the Forces. Dated Aug. 1, 1914."

On the same day as the publication of the above the Admiralty announced that Admiral Sir John Jellicoe had assumed supreme command of the Home Fleets. Twenty-four hours later Earl Kitchener became Secretary of State for War. It was upon these three personalities that public interest centred when Great Britain, to her abiding glory, flung down the gauntlet to Imperial Germany.

On the 3rd August the Prime Minister announced in the House of Commons that we had not made an engagement to send the Expeditionary Force out of the country, but he added the significant fact that the mobilisation of the Army was taking place. Just before reaching the House he had been informed that the King had received the following telegram from the King of the Belgians:

"Remembering the numerous proofs of your Majesty's friendship and that of your predecessor, and the friendly attitude of England in 1870, and the proof of friendship you have just given us again, I make a supreme appeal to the diplomatic intervention of your Majesty's Government to safeguard the integrity of Belgium."

The time for diplomatic intervention was gone.

The telegram was read in the afternoon. When the sitting was resumed in the evening, Sir Edward Grey, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, announced that during the interim further informa-

tion had come to hand from the Belgian Legation in London :

"Germany sent yesterday evening at 7 o'clock a Note proposing to Belgium friendly neutrality covering free passage on Belgian territory, promising maintenance of independence of the kingdom and possessions at the conclusion of peace, and threatening, in case of refusal, to treat Belgium as an enemy. A time-limit of twelve hours was fixed for a reply. Belgium has answered that an attack on her neutrality would be a flagrant violation of the rights of nations, that to accept the German proposals would be to sacrifice the honour of a nation conscious of its duty. Belgium is firmly resolved to repel aggression by all possible means.' Of course, I can only say that his Majesty's Government must take into grave consideration the information which they have received. I make no further comment upon it."

At the moment that Sir Edward Grey was addressing the House a Prussian regiment was busying itself by deploying along the Belgian frontier in the neighbourhood of Moresnee, near Aix-la-Chapelle, and obstructing the roads.

On the 4th August—that is to say the day following the above pronouncements—we declared war on Germany, and German troops entered Belgian territory, as they had done that of the neutral state of Luxemburg on the 2nd inst. The perfidy of the Power that for years has been a menace to its neighbours is abundantly clear. By the Treaty of London, 1839, which the Imperial Chancellor has contemptuously called "a scrap of paper," not only Great Britain, France, Austria, and Russia, but Prussia herself recognised Belgium as an independent neutral state. Moreover, in 1870, at the time of the Franco-German War, Germany and France entered into a treaty with Great Britain, whereby the latter Power undertook to defend Belgium with the belligerent who maintained that country's integrity against the one who violated it, should such an event happen. If further confirmation were necessary as to the exact status of a neutral power, it is to be found in one of the Articles drawn up by the Great Powers at the Hague Peace Conference of 1907, viz.: "Belligerents are forbidden to move across the territory of a neutral power troops or convoys, either of munitions of war or supplies."

This, and the fact that we are on friendly terms with France, is the reason

why we are co-operating with France in fighting the Kaiser's legions, and why a British Marine Brigade and two Naval Brigades were sent to assist in the defence of Antwerp during the last week of the attack, which ended in the brave Belgian garrison being forced to retire after a most gallant resistance. The fall of the city was due to the military machinery that the Germans were able to bring into the field, and not to superior generalship. Their two hundred heavy siege guns rendered the place untenable.

Belgium offered a magnificent front throughout the whole terrible campaign, and sternly refused to listen to every overture made to her by her relentless conquerors. As we read of her resistance day by day we marvelled. Louvain occupied and destroyed, Brussels abandoned, Liège and Namur captured, Dinant decimated, Termonde bombarded, Antwerp shelled. Thus the tragedy developed with relentless irony. The Land of the Flemings and Walloons, like Jerusalem of old, has become heaps. All for a "scrap of paper." Yet her story will ring down the ages that are to come as something more than an inspiring legend, and her desert shall blossom like the rose.

Do you remember Carlyle's lecture on "The Hero as King"? There is one passage which ably sums up the character of Albert I., King of the Belgians: "He is practically the summary for us of *all* the various figures of Heroism; Priest, Teacher, whatsoever of earthly or of spiritual dignity we can fancy to reside in a man, embodies itself here, to *command* over us, to furnish us with constant practical teaching, to tell us for the day and hour what we are to *do*." A King fighting by the side of the newest conscript from the field or the factory, soiling his royal trousers with the mud of the trenches, eating the rations of the common soldier, encouraging and inspiring the defenders, defying the oncoming hordes until the last haven of refuge was in flames—a King in very truth and a Man withal, who is a Hero in every country which still retains the word Chivalry in its dictionaries and holds its practice as of more value than ten thousand crowns.

In dealing with the great work which the British Expeditionary Force has already carried out in the field there is one insurmountable obstacle which every chronicler encounters. The rigid censor-

ship exercised by those in authority absolutely precludes the publication of details regarding the number of troops sent out, the regiments employed, and even the names of those holding lesser commands. In extenuation it must be admitted that we are fighting no ordinary foe. The Kaiser is a mediævalist with a card-index, and on that card-index is jotted down every item likely to be of service. The system has its defects, but as the military biography of every notable officer is known to the German War Office, information as to his whereabouts might have important results. For instance, if he is particularly able that part of the enemy's line would be strengthened so as to discount his movements so far as was possible.

On the 18th August it was officially stated the "The Expeditionary Force, as detailed for foreign service, has been safely landed on French soil. The embarkation, transportation, and disembarkation of men and stores were alike carried through with the greatest possible precision and without a single casualty."

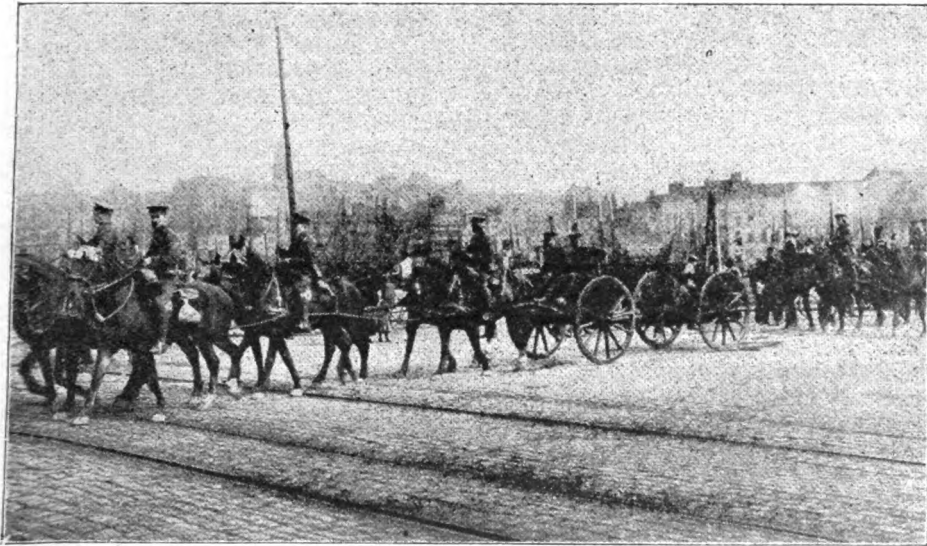
The passage, of course, had been made

the safety and honour of my Empire. Belgium, whose country we are pledged to defend, has been attacked, and France is about to be invaded by the same powerful foe.

"I have implicit confidence in you, my soldiers. Duty is your watchword, and I know your duty will be nobly done. I shall follow your every movement with deepest interest and mark with eager satisfaction your daily progress. Indeed, your welfare will never be absent from my thoughts.

"I pray God to bless you and guard you and bring you back victorious."

Major Redway, writing in the *Globe*, suggests that "in all probability" the fighting portion of the Force numbered 3,949 officers and 113,758 other ranks, making 117,707 men in all, with 456 field guns and howitzers, 24 heavy guns, and 168 machine guns. Whatever the numbers may have totalled, there can be no question as to the wonderful way in which this army had been brought into being. When it is considered that munitions, horses, motor cars and cycles, carts, waggons, and other necessities had to be



[Photo. Newspaper Illustrations.]

The British Expeditionary Force disembarking at Boulogne.

some days before the above announcement was made public, and the King had taken leave of the Force at Aldershot on the 11th. His farewell telegram was received by the troops at Southampton, and runs as follows:

"You are leaving home to fight for

collected, that troops from many centres had to be concentrated and convoyed across the Channel, the fact that no mishap whatever occurred, partakes almost of the nature of a miracle. Incidentally it is also a testimonial to the British Navy, without whose help no expedition

can leave our shores. The ports of disembarkation included Boulogne, Calais, Dunkirk, and Ostend.

A special correspondent of the *Daily Mail* furnishes the following graphic description of the landing of the troops at Boulogne:

"For two days the finest troops England has ever sent across the sea have been marching through the narrow streets of old Boulogne in solid columns of khaki, thousands upon thousands of them, roaring as they pass that new slogan of Englishmen: 'Are you downhearted?' . . . 'No-o-o-o-o-o!' . . . 'Shall we win?' . . . 'Ye-e-e-e-s-s-s!'"

"At six o'clock yesterday," the correspondent continues, "General Sir John French came, the man under whom these tens of thousands of British troops will fight. He came like the great commander, standing on the quarter-deck of the scout 'Sentinel,' with his war staff round him. Boulogne rushed to the quays and raised a cheer as the black and warlike 'Sentinel,' with her decks cleared for action and crowded with sailors, slipped into the harbour. On the quay stood 'Daru, Governor of Boulogne,' by permission of whom in these martial days all things happen in this town, white-haired and white-moustached, the embodiment of French official courtesy and military precision.

"A crane swung a long gangway from quay to war-vessel, and Daru descended. For two minutes the General and the Governor stood talking, each with his hand raised to the salute. It was one of the historic moments of this marvellous war, this official meeting of the military governor of this ancient fortified city, which has many times listened to the clash of arms between England and France, with the commander of a British force, now for the first time landing with all arms in full panoply of war as a friend and an ally."

On the 15th Sir John French went to Paris in order to pay his respects to M. Poincaré, President of the French Republic. When his train drew up at the Gare du Nord station he received a magnificent reception, and there were loud cries of "Vive l'Angleterre! Vive la France! Vive le Roi George! Vive French!" When the General's motor-car started women and children threw into it tricolour cockades and miniature British flags.

It was not until Monday, the 24th

August, that official news came to hand that the British forces had been fighting the Germans. The announcement was couched in guarded language, and merely stated that on the previous Sunday our soldiers had been engaged all day and after dark with the enemy in the neighbourhood of the Belgian mining city of Mons, and held their ground. The fall of the strongly-fortified city of Namur, however, necessitated the withdrawal of a portion of the allied troops from the line of the Sambre to their original defensive position on the French frontier.

It was, to use an apparent Irishism, a magnificent start but a bad beginning.

Now let us try to follow the affair as Sir John French related it in his despatch to Lord Kitchener, which appeared in the *London Gazette* of the 10th of the following month:

"The line taken up extended along the line of the canal from Conde on the west, through Mons and Binche on the east. This line was taken up as follows:—From Conde to Mons inclusive was assigned to the Second Corps, and to the right of the Second Corps from Mons the First Corps was posted. The 5th Cavalry Brigade was placed at Binche."

The Cavalry Division was kept as much as possible as a reserve, the forward reconnaissance being entrusted to the 5th Cavalry Brigade under Brigadier-General Sir Philip Chetwode, assisted by a few squadrons under General Allenby.

"During the 22nd and 23rd these advanced squadrons did some excellent work, some of them penetrating as far as Soignes, and several encounters took place in which our troops showed to great advantage."

Early on the morning of the 23rd Sir John French explained to his lieutenants General Joffre's plan.

"From information I received from French headquarters I understood that little more than one, or at most two, of the enemy's Army Corps, with perhaps one Cavalry Division, were in front of my position, and I was aware of no attempted outflanking movement by the enemy. I was confirmed in this opinion by the fact that my patrols encountered no undue opposition in their reconnoitring operations. The observation of my aeroplanes seemed also to bear out this estimate.

"About 3 p.m. on Sunday, the 23rd, reports began coming in to the effect that the enemy was commencing an attack on

the Mons line, apparently in some strength, but that the right of the position from Mons and Bray was being particularly threatened.

"The commander of the First Corps had pushed his flank back to some high ground south of Bray, and the 5th Cavalry Brigade evacuated Binche, moving slightly south. The enemy thereupon occupied Binche.

"The right of the 3rd Division, under General Hamilton, was at Mons, which formed a somewhat dangerous salient,* and I directed the commander of the Second Corps to be careful not to keep the troops on this salient too long, but if threatened seriously to draw back the centre behind Mons. This was done before dark.

"In the meantime, about 5 p.m.," Sir John French continues, "I received a most unexpected message from General Joffre by telegraph, telling me that at least three German corps, viz., a reserve corps, the 4th Corps, and the 9th Corps, were moving on my position in front, and that the 2nd Corps was engaged in a turning movement from the direction of Tournay. He also informed me that the two reserve French divisions and the 5th French army on my right were retiring, the Germans having on the previous day gained possession of the passages on the Sambre between Charleroi and Namur.

"In view of the possibility of my being driven from the Mons position, I had previously ordered a position in rear to be reconnoitred. The position rested on the fortress of Maubeuge on the right and extended west to Jenlain, south-west of Valenciennes on the left. The position was reported difficult to hold, because standing crops and buildings made the siting of trenches very difficult and limited the field of fire in many important localities. It nevertheless afforded a few good artillery positions.

"When the news of the retirement of the French and the heavy German threatening on my front reached me, I endeavoured to confirm it by aeroplane reconnaissance, and as a result of this I determined to effect a retirement to the Maubeuge position at daybreak on the 24th.

"A certain amount of fighting continued along the whole line throughout the night, and at daybreak on the 24th the 2nd Division, from the neighbour-

hood of Harmignies, made a powerful demonstration as if to retake Binche. This was supported by the artillery of both the 1st and 2nd Divisions, whilst the 1st Division took up a supporting position in the neighbourhood of Peissant. Under cover of this demonstration the Second Corps retired on the line Dour—Quarouble—Frameries. The 3rd Division on the right of the corps suffered considerable loss in this operation from the enemy, who had retaken Mons.

"The Second Corps halted on this line, where they partially entrenched themselves, enabling Sir Douglas Haig with the First Corps gradually to withdraw to the new position; and he effected this without much further loss, reaching the line Bavai—Maubeuge about 7 p.m. Towards midday the enemy appeared to be directing his principal effort against our left.

"I had previously ordered General Allenby with the Cavalry to act vigorously in advance of my left front and endeavour to take the pressure off.

"About 7.30 p.m. General Allenby received a message from Sir Charles Fergusson, commanding the 5th Division, saying that he was very hard pressed and in urgent need of support. On receipt of this message General Allenby drew in the Cavalry and endeavoured to bring direct support to the 5th Division.

"During the course of this operation General De Lisle, of the 2nd Cavalry Brigade, thought he saw a good opportunity to paralyse the further advance of the enemy's infantry by making a mounted attack on his flank. He formed up and advanced for this purpose, but was held up by wire about 500 yards from the objective, and the 9th Lancers and 18th Hussars suffered severely in the retirement of the brigade.

"The 19th Infantry Brigade, which had been guarding the line of communications, was brought up by rail to Valenciennes on the 22nd and 23rd. On the morning of the 24th they were moved out to a position south of Quarouble to support the left flank of the Second Corps.

"With the assistance of the Cavalry, Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien was enabled to effect his retreat to a new position; although, having two corps of the enemy on his front and one threatening his flank, he suffered great losses in doing so.

"At nightfall the position was occupied

* Projecting outwardly.

by the Second Corps to the west of Bavai, the First Corps to the right. The right was protected by the fortress of Maubeuge, the left by the 19th Brigade in position between Jenlain and Bry, and the Cavalry on the outer flank.

"The French were still retiring, and I had no support except such as was afforded by the fortress of Maubeuge, and the determined attempt of the enemy to get round my left flank assured me that it was his intention to hem me against that place and surround me. I felt that not a moment must be lost in retiring to another position.

"I had every reason to believe that the enemy's forces were somewhat exhausted, and I knew that they had suffered heavy losses. I hoped, therefore, that his pursuit would not be too vigorous to prevent me effecting my object.

"The operation, however, was full of danger and difficulty, not only owing to the very superior forces in my front, but also to the exhaustion of the troops.

"The retirement was recommenced in the early morning of the 25th to a position in the neighbourhood of Le Cateau, and rearguards were ordered to be clear of the Maubeuge—Bavai—Eth road by 5.30 a.m.

"Two Cavalry Brigades, with the Divisional Cavalry of the Second Corps, covered the movement of the Second Corps. The remainder of the Cavalry Division with the 19th Brigade, the whole under the command of General Allenby, covered the west flank.

"The 4th Division commenced its detrainment at Le Cateau on Sunday, the 23rd, and by the morning of the 25th eleven battalions and a brigade of artillery, with Divisional Staff, were available for service.

"I ordered General Snow to move out to take up a position with his right south of Solesmes, his left resting on the Cambrai—Le Cateau road south of La Caprie. In this position the division rendered great help to the effective retire-

ment of the Second and First Corps to the new position.

"Although the troops had been ordered to occupy the Cambrai—Le Cateau—Landrecies position, and the ground had during the 25th been partially prepared and entrenched, I had grave doubts—owing to information I received as to the accumulating strength of the enemy against me—as to the wisdom of standing there to fight.

"Having regard to the continued retirement of the French on my right, my exposed left flank, the tendency of the enemy's western corps (II.) to envelop me, and, more than all, the exhausted



[Photo: Lambert Weston.]

Sir John French as he was in 1900.

condition of the troops, I decided to make a determined effort to continue the retreat till I could put some substantial obstacle, such as the Somme or the Oise, between my troops and the enemy, and afford the former some opportunity of rest and reorganisation. Orders were therefore sent to the Corps Commanders to continue

their retreat as soon as they possibly could towards the general line Vermand—St. Quentin—Ribemont.

"The Cavalry, under General Allenby, were ordered to cover the retirement.

"Throughout the 25th, and far into the evening, the First Corps continued its march on Landrecies, following the road along the eastern border of the Forêt de Mormal, and arrived at Landrecies about ten o'clock. I had intended that the Corps should come further west, so as to fill up the gap between Le Cateau and Landrecies, but the men were exhausted and could not get further in without rest.

"The enemy, however, would not allow them this rest, and about 9.30 p.m. a report was received that the 4th Guards Brigade in Landrecies was heavily attacked by troops of the 9th German Army Corps who were coming through the forest on the north of the town.

"This brigade fought most gallantly, and caused the enemy to suffer tremendous loss in issuing from the forest into the narrow streets of the town. This loss has been estimated from reliable sources at from 700 to 1,000.

"At the same time information reached me from Sir Douglas Haig that his 1st Division was also heavily engaged south and east of Marsoilles.

"I sent urgent messages to the commander of the two French Reserve Divisions on my right to come up to the assistance of the First Corps, which they eventually did. Partly owing to this assistance, but mainly to the skilful manner in which Sir Douglas Haig extricated his Corps from an exceptionally difficult position in the darkness of the night, they were able at dawn to resume their march south towards Wassigny on Guise.

"By about 6 p.m. the Second Corps had got into position with their right on Le Cateau, their left in the neighbourhood of Caudry, and the line of defence was continued thence by the 4th Division towards Seranvillers, the left being thrown back.

"During the fighting on the 24th and 25th the cavalry became a good deal scattered, but by the early morning of the 26th General Allenby had succeeded in concentrating two brigades to the south of Cambrai.

"The 4th Division was placed under the orders of the General Officer Commanding the Second Army Corps.

"On the 24th the French Cavalry Corps, consisting of three divisions under General Sordêt, had been in billets north of Avesnes. On my way back from Bavai, which was my 'Poste de Commandement' during the fighting of the 23rd and 24th, I visited General Sordêt and earnestly requested his co-operation and support.

"He promised to obtain sanction from his Army Commander to act on my left flank, but said his horses were too tired to move before the next day. Although he rendered me valuable assistance late in the retirement, he was unable, for the reasons given, to afford me any support on the most critical day of all, viz., the 26th.

"At daybreak it became apparent that the enemy was throwing the bulk of his strength against the left of the position occupied by the Second Corps and the 4th Division.

"At this time the guns of four German Army Corps were in position against them, and Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien reported to me that he judged it impossible to continue his retirement at daybreak (as ordered) in face of such an attack.

"I sent him orders to use his utmost endeavours to break off the action and retire at the earliest possible moment, as it was impossible for me to send him any support, the First Corps being at the moment incapable of movement.

"The French Cavalry Corps, under General Sordêt, was coming up on my left rear early in the morning, and I sent an urgent message to him to do his utmost to come up and support the retirement of my left flank; but, owing to the fatigue of his horses, he found himself unable to intervene in any way.

"There had been no time to entrench the position properly, but the troops showed a magnificent front to the terrible fire which confronted them. The Artillery, although outmatched by at least four to one, made a splendid fight, and inflicted heavy losses on their opponents.

"At length it became apparent that if complete annihilation was to be avoided a retirement must be attempted; and the order was given to commence it about 3.30 p.m.

"The movement was covered with the most devoted intrepidity and determination by the Artillery, which had itself suffered heavily, and the fine work done by the Cavalry in the further retreat

from the position assisted materially in the final completion of this most difficult and dangerous operation.

"Fortunately, the enemy had himself suffered too heavily to engage in an energetic pursuit.

"I cannot close the brief account of this glorious stand of the British troops without putting on record my deep appreciation of the valuable services rendered by General Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien.

"I say without hesitation that the saving of the left wing of the Army under my command on the morning of the 26th August could never have been accomplished unless a commander of rare and unusual coolness, intrepidity, and determination, had been present to personally conduct the operations.

"The retreat was continued far into the night of the 26th, and through the 27th and 28th, on which date the troops halted on the line Noyon—Chauny—La Fere, having then thrown off the weight of the enemy's pursuit.

"On the 27th and 28th I was much indebted to General Sordet and the French Cavalry Division which he commands for materially assisting my retirement and successfully driving back some of the enemy on Cambrai.

"General d'Amade also, with the 61st and 62nd French Reserve Divisions, moved down from the neighbourhood of Arras on the enemy's right flank and took much pressure off the rear of the British Forces.

"This closes the period covering the heavy fighting which commenced at Mons on Sunday afternoon, 23rd August, and which really constituted a four days' battle.

"At this point, therefore, I propose to close the present dispatch.

"I deeply deplore the very serious losses which the British Forces have suffered in this great battle; but they were inevitable in view of the fact that

the British Army—only two days after a concentration by rail—was called upon to withstand a vigorous attack of five German Army Corps."

Sir John French then goes on to speak of the skill evinced by the officers, and the magnificent fighting spirit displayed by non-commissioned officers and men. As to the work of the Royal Flying Corps, hitherto an unknown factor in warfare, "their skill, energy, and perseverance have been beyond all praise. They have furnished me with the most complete and accurate information which has been of incalculable value in the conduct of the operations. Fired at constantly both by friend and foe, and not hesitating to fly in every kind of weather, they have remained undaunted throughout. Further, by actually fighting in the air, they have succeeded in destroying five of the enemy's machines."

This is the plain, straightforward story of a desperate battle against heavy odds, as told by the Commander-in-Chief of the Expeditionary Force. Had the British Army failed to keep back the five German Army Corps the probability is that the enemy would have crushed the French Armies retreating from Charleroi.

We will now review the battle from the point of view of those who, occupying humble positions in the firing line, displayed "the magnificent fighting spirit" remarked upon by Sir John French.

The following account by a wounded non-commissioned officer of a Highland regiment appeared in the *London Evening News*:

"I was in all the fighting, and was only brought down by a stray bullet in my leg as the enemy was falling back after their last desperate attempt to crush our force.

"It happened that we were posted at the weakest point. While the French had got their eyes on the centre the whole available force of the Germans were hurled at us, and before we had time to

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look round the lid of hell was lifted, and we were in it up to the neck.

"The wonder to me is that we came through it as well as we did. Anything more astonishing than the way the Germans were thrown at us would be hard to imagine. The Germans were bent on getting through our lines at any cost in men, and it was simply one grand procession of men toeing the death line in the hope of wearing us out.

"At first the Germans came on with easy confidence, as though they were out for a picnic, but when our fire began to tear through their ranks, leaving ugly gaps a yard wide here and there, they apparently began to realise that a funeral march was more appropriate than the skip of the beanfeaster, and their approach was less confident.

"When we began our first retreat on Monday the Germans pressed forward all available arms to harass us, and they tried desperately to shepherd us into positions to the south-west that would have broken our communications with the main French army and enabled the Germans to force a thick wedge into the allied army. We knew as well as they what was the game, and we fought all we knew to prevent them achieving this end. That was why our losses were so heavy.

"We could have got away with comparative ease had we gone the way they wanted us to go, but we would have uncovered the French left, and every man of us knew that the safety of the whole French Army depended on our stand. Therefore we held on, and fought inch by inch until we had fallen back on the French left.

"The heaviest losses occurred in covering the retreats on the Monday and following days, for it was then that the Germans fought all they knew in a desperate effort to transform our retirement into a rout. It was here that our guns were lost. Halted out in the open with weak infantry supports, and doing their best to stay the onward rush of the bluish-grey clouds of Germans, the artillerymen suffered terribly. German marksmen picked off the horses one by one, and then, when the German cavalry swooped down, the men could not get the guns away. So long as possible they stuck to their posts; but the officers realised that it was a useless sacrifice to save the guns, and they ordered their abandonment. I saw only one battery lost in this way.

"In another case where the German lancers swooped down a hill and killed the last man of one battery the situation was saved by a couple of companies of an Irish Fusilier battalion—the Munsters, I think—who rushed at the Germans with fixed bayonets and put them to flight, while the enemy's artillery poured a merciless fire on them.

"Many of the Germans around that battery were killed, and of course the losses of our men were not light. The Fusiliers were furious when orders came that they were to abandon the guns as no horses were available. You could see them casting loving eyes on those guns all the rest of the day, and at night, when the time came to fall back, the poor fellows were dragging the guns with them, having captured a few German horses and supplemented them by men who were willing to become beasts of burden for the time."

"We of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders," said a soldier to a representative of the *Times*, "took up a position facing a wood where the Germans were in strong force. As they emerged our boys met them with a raking rifle-fire, which mowed them down. On they came again and again with the same devastating result. Their bullets came whistling around us, but we were indifferent, the marksmanship being very poor. The German infantry carry their rifles under their arms, the butts resting on their hips, and they fire as they march. As the enemy poured out *en masse* into the open it was like the exodus from the Celtic and Rangers' Scottish Cup final! Man, if they were only three to one we could go through them easily, but when it comes to ten to one strategy as well as bravery has to be considered."

In his maiden speech in the House of Lords, delivered on the 25th August, Earl Kitchener said, "Our troops have already been for thirty-six hours in contact with a superior force of German invaders. During that time they have maintained the traditions of British soldiers and have behaved with the utmost gallantry."

Notwithstanding the Royal and Imperial Command that the Kaiser's troops were to "walk over General French's contemptible little Army," the 5th British Cavalry Brigade, under General Chetwode, routed the German Cavalry on the 28th.

The March on Paris and its Sequel.

THE next official survey announced no new main trial of strength, although battles had been fought in various parts of the immense front which were "merely the incidents of the strategic withdrawal and contraction of the allied forces necessitated by the initial shock on the frontiers and in Belgium, and by the enormous strength which the Germans have thrown into the western theatre, while suffering heavily through weakness in the eastern."

On the 29th August the 5th French Army advanced from the Oise River and gave battle to the south of Guise. The enemy was driven back with heavy loss and in disorder. "In spite of this success, however, and all the benefits which flowed from it," the report states, "the general retirement to the south continued, and the German armies, seeking persistently after the British troops, remained in practically continuous contact with our rearguards."

"On August 30 and 31 the British covering and delaying troops were frequently engaged, and on September 1 a very vigorous effort was made by the Germans, which brought about a sharp action in the neighbourhood of Compiègne. This action was fought principally by the 1st British Cavalry Brigade and the 4th Guards Brigade, and was entirely satisfactory to the British. The German attack, which was most strongly pressed, was not brought to a standstill until much slaughter had been inflicted upon them and until ten German guns had been captured. The brunt of this creditable affair fell on our Guards Brigade, who lost in killed and wounded about 300 men."

"After this engagement our troops were no longer molested. Wednesday, September 2, was the first quiet day they had had since the battle of Mons, on August 23. During the whole of this period marching and fighting had been continuous, and in the whole period the British casualties had amounted, according to the latest estimates, to about 15,000 officers and men. . . . They do not amount to a third of the losses inflicted by the British force upon the enemy, and the sacrifice required of the Army has not been out of proportion to its military achievements."

The official correspondent goes on to state that "the British rifle has devastated every column of attack that has presented itself," and quotes Sir John French as saying that "the cavalry do as they like with the enemy until they are confronted by thrice their numbers. The German patrols simply fly before our horsemen. The German troops will not face our infantry fire, and as regards our artillery, they have never been opposed by less than three or four times their numbers."

The 3rd September marked the end of the long retirement from the Belgian frontier through Northern France. The British Army was then south of the Marne, in line with the French on the right and left.

"On Friday, the 4th," runs the official account compiled from information sent from Sir John French's headquarters, "it became apparent that there was an alteration in the direction of advance of almost the whole of the 1st German Army. That Army since the battle near Mons, on August 23, had been playing its part in the colossal strategic endeavour to create a Sedan for the Allies by outflanking and enveloping the left of their whole line so as to encircle and drive back both British and French to the south. There was now a change in its objective; and it was observed that the German forces opposite the British were beginning to move in a south-easterly direction instead of continuing south-west on to the capital."

"Leaving a strong rearguard along the line of the River Ourcq (which flows south and joins the Marne at Lizy-sur-Ourcq) to keep off the French 6th Army, which by then had been formed and was to the north-west of Paris, they were evidently executing what amounted to a flank march diagonally across our front. Prepared to ignore the British, as being driven out of the fight, they were initiating an effort to attack the left flank of the French main army which stretched in a long curved line from our right towards the east, and so to carry out against it alone the envelopment which had so far failed against the combined forces of the Allies."

On the following day this movement was continued, and the French 5th Army fell back towards the Seine. On the 6th large German forces crossed the Marne and pushed on past the British right. Further east, the French 5th Army attacked the enemy at night and captured

three villages at the point of the bayonet. On the 7th "there was a general advance on the part of the Allies in this quarter of the field. Our forces, which had by now been reinforced, pushed on in a north-easterly direction, in co-operation with an advance of the French 5th Army to the north, and of the French 6th Army eastwards, against the German rearguard along the Ourcq."

This offensive movement, which exposed them to considerable danger, was followed by the beginning of the enemy's retirement. "This was the first time that these troops had turned back since their attack at Mons a fortnight before, and, from reports received, the order to retreat when so close to Paris was a bitter disappointment. From letters found on the dead there is no doubt that there was a general impression amongst the enemy's troops that they were about to enter Paris."

On the 9th the British crossed the Marne in pursuit of the enemy, and on the 10th captured some 1,500 prisoners, four guns, six machine guns, and no fewer than fifty transport waggons. The Germans seemed to be altogether demoralised, and in a state of semi-starvation, ill-treating the inhabitants of the villages through which they passed in their flight,

looting châteaux when opportunity afforded, and offering no great opposition when called upon to surrender.

As at the Battle of Mons, the Royal Flying Corps greatly distinguished itself. The aviators were here, there, and everywhere in their effort to secure accurate information. So highly was their arduous work esteemed by General Joffre that he sent a special message to Sir John French expressing his thanks for the precision, exactitude, and regularity of the news brought by them.

Turning slightly to the north-east on the 11th so as to co-operate with the Allies, and meeting with but little opposition, the British forces were enabled to reach a line extending from Oulchy-le-Château to Long Pont, to the north of the Ourcq. The French also advanced, driving Duke Albrecht of Wurtemberg's 4th Army across the Saulx, and capturing the whole corps artillery of a German corps and several colours.

"It was only on this day," continues the official record, "that the full extent of the victory gained by the Allies on the 8th was appreciated by them, and the moral effect of this success has been enormous. An order dated the 6th or 7th September, by the Commander of the German 7th Corps, was picked up, in which it was stated that the great object of the war was about to be attained, since the French were going to accept battle, and that upon the result of this battle would depend the issue of the war and the honour of the German armies.

"It seems probable that the Germans not only expected to find that the British Army was beyond the power of assuming the offensive for some time, but counted on the French having been driven back on to the line of the Seine; and that, though surprised to find the latter moving forward against them after they had crossed the Marne, they were in no wise deterred from making a great effort."

"Our boys have had to put up with some hardships—wet through all day, nothing but bully beef and ship's biscuits day after day," writes a wounded soldier. "But we still keep our spirits up. I will soon be fit again to meet a few more of the Kaiser's tin helmet brigade."

We may be sure that this grim resolution is typical of the attitude of the men who hurled back the Germans when they were within a few miles of Paris, and are still "keeping at it."

A Rousing Patriotic Song.

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The Great Battle of the Aisne.

ON the 12th September the Germans held a strong position opposite to the British on the north of the River Aisne. Then began a great battle of entrenched positions and heavy artillery duels. The weather was miserably cold, and the rain drenched every soldier to the skin. Yet the First Cavalry Division and some of the British infantry accomplished praiseworthy work. They succeeded in crossing the River Vesle and capturing the town of Braine, together with some hundred prisoners.

Next day, to quote the official report, "an extremely strong resistance was encountered along the whole of our front, which was some fifteen miles in length. The action still consisted for the most part of long range gun fire; that of the Germans being to a great extent from their heavy howitzers, which were firing from cleverly concealed positions. Some of the actual crossings of the Aisne were guarded by strong detachments of infantry with machine guns. By nightfall portions of all three corps were across the river, the cavalry returning to the south side. By this night or early next morning three pontoon bridges had been built, and our troops also managed to get across the river by means of a bridge carrying the canal over the river, which had not been destroyed. On our left the French pressed on, but were prevented by artillery fire from building a pontoon bridge at Soissons. A large number of infantry, however, crossed in single file on the top of one girder of the railway bridge which was left standing."

The German howitzers were soon regarded by the British troops with a certain amount of contempt. They hurl death, sure enough, but some amazing stories regarding them have been collected by Mr. William Maxwell, one of the special correspondents of the *Daily Telegraph*. He tells us that the shells of these mammoth guns "give ten seconds' notice, and make a hole 8 ft. deep and 15 ft. across. Their effect seems to be local, and of twenty shells no fewer than fourteen have been known not to burst.

"One of these 8.2-in. howitzer shells exploded in front of a trench occupied by the —, and blew a subaltern into the air ten feet behind the trench. His comrades were saying, 'Poor —!' when

he rose and walked back to the trench as though nothing had happened.

"Another shell split the pole of an ambulance waggon and broke the rings of the leading horse's reins, yet neither driver nor horse was injured. At first these terrible missiles did much damage, but since our soldiers have dug themselves in they have begun to despise them. The smaller shells, known as 'Whistling Rufus,' never had any terrors."

Some further first-hand evidence is furnished by an officer of the Seaforth Highlanders in a letter which appeared in the *Morning Post*:

"The Germans have tried every way, I think, to shell us out—ordinary shrapnel, high - explosive shrapnel, 6-in. howitzers throwing a 90 lb. shell, and a siege gun firing an infernal projectile 8.2 inches in diameter, and 290 lb. in weight."

Against *personnel*, the officer adds, the effect of the heavy howitzers is small, which agrees with Mr. Maxwell's statement already cited. "We had three men buried in their cave on Friday," the Highlander concludes, "and we only dug 'em out just in time, but that is the extent of the harm they have done us."

I do not think it is necessary for me to apologise for these quotations. First-hand evidence such as that already given is "more to be desired than much fine gold" from the point of view of the reader who would know what a battle in 1914 is like and how it feels to front the enemy. I use the word "front" advisedly, because it is not a case of facing him in the time-honoured way of warfare.

The serious nature of the opposition became increasingly evident as the battle progressed. However, on the 14th strong reinforcements of British troops passed to the north bank of the river, and close co-operation with the French was maintained. The 1st Army Corps alone captured 600 prisoners and a dozen guns, notwithstanding repeated attacks. The 15th was a day of bombardment and counter-attacks by the enemy, and much the same happened on the 16th, although there were signs of weakening. The Allies continued to gain ground slowly, as is shown in the following Special Order of the day issued by Sir John French on the 17th September:

"Once more I have to express my deep appreciation of the splendid behaviour of officers, non-commissioned officers, and

men of the Army under my command throughout the great Battle of the Aisne, which has been in progress since the evening of the 12th inst. The Battle of the Marne, which lasted from the morning of the 6th to the evening of the 10th, had hardly ended in the precipitate flight of the enemy, when we were brought face to face with a position of extraordinary strength, carefully entrenched and prepared for defence by an Army and Staff which are thorough adepts in such work.

"Throughout the 13th and 14th that position was most gallantly attacked by the British forces, and the passage of the Aisne effected. This is the third day the troops have been gallantly holding the position they have gained against the most desperate counter-attacks and a hail of heavy artillery.

"I am unable to find adequate words in which to express the admiration I feel for their magnificent conduct.

"The French Armies on our right and left are making steady progress, and I feel sure that we have only to hold on with tenacity to the ground we have won for a

very short time longer, when the Allies will be again in full pursuit of a beaten enemy.

"The self-sacrificing devotion and splendid spirit of the British Army in France will carry all before it."

As I write this closing chapter the great duel still continues, and the gentleman at Headquarters who is on occasion so delightful a *raconteur* and always an excellent recorder of climatic conditions, assures us that "no ground has been lost, some has been gained, and every counter-attack has been repulsed, in certain instances with very severe loss to the enemy." The official reporter, however, tells a delightful story of an incident that occurred on Sunday, the 27th September,

and assures us that it serves to illustrate the type of fighting which is going on:

"At a certain point in our front our advanced trenches on the north of the Aisne are not far from a village on the hillside and also within a short distance of the German works, being on the slope of a spur formed by a subsidiary valley running north and the main valley of the river.

"It was a calm, sunny afternoon, but hazy; and from a point of vantage south of the river it was difficult exactly to locate on the far bank the well-concealed

trenches of either side. From far and near the sullen boom of guns echoed along the valley, and at intervals, in different directions, the sky was flecked with the almost motionless smoke

of anti-aircraft shrapnel. Suddenly, without any warning, for the reports of the distant howitzers from which they were fired could not be distinguished from other distant reports, three or four heavy shells fell into the village, sending up huge clouds of smoke and dust which slowly ascended in a brown-

ish-grey column. To this no reply was made by our side.

"Shortly afterwards there was a quick succession of reports from a point some distance up the subsidiary valley on the side opposite our trenches, and therefore rather on their flank. It was not possible, either by ear or by eye, to locate the guns from which these sounds proceeded.

"Almost simultaneously, as it seemed, there was a corresponding succession of flashes and sharp detonations in a line on the hillside along what appeared to be our trenches. There was then a pause, and several clouds of smoke rose slowly and remained stationary, spaced as reg-



"Vanity Fair's" cartoon-portrait of Sir John French, published in July, 1900.

ularly as a line of poplars. Again there was a succession of reports from the German quickfirsers on the far side of the misty valley, and—like echoes—the detonations of high-explosives, and the row of expanding smoke clouds was prolonged by several new ones. Another pause, and silence, except for the noise in the distance. After a few minutes there was a roar from our side of the main valley as our field guns opened one after another in a more deliberate fire upon the position of the German guns.

"After six reports there was again silence, save for the whir of the shells as they sang up the small valley, and then followed the flashes and balls of smoke—one, two, three, four, five, six, as the shrapnel burst nicely over what in the haze looked like some ruined buildings at the edge of a wood.

"Again, after a short interval, the enemy's gunners reopened with a burst, still further prolonging the smoke, which was by now merged into one solid screen above a considerable length of trench, and again did our guns reply. And so the duel went on for some time. Ignoring our guns, the German artillerymen, probably relying on concealment for immunity, were concentrating all their efforts in a particularly forceful effort to enfilade our trenches. For them it must have appeared to be the chance of a lifetime, and with their customary prodigality of ammunition they continued to pour bouquet after bouquet of high-explosive 'Einheitsgeschoss,' or combined shrapnel and common shell, on to our works. Occasionally, with a roar, a high-angle

projectile would sail over the hill and blast a gap in the village. One could only pray that our men holding the trenches had dug themselves in deep and well, and that those in the village were in the cellars.

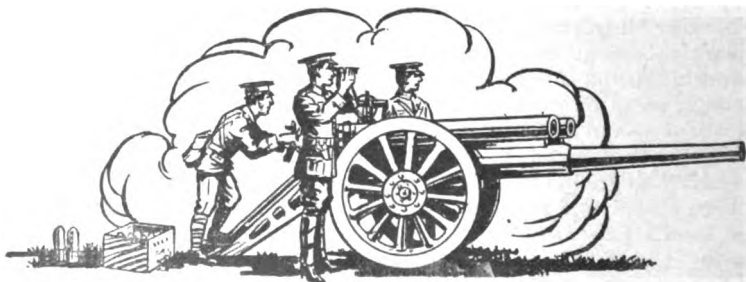
"In the hazy valleys bathed in sunlight, not a man, not a horse, not a gun, nor even a trench was to be seen. There were only flashes, smoke, and noise. Above, against the blue sky, were several round white clouds hanging in the track of the only two visible human souls—represented by a glistening speck in the air. On high also were to be heard the more or less gentle reports of the bursts of the anti-aircraft projectiles. But the deepest impression created was one of sympathy for the men subjected to the bursts along that trench.

"Upon inquiry as to the losses sustained, however, it was found that our men had been able to take care of themselves, and had dug themselves well in. In that collection of trenches on that Sunday afternoon were portions of four battalions of British soldiers—the Dorsets, the West Kents, the King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry, and the King's Own Scottish Borderers. Over 300 projectiles were fired against them. The result was nine men wounded."

* * * * *

So there remains something of romance and humour in war after all, and I rather think that one of the officers who appreciated this report at its full value was Field-Marshal Sir John French, Commander-in-Chief of the British Army in the Field.

THE END.



DESTRUCTION OF THE CITY OF LOUVAIN.



The Kaiser's Barbarians Feast and Gamble whilst the flames from the burning library light up their orgie.

The Kaiser and His Barbarians

An authoritative record of the crimes committed by the Germans in France and Belgium in the name of war, together with the official reports of the Commission of Enquiry appointed by King Albert of Belgium, and including among its members the following distinguished Belgians:—

M. COOREMAN
CHEVALIER ERNST DE BUNSWYCK
M. ORTS
COMTE GOBLET D'ALVIELLA
M. RYCKMANS
M. STRAUSS
M. VAN CUTSEM

By
W. N. Willis
W. N. Willis,

Author of

"What Germany Wants," &c., &c.

LONDON:

The Anglo-Eastern Publishing Co.,
48-50, Waterloo Road, S.E.

British Sympathy with Belgium.

THE PRIME MINISTER, MR. ASQUITH, moved the following resolution in the House of Commons on the 27th of August, 1914 :

"That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, praying him to convey to His Majesty the King of the Belgians the sympathy and admiration with which this House regards the heroic resistance offered by his army and people to the wanton invasion of his territory, and an assurance of the determination of this country to support in every way the efforts of Belgium to vindicate her own independence and the public law of Europe."

Mr. Asquith then proceeded :

"It was only when we were confronted with the choice between keeping and breaking solemn obligations, between the discharge of a binding trust and of shameless subservience to naked force, that we threw away the scabbard. We do not repent our decision. The issue was one which no great and self-respecting nation, certainly none bred and nurtured like ourselves in this ancient home of liberty, could, without undying shame, have declined. We were bound by our obligations, plain and paramount, to assert and maintain the threatened independence of a small and neutral State.

"The Belgian people and the Belgian King have faced without flinching and against almost incalculable odds, the horrors of eruption, of devastation, of spoliation, and of outrage. They have stubbornly withstood and successfully arrested the inrush, wave after wave, of a gigantic and overwhelming force. The defence of Liège will always be the theme of one of the most inspiring chapters in the annals of liberty. Belgians have won for themselves the immortal glory which belongs to a people who prefer freedom to ease, to security, even to life itself.

"We are proud of their alliance and their friendship. We salute them with respect and with honour. We are with them heart and soul, because by their side and in their company we are defending at the same time two great causes—the independence of small States, and the sanctity of international covenants.

"We assure them—as I ask the House in this Address to do—we assure them to-day, in the name of this United Kingdom and of the whole Empire, that they may count to the end on our whole-hearted and unflinching support."

After Mr. Bonar Law and Mr. John Redmond had supported the Prime Minister's motion, each paying a gallant tribute to the King and people of Belgium, the resolution was carried unanimously.

Mr. Lloyd George's Speech.

During his great speech in London on September 19th, Mr. Lloyd George riddled the German iron-platers with truths that must cover the very name of Germany with shame and contumely for all time. He said :—

“It is to the interest of Prussia to break the treaty (of neutrality), and she has done it. Why? She avowed it with cynical contempt for every principle of justice. She says treaties only bind you when it is to your interest to keep them. ‘What is a treaty?’ says the German Chancellor; ‘a scrap of paper.’ . . .

“We are fighting against barbarism. But there is only one way of putting it right; if there are nations that say they will respect treaties only when it is to their interest to do so, we must *make* it to their interests to do so for the future. . . .

“What has Belgium done? Hundreds of thousands of her people have had their quiet, comfortable little homes burned to the dust, and are wandering homeless in their own land. What was their crime? Their crime was that they trusted to the word of a Prussian king. . . .

“The Germans cannot comprehend the action of Britain at the present moment.

“They can understand vengeance, they can understand you fighting for mastery, they can understand you fighting for greed of territory; they cannot understand a great empire pledging its resources, pledging its might, pledging the lives of its children, pledging its very existence to protect a little nation that seeks for its defence.

“God made man in His own image, high of purpose, in the region of spirit. German civilization would re-create him in the image of a Diesel machine—precise, accurate, powerful, with no room for the soul to operate.

“The new philosophy of Germany is to destroy Christianity—sickly sentimentalism about sacrifice for others, poor pap for German mouths.

“We will have the new diet, we will force it on the world. It will be made Germany—a diet of blood and iron. What remains? Treaties have gone, the honour of nations has gone, liberty gone; what remains? Germany! Germany is left—Deutschland uber alles!

“That is what we are fighting—that claim of the predominancy of a civilization, a material one, a hard one; a civilization which at once rules and enslaves the world. Liberty goes, democracy vanishes, and unless Britain comes to the rescue with her sons, it will be a dark day for humanity! . . .

“The Prussian Junker is the road-hog of Europe. Small nationalities in his way are flung to the roadside, bleeding and broken; women and children thrust under the wheel of his cruel car. Britain ordered out of his road. All I can say is this: If the old British spirit is alive in British hearts that bully will be torn from his seat. Were he to win, it would be the greatest catastrophe that has befallen democracy since the days of the Holy Alliance and its ascendancy.”

“Culture” and Cruelty

versus

National Honour.

LET the world take note of the force and brutal outrage used by the Germans against a small and neutral people who possessed something that German expediency wanted.

Belgium possessed roads through her territory which Germany required for the transport of her troops, to enable her to strike France at the heart. But Belgium objected to satisfying German expediency. Belgium was neutral. Her neutrality was guaranteed by solemn treaty, with the signatures of great powers affixed.

In the war of 1870, between France and Prussia, England called upon the belligerent nations to respect the Belgian's neutrality. Both powers declared to this country their intention of observing the strictest respect for the treaty.

It would have been to France's great advantage to disregard the treaty at that time; but she accepted acute national humiliation, the loss of her Emperor, her marshals, together with more than 100,000 of her brave sons, rather than stain her fair fame by violating the Belgian neutrality. Had she forced a way of escape through Belgium—on the very roads the Germans have now seized by brutal force—great disaster to herself would have been averted.

At that time England was happily neutral, and merely watched to see that public law, as expressed in the treaty of Belgian neutrality, was observed. Had it been violated, Mr. Gladstone, who hated war, was prepared, on behalf of this country, to declare war against the violating power.

When the war was concluded, France humiliated, and a Prussian indemnity of £200,000,000 imposed, Prussia thanked England for acting as the “watch-dog” of international law, as expressed in the treaty which guaranteed Belgium's neutrality.

The peaceful Belgians also expressed their gratitude to this nation in addressing Queen Victoria as follows :—

“The great and noble people over whose destinies you preside have just given a further proof of their benevolent sentiments towards this country. The voice of the English nation has been heard above the din of arms. It has asserted the principles of justice and right. Next to the unalterable attachment of the Belgian people to their independence, the strongest sentiment which fills their hearts is that of an imperishable gratitude to the people of Great Britain.”

In 1870, Prussian expediency did not require the roads through Belgium; the chief Prussian anxiety was that France might use them.

But later, at the beginning of August, 1914, when the Kaiser, as the bully of Europe, wanted to use those roads, whose neutrality had been guaranteed, what did he do?

Under the plea of expediency, his armed barbarians took the roads by sheer brute force, accompanied by such inhuman outrages, pillage, and rapine as the world has not seen since the Huns overran Europe, or since Vespasian burnt all the cities and villages that lay on *his* route to Jerusalem, where, having arrived, he left his son Titus to complete his work of destruction by firing the temple and city and putting to the sword more than a million men, women and children.

The German bully thus compelled England to act as Mr. Gladstone was prepared to act in 1870, and to declare war against the "cultured" savages who respect no law of God or man when that law stands between them and their goal.

In these circumstances, who will say that England's cause is not a just and righteous one, and that our King was not in the right when he declared to Parliament, through his ministers :—

"After every endeavour had been made by my Government to preserve the peace of the world, I was compelled, in the assertion of treaty obligations deliberately set at nought, and for the protection of the public law of Europe and the vital interests of my Empire, to go to war.

"We are fighting for a worthy purpose, and we shall not lay down our arms until that purpose has been fully achieved."

If England is in the right in waging war on the question of Belgium's neutrality, how much more is she in the right in continuing that war until the murdered mothers, butchered babies, outraged daughters, mutilated old men, priests and boys of Belgium have been avenged?

What manner of men are they who, knowing of the terrible atrocities committed on the suffering Belgians, will say that England is in the wrong and should stop the war when German expediency desires it to be stopped?

No; the war must go on, on, and on, until the Kaiser and his ruthless military caste are crushed and debarred from ever again becoming an international menace.

If there be those who think otherwise, let them, in the name of civilization and humanity, read the following indictment of the Germans in the authentic facts which are there set down in plain language.

Let them read of the wicked outrages committed upon a peaceful, honourable people, whose sin—in German eyes—was that they respected the treaty of neutrality guaranteed by five powerful nations—Germany being herself one of the guarantors.

If the Belgians *are* to perish for trying to preserve their neutrality, then honour and truth are meaningless words, and civilization is on the brink of an avalanche which threatens to envelope it and blot it out as completely as though it had never existed

The Kaiser and his Barbarians.

Crimes against Civilization.

"When you meet the foe you will defeat him. No quarter will be given, no prisoners will be taken. Let all who fall into your hands be at your mercy."—*The Kaiser's speech on the eve of the Chinese Expedition.*

"France must be completely crushed, that she can never again come across our path."—*General von Bernhardt in 'The Next War.'*"

"Remember the blood which flowed in 1870, and annihilate your hereditary foe, France, who has now driven forward the Russian Colossus to annihilate us. No quarter! Kill them all, these barbarians, these accursed, so that in a new day the peace of Europe may be solidly established."—*Official Circular distributed among the German troops on their departure for France, via neutral Belgium.*

The German Chancellor, excusing Germany's disregard for a "scrap of paper," on which were written the guarantees of Belgium's neutrality, said in the Reichstag, on the very eve of the commencement of the butcheries which have shocked the civilized world: "We are now in a state of necessity, and necessity knows no law. Our troops have occupied Luxembourg and perhaps are already on Belgian soil. Gentlemen, that is contrary to the dictates of international law. The wrong—I speak openly—that we are committing, we will endeavour to make good as soon as our military goal is achieved."

"To whom will belong the sceptre of the universe? What nation will impose its wishes on the other decadent and enfeebled peoples? Will it not be Germany that will have the mission to ensure the peace of the world? . . . The future belongs to Germany, to which Austria will attach herself if she wishes to survive."—*Professor Treitschke.*

"All Polish societies should be suppressed without the slightest apology . . . as well as the societies of Alsace-Lorraine and Schleswig-Holstein. . . . The people should be allowed only three privileges: to pay taxes, serve in the army, and shut their jaws."—*Professor Lexius.*

"I do not know if there was some great organiser who deliberately planned this war. Without evidence I should be loth to lay the burden on the head of any man, because, whoever he be, the curse of humanity will pursue him to the end."—*Lord Rosebery at Broxburn, September 5th, 1914.*

The Kaiser.

The one man who has planned this war of lust for blood and hideous rapine is the Kaiser. He alone is responsible, and now, as if afraid of the sole responsibility of devastating the very flower of Europe's manhood, he seeks to cover his awful deeds by impiously bringing God, as his accomplice, into the sanguinary business.

For years, all things German have centred in and through the Kaiser. In almost every phase of German life he has made himself conspicuous, always forcing himself to the fore as the infallible, God-ordained father and leader of his people. From the leading of an orchestra in a German theatre, from designing actors' costumes, to influencing the election of a Roman pontiff or a German master of the Jesuits, the Kaiser has deliberately thrust himself "into the limelight" as a demi-god able to do any mortal thing which he may take into his imperial head.

Many social reformers of Germany who have closely watched his career for more than a quarter-of-a-century proclaim him, without reservation, to be a monomaniac. Certainly, many of his spasmodic, impulsive acts and speeches have startled the world. The Kaiser and his cultured satellites are fully convinced that —

"Nothing must be settled in this world without the intervention of Germany and the German Emperor."

"The German people is the elect of God, and its enemies are the enemies of God."

"Our German people will be the granite block on which the good God may complete His work of civilising the world—then the world will one day be cured by the German character."

"Remember that the German people are the chosen of God. On me, as German Emperor, the spirit of God has descended. I am His weapon, His sword, and His vicegerent. Woe to the disobedient! Death to the coward and unbeliever!"

The Russian newspapers, in reproducing the last of the above speeches, justly remark that it goes far to prove that the German Emperor is suffering from a form of "mania graziosa."

Bismarck always had an instinctive doubt and dread of the Kaiser's sanity, and constantly likened him to his ancestor, Friedrich Wilhelm IV, who in 1857 was arrested for the public good and confined as a lunatic.

That hereditary cancer and muscular paralysis are in the Kaiser's blood from the male side, that the Kaiser's father died of cancer in the throat, and that at this moment the Kaiser is tormented with an ear trouble which medical experts say not only affects the bronchial channels, but seriously heats and distempers the brain, are facts quite well known to all those about the Emperor's Court.

The Kaiser's treatment of his mother, England's Princess Royal, showed all the refined brutality of a youthful lunatic, who from his early days seriously considered that God had especially ordained him to conquer and rule the world.

If, however, all these facts do not establish a *prima facie* case for lunacy, and one is not to adjudge the Emperor of the Germans a lunatic, the only other sane conclusion is that he is a thorough hypocrite, from the crest of his helmet to his spurs. The historian of the future will surely be justified in writing him down as the master-hypocrite of our time when there stands recorded in cold type the Kaiser's egotistical proclamation of his alliance with the Almighty. Future generations will wonder at the humanity, culture, and civilization of 1914, which could tolerate with so much patience the doings of this imperial mountebank of blood, fire and sword, who punctuates his acts of rapine and murder with flashes of his appreciation of God's action in the alleged alliance.

Quite the worst feature of his conduct is his blasphemous association of the Almighty with his work of bloodshed and brutality. The very day on which he proclaimed havoc and let slip the dogs of war he approached God's altar in God's church, with his wife, and partook of the Sacrament—the Body and Blood of Christ. Court photographers were stationed at convenient angles within the church to photograph the royal pair, who, with all the glitter of the imperial sawdust and spangles, with all the pomp of their "God-ordered" rank, "humbled" themselves before the Holy Host that Christ left as a life-giver to the poor, lonely, and oppressed—in fact, to such poor souls as the Kaiser's barbarians were, at that very moment, buckling on their armour to ravish and murder. Surely that moment would cause the Prophet of Nazareth to weep for his poor, and to administer such a rebuke to the pompous royal worshippers as He did to the Pharisees when He said of them :

All their works they do to be seen of men. They love the uppermost rooms at feasts, and the chief seats in the synagogues, and greetings in the market-places, and to be called of men, Rabbi, Rabbi.

Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte, and when he is made, ye make him two-fold more the child of hell than yourselves.

Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness.

Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell?

From that theatrical moment in the church the Kaiser has never ceased to proclaim to the world, in one way or another, that he and his heirs hold a mortgage on God's grace—a presumptive, pre-eminent right to use God's name in order to urge on to untimely death hundreds of thousands of brave and innocent men, leaving voids in the hearts and homes of, perhaps, millions of grief-stricken women and helpless little children.

In his impious antics he is, it is true, but mimicking the blasphemies of Napoleon I and Louis XIV.

The latter—whose licentious debauches within and without his palaces shocked the age in which he ruled, and sowed in fertile soil the

seeds of the French Revolution—after a severe defeat at the hands of the British, petulantly exclaimed: "Surely the Almighty has forgotten all I have done for Him."

Attila, in his struggle for the mastery of Europe, claimed God as his partner, and declared, through the mouths of his followers that he was the Scourge of God, whilst Napoleon made such a business of linking up the Almighty with his legalized murders that he established a department, constituting himself chief, for the distribution amongst the different castes and creeds of theological prophecies, special prayers, divine signs, omens, etc.

In the French schools a special catechism was worked into the minds of the young, one question and answer being as follows: "What ought to be thought of those who should fail in their duties to the Emperor?" "According to the Apostle St. Paul, they would be resisting the order of God Himself, and would render themselves worthy of eternal damnation."

Louis XIV and Napoleon were great soldiers and accounted splendid organizers in the ages in which they lived. The character of Napoleon is one whose counterpart history has never yet produced, nor probably ever will produce. He was essentially a great man. But the Kaiser is neither a great soldier nor a great man. He is a great egotist, however, and so, perhaps, it is but natural that he should mimic great men, even to introducing God as his coadjutor in his decrees of slaughter and atrocity.

Wiring to his daughter, the Kaiser said:

I rejoice with you in Wilhelm's first victory. How magnificently God supported him! Thanks and honour to Him! May God continue to help the boys, and to be with you and *all* the women.

It is presumed that the royal gentleman with the monopoly of God's favour did not include in this telegram the Belgian girls whose throats his soldiers were engaged in cutting, nor the Belgian women his barbarian hordes were outraging.

Another partner to the alleged divine compact, the Austrian Emperor, Francis Joseph, cables with assurance:

Victory after victory. God *is* with you. He is also with *us*.

A second telegram from the Kaiser, which "rings in" God as stage-manager to Wilhelm, is as follows:

God, up to the present, is with us.

The text of the Kaiser's official sermon, which his pulpit advocates of blood have been for years past instructed to preach, is:

"The German people is the elect of God, and its enemies are the enemies of the Lord."

The preaching divines did their work well.

It was reported that upon the occasion of the murderous attack upon Antwerp from the Zeppelin airship in the silence of the night, when peaceful civilians were in their beds, the Kaiser, after of course

recognizing the aid of his alleged divine Ally, commanded that public thanks be offered to Count Zeppelin.

Well might a cynical American, in a New York paper, voice the general disapproval of his countrymen towards Kaiser Wilhelm as follows :

It only remains for the Kaiser to telegraph to someone, "With God's gracious assistance, our Zeppelins have succeeded in a glorious achievement. You will join with me in thanking the Almighty. I have bestowed upon Count Zeppelin the Iron Cross of the first and second class."

This arrogant declaration of God's particular favour to Wilhelm II and his partisans becomes a little nauseating, to put it mildly, but when we have the Kaiser gloating over the hellish deeds of his barbarians and claiming that the God of Peace condones and even approves of such atrocities, we reach the limit of endurance with this German crowned monomaniac.

On the day war was proclaimed a certain piece of writing which stirred up the anti-British sympathies of the Berlin populace almost to madness, if not exactly penned by the Kaiser, was prepared at his instigation, and upon lines laid down by him. The facts are as follows : At the moment when a German mob was jeering and hurling imprecations through the battered door and broken windows of the British Embassy in Berlin, an anonymous leaflet was distributed broadcast, declaring that the Kaiser was the chosen of God, as was Moses in the days of old.

The Kaiser, so this sacrilegious leaflet stated, had been bidden by God to be strong and fearless, to go forth against the enemy, secure in the assurance that he and God together would utterly demolish their common enemy.

Referring to the Kaiser as a second Joshua, the writer of this leaflet made God's command and promise to the Captain of the Host of Israel applicable to the German Emperor.

"Go forth," God was represented as saying to his good friend and protégé, the Kaiser. "Go forth, be strong and of a good courage. Have I not commanded thee? Be not afraid, neither be dismayed, for the Lord thy God is with thee whithersoever thou goest."

Next, the anonymous scribe called upon all true Germans to follow their God-appointed Kaiser into the "promised lands," there to do as Joshua's army did with the cities of Jericho and Ai. There was to be one difference, however. The Germans were not to spare even one soul out of sentimental gratitude. Rahab, the harlot, was spared when Jericho fell, but Rahab's case was not to lead the Kaiser's followers to any rash acts of mercy. The enemy was to be taught a lesson. The leaflet was emphatic on that point. Examples were to be made. The more terrifying the treatment of the enemy, the more quickly would

that enemy be cowed into crying for mercy to the Kaiser and God respectively, said the leaflet.

If Wilhelm II is certain of God's assistance, impartial people by no means agree with him. God's representative in the Roman church, for instance, was shocked beyond expression by the dragging of the holy name into a question of man's lust for blood.

The Kaiser was approached by an emissary of the late Pope on behalf of the Belgians, but no one who is merely human could hope to make any impression upon the individual who likens himself to Joshua, and proceeds to out-Joshua Joshua by the mercilessness of his legions of barbarians.

Referring to the appeal of His late Holiness to the Kaiser, the *Independence Belge* states :

We learn from a reliable source that the German Emperor has been warned by an authorized representative of the Vatican of the moral consequences of the violent aggression committed upon neutral and pacific Belgium, as well as of the discredit which will result for Germans throughout the world. So far as we understand, the advice and counsel of the Vatican is being employed at this moment as far as possible in favour of Belgium.

The late Pope also refused to give the blessing of Holy Church to the Austrian cause. He would give no answer to the first two Austrian messengers who went to beg his blessing for the Austrian army, and upon a third pleader being sent to him, replied : "I bless peace only."

Reading of the brazen, trumpet-tongued way in which the Kaiser has advertised God's acquiescence in his plans and deeds, and then turning to official accounts of the revolting acts of his barbarian soldiers, one is absolutely appalled. Surely the world has never known such frightful examples of profanity and rank blasphemy as those now afforded by this earnest "Christian" gentleman, Wilhelm II.

Mr. Barry Pain, the famous author, sends to *The Times* a well-timed verse on the Kaiser's blasphemy. The following are the two last verses of his poem, and they put the Kaiser's profanity in a very clear light :

Kaiser, when you'd kneel in prayer
Look upon your hands, and there
Let that deep and awful stain
From the blood of children slain
Burn your very soul with shame,
Till you dare not breathe that Name
That you now so glibly advertise—
God as one of your allies.

Impious braggart, you forget
 God is not your conscript yet ;
 You shall learn in dumb amaze
 That His ways are not your ways,
 That the mire through which you trod
 Is not the high white road of God.

The sight of innocent girls and women violated before their relatives' eyes, of old men and women tortured and left to die in agony, of strong men shot without a chance of defending themselves, of the wounded slaughtered while lying on the field awaiting the Red Cross men, should make God weep with pity, and not congratulate the bloody perpetrators.

Yet all these atrocities, and other unnameable horrors which none but some tormenting fiend out of Hades could dream of, much less commit on luckless human beings, are, according to the Kaiser, "necessary examples," approved by God.

Surely the royal egotist forgets his Bible, which, according to Job, says : "Dost thou know the balancing of the clouds, the wondrous works of Him that is perfect in knowledge?"

Many Germans, horrified by reports of their countrymen's savagery, have indignantly repudiated them—have even tried to put them in the shade by tales of outrages committed on their people by the enemy. However, no denial is necessary, as the Kaiser has admitted his knowledge of his butchers' atrocities on the Belgians. He has attempted to excuse himself and his murderers and ravishers by stating that he finds it necessary to make horrible examples, so that all his enemies may be terrorized into yielding to him. Wanton cruelty, vicious murder, outrages upon women and children, and a hundred other forms of brutality and despicable cowardice have been glossed over by Wilhelm II, who has a very poor opinion of his allied enemies' spirit if he really believes he can terrorize them by his gross, revolting tactics. Rather will he arouse the unconquerable spirit that characterized the French Revolution—the spirit which preferred death to the risk of being made slaves in foreign chains. Terrible indeed will be the vengeance of those who have had near and dear ones tortured and outraged by the Kaiser's bloody and lustful butchers. God's "chosen one," as he likes to call himself, may live to regret bitterly that he ever sent the following wireless message from his doomed country :

The only means of preventing surprise attacks from the civil population has been to interfere with unrelenting severity, *and to create examples, which, by their frightfulness, would be a warning to the whole country.* The increased war contribution levied on the province of Liège has also had an *excellent effect.*

Murdering and terrorizing women and children, outraging pure young girls, prodding old cripples with bayonets to hurry their poor

dragging feet along—doing all these things to a people against whom the most ingenious and perfidious German cannot make out a case, no doubt *did* “create examples, which, by their frightfulness, would be a warning to the whole country.”

Surely civilization will stand aghast at the German Emperor's frank and callous avowal, his cowardly excuse for his bloody barbarians, whose hands are yet reeking with the blood of the daughters and babies of Belgium.

But perhaps all civilization does not know of these atrocities? Possibly it has even read accounts, concocted by the Germans, of savageries perpetrated by the opposite side? Let everybody, however, remember that the Kaiser *has fully admitted his knowledge of, and responsibility with regard to his people's horrifying brutalities in Belgium.*

Let anyone in doubt, or any in ignorance, read in the following chapters of the murderous atrocities committed by the Kaiser's savages before he decides that the German campaign in Belgium was merely one involving all the painful but necessary incidents of modern war.

Any student of history reading these chapters will at once see that the “cultured and scientific” Germans of to-day have been more brutal, more regardless of life, honour, and virtue than were the blood-stained Huns of old.

What will be the net result of Germany's infamous, cold-blooded murder, her open and unabashed riot of shameful license? The standard of the horrible has been set by “cultured” Germany to “barbaric” Russia. The Russians may be credited with the desire to profit by the example of their “cultured” teachers—with what results God alone knows.

The New York *Evening Sun* of August 27th, in the course of an article on “Cossacks and Culture” says :

When the German armies penetrated the moral barrier of neutrality built by treaties round about Belgium and Luxembourg, the Imperial Chancellor told the German people that this was a wrong justifiable only because German culture was in peril. Now, when Zeppelins are carrying midnight murder into Antwerp, slaying the women and children of an unhappy race, whose only offence lay in the fact that fate had placed it in the pathway of the German General Staff's operations, what warrant will the Kaiser's Minister find to satisfy the German people? Germany, too, the world over, has appealed to the neutral nations for sympathy and moral support in her noble defence of her endangered culture. Cannot the Germans perceive that a few more Zeppelin raids, a few more slaughterings of women and children and of the helpless and hapless, and the world, no longer neutral, will look Eastward over the troubled Vistula towards the Russian millions flowing resistlessly onward, and will welcome them as the soldiers of civilization, and as the saviours of all that the word and thought of culture means to it.

An opinion on the German methods of warfare from a Russian soldier, who was wounded in one of the recent fights in Eastern

Prussia, is sent from *The Times* representative at Petrograd, and is published, as follows :

At first we were calm, but after we had seen ruined homes in the frontier villages and the torn and dismembered bodies of women and children, our blood boiled and we vowed vengeance. We thought they were civilized, but we saw how they killed and mutilated our wounded. Their villages were empty, all the inhabitants having fled.

In some places armed inhabitants offer resistance. The Cossacks did not spare them, but, on the other hand, no quarter was shown to the Cossacks. The Germans cut off their hands and ears and tortured them.

The Prussian soldiers are well-grown and well-clad in overcoats, like officers. All carry watches. They are afraid of the bayonet; hence there was very little hand-to-hand fighting. Our officers fight in our midst and do not spare themselves. We were forbidden, under pain of death, to molest peaceable inhabitants or to take what is not ours. We faithfully obeyed the order.

While the Russians keep to the manly, humane order expressed above, avoiding the example set them by the "cultured" Germans, we may hope to see Germany invaded, if with much bloodshed, at least without rapine, cold wanton murder, and shameful outrage.

But the question is, how long will the Russians—whose fiery natures have not been subject to the discipline of generations of up-to-date civilization and "highest culture"—be able to repress the instincts of their hot, and in many cases, half-wild blood, which prompts them to repay murder by murder, outrage by outrage?

It is hardly to be expected that there will not be some terrible results, in the way of reprisals, brought about by our Russian allies. Such reprisals have certainly been sought for by the behaviour of the Kaiser, who up to the present has been the "be-all," and we sincerely hope will also prove the "end-all," of the German menace that has too long placed its Prussian spur-tipped heel on the peaceful dispositions of Europe.*

* Whilst this chapter was with the printers, Reuter's Special Service cabled from Petrograd :—"Incessant accounts of German vandalism and savagery are daily increasing the Russian bitterness. Such expressions as, 'God help them when we get to Berlin!' are beginning to be heard from even the most pacific lips."

We can all say "Amen!" to the supplication to God to help the Germans, for, if the approach of the great army of vengeance means anything it assuredly means that these barbarians—who left behind them everywhere the prostrate, bleeding bodies of Belgian women, children and old people, as evidence of their fiendish, hideous work—will sadly need the intervention of God on their behalf when the Russian flag is hoisted at Berlin.

In the meantime, it is the duty of all men and women who value their lives, the lives and chastity of their children and their homes, to read and understand the unspeakable horrors committed by the Kaiser's barbarians. With what hellish joy they fulfilled their royal master's injunction, which instructed them, *vide* his address to his troops, July 29, 1900 :—"No quarter will be given, no prisoners will be taken. Let all who fall into your hands be at your mercy."

The Belgian Mission to America.

On the evening of Monday, September 1, I had the honour of being introduced by the Belgian Legation to the members of the Belgian Mission to America at the Hotel Cecil. The members of the Mission were :

M. CARTON DE WIART, Chief of the Mission, Belgian Minister of Justice.

M. DE SADELEER, Leader of the Belgian Conservatives.

M. PAU HYMAN, Leader of the Belgian Liberals.

M. EMILE VANDERVELDE, Leader of the Belgian Socialists.

The Chief of the Mission made a statement to the representatives of the London Press in reference to the atrocities the Germans have committed upon a pacific and neutral people. Although this statement was made orally in quite an unceremonious way to the Pressmen, every word carried with it the speaker's genuine and absolute horror and his deep sorrow and pity for his brutally-used people. It was a tale of terror, which should awaken the indignant pity of all men and women who are not of the Kaiser's opinion that justice and honour are dead and that brute force and sheer savagery should reign in their stead.

M. de Wiart said that the King of the Belgians is sending this special Mission to the President of the United States, to bring before him and his people the atrocious way in which the German Army has treated the Belgians.

"Before going to America," M. de Wiart proceeded, "the Mission have come to London, with the desire of conveying to the King, to the British Government, to the British Press, and to the British people generally the heartfelt thanks of Belgium for the great help Britain has given to us in terribly trying circumstances. This morning the Mission had the honour of being received by the King, who showed himself most gracious to us. Afterwards we were received by Sir Edward Grey, and, later, we had interviews with the French and Russian Ambassadors.

"The Mission handed to the representatives of the British Government a statement, which was presented to the King. We also handed to Sir Edward Grey the minutes of the evidence taken by the official enquiry, of which your country is aware.

"Among the different violations of international law perpetrated by the German authorities towards us we put in the front rank the violation of our neutrality. That there has been such a violation has been recognized by the Imperial Chancellor, Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg. Also in the same category of violence of public right is the "doing away" of large sums belonging to the National Bank, which is a

private company and not a public institution—sums which amounted to a number of millions. These sums were done away with in Liège and Hasselt.

“Then, under the same heading of the violation of international law is the bombardment of open towns—towns which are not protected by any military works. These are such towns as Malines and Louvain, Antwerp, too, has been bombarded. Being an unfortified place, there ought to have been twenty-four hours’ notice given to the inhabitants. Such notice was not given. On the contrary, an attack by a Zeppelin airship took place during the night, with great loss of life. Another set of atrocities committed by the Germans is the bombardment and setting fire to small villages, out-of-the-way places, without any military necessity, and the massacre of perfectly innocent people—non combatant men, women and children.

“Coming to specific instances: On August 19th the town of Aerschot, in North Brabant, a town of about 8,000 inhabitants, was destroyed. During three days the German soldiery massacred and pillaged the town, which had not resisted, although there was no military source there whatever. In the neighbouring village of Diest, and in the surrounding villages, the same atrocities were perpetrated. The wife of Francis Luyckx, aged 45, with her daughter, 12 years of age, had in their terror taken refuge in a sewer. They were discovered, dragged out, and shot.

“The little daughter of Jean Oyyen, a child of 9, was also shot. A man, Andre Willem, aged 23, who was a sexton, was bound to a tree and burned alive. In the village of Schaffen, near Diest, two men named Lodts and Marken, both aged 40, were captured, and must have been buried alive head downwards. These occurrences have been fully inquired into and confirmed by the Committee of Investigation, which is composed of the highest magistrates of Belgium and the chief professors of the universities.

“As to the sacking of Louvain, we have here a statement, dated August 30th, which has been handed to the Commission by a person of universal repute in Belgium, and which has been telegraphed to us. On August 30th that person went from Brussels to Louvain. On the high road, when he got to a place called Weerde St. George, he saw only burning villages and peasants beside themselves with terror. When he reached Louvain and got to the American College—a large number of American students, young priests, and medical students come to Louvain—he found that fire had destroyed the whole town, except the Town Hall and city station. This gentleman noted that on Sunday last the Germans kept on kindling new fires and placing straw so as to carry the fire further. The cathedral and the theatre had been destroyed, and had collapsed completely. So had the famous library—one of the most precious in the world, especially as regards manuscripts and works of art. The town, he says, presents the aspect of an old ruined city, a city like Pompeii.

"In the midst of this scene of desolation the only people you could see were drunken soldiers carrying bottles of wine and liqueurs in their arms, and officers themselves sitting in the streets around tables drinking like their men."

M. de Wiart, proceeding, said he had personally visited hospitals and talked to the wounded, who had told him that many, while lying injured on the battlefield, had been bayoneted by German soldiers. He had also talked to a druggist, who, at Tirlemont, because he refused to act as a guide to the Germans, was shot and received three bayonet thrusts in the body. "But," finally declared M. de Wiart, "we are going to fight to a finish, and we are not going to give in."

M. Emile Vandervelde, the leader of the Socialist party in Belgium, then gave his experience. He had, he said, been to Malines. He found the town completely deserted. The bombardment of the town was going on all the time, and the only explanation it was possible to give was that the Germans were firing on the town in revenge, or that they sought to strike terror into the hearts of the countryside in order to drive refugees to Antwerp and make it difficult to support them during the siege, which had been the policy of the German army right through.

Soldiers had told him that again and again men and women had been deliberately put in the front rank of the German force, in order to prevent the Belgian soldiers from firing at the Germans. He had been shown, too, on the roadside, the bodies of a peasant and his son—non-combatants—literally cut to pieces by bayonet thrusts. This, he was told, had been going on through the whole campaign.

The worthy Belgian Minister of Justice concluded: "We will see this matter through, and fight to the bitter end. We cannot be vanquished, because, even if the body may be vanquished the spirit cannot. We shall keep that spirit alive."

The German Atrocities.

"If you have tears, prepare to shed them now."

The French Foreign Minister has addressed to the Powers memoranda setting forth "indisputable facts" concerning German "acts contrary to the laws of war, of which we receive accounts day by day. The memoranda establish the two following classes of facts:

Firstly, the armies and Government of Germany profess the deepest scorn for international law and for treaties solemnly recognized by Germany.

Secondly, the devastations of the invaded countries (incendiarism, murder, pillage and atrocities) appear to be systematically pursued by order of the leaders, and are not due to acts of indiscipline.

Expressing the opinion that the facts set forth "will arouse the indignation of neutral States," the official communiqué is accompanied

by ten separate memoranda. These deal with the following acts during the war :

Killing wounded prisoners by shooting and trampling. Burning villages without armed provocation. Bombardment of Pont-a-Mousson (unfortified). Use of dum-dum bullets, some of which wounds have been found in French soldiers. Murder of Red Cross nurses.

The statement concluded :

The Government of the Republic, respecting international conventions which it has ratified, protests against those violations of international law, and holds up to reprobation before the opinion of the world the behaviour of an enemy who respects no rule, and goes back on his signature affixed to international agreements.

The terrible outrages against civilization and humanity committed by the Germans within the last few weeks are so unspeakable that all nations are horror-stricken and aroused to such disgust and loathing of the perpetrators and their brutal leaders that soon Germany will find herself practically alone against the whole world.

War can never be anything but dreadful and cruel, but the modern warfare of the Germans has not been equalled in wanton savagery and fiendish brutality even by the Red men of the American wilds, by the African heathen, or by the frontier hillmen of India.

Acts have been committed which make the cheeks burn with shame and indignation, and the heart beat with a fierce desire to make the Kaiser's human devils suffer to the utmost.

Defenceless towns, full of innocent men, women and children have been wantonly bombarded and destroyed. Every agreement decided upon by international conventions as to laws of warfare has been ruthlessly broken by the Germans in Belgium.

They forced unarmed civilians, even weak women and helpless children, mothers with babies in their arms, to form lines of defence and walk before them to shield their cowardly butchers from the enemy's fire. They have fired on Red Cross workers and priests, commandeered Red Cross wagons to carry their guns, and actually stripped and violated women before slaughtering them.

If these are the deeds which the Kaiser calls "frightful examples," he must be taught that civilization will not brook such "examples," but will insist on a day of reckoning for all atrocities.

Certain abominations, which even the butchers of Wilhelm II are afraid to acknowledge as their work, are being denied by German officials and German newspapers.

The German Commander-in-Chief denies, for instance, that women and children have been made to walk before the German lines as a shield from the allies' fire, but as to the truth of that there is the sworn testimony of many separate witnesses. British soldiers, Belgian and French soldiers, and many civilians of several nationalities have testified again and again to this fact.

Then there is the evidence of the Belgian Committee of Investigation, formed to sift the truth of the German atrocities from fiction or

exaggeration. This committee consists of eminent university and judicial authorities. Such thoroughly reliable men as Professor Wodon, Professor Cattier, Judge Nys, and Chief-Justice Van Iseghem serve on this committee, and no statement was passed by them which was not the sworn evidence of trustworthy eye-witnesses. Many atrocities which came to the notice of this committee have, as a matter of fact, been attested to by several independent witnesses of different nationalities, and to the slightest detail their accounts agree.

The official list of atrocities include the following "examples." Many outrages I simply cannot bring myself to publish. They are too horrible and indecent to bear thought, much less pen and ink.

German cavalry occupying the village of Linsmeau were attacked by some Belgian infantry and two gendarmes. A German officer was killed by our (the Belgian) troops during the fighting, and subsequently buried at the request of the Belgian officer in command. None of the civilian population took part in the fighting at Linsmeau. Nevertheless the village was invaded at dusk on August 10th by a strong force of German cavalry, artillery and machine guns. In spite of the formal assurances given by the Burgomaster of Linsmeau that none of the peasants had taken part in the previous fighting, two farms and six outlying houses were destroyed by gun-fire and burnt.

All the male inhabitants were then compelled to come forward and hand over whatever arms they possessed. No recently discharged firearms were found. Nevertheless the invaders seized and divided the peasants into three groups. Those in one of the groups were bound, and eleven of them placed in a ditch, where they were afterwards found dead, their skulls fractured by the butts of German rifles.

During the night of August 10th the German cavalry entered Velm in great numbers. The inhabitants were asleep. The Germans, without provocation, fired on M. Deglimme's house, broke into it, destroyed furniture, looted money, burnt barns, hay and corn stacks, farm implements, six oxen, and the contents of the farmyard. They carried off Madame Deglimme, half-naked, to a place two miles away. She was then let go, and fired upon as she fled, without being hit. Her husband was carried away in another direction and fired upon. He is now dying. The same troops sacked and burned the house of a railway watchman.

Farmer Jef Dierick, of Neerhespen, bears witness to the following acts of cruelty committed by German cavalry at Orsmael and Neerhespen on August 10th, 11th, and 12th. An old man of the latter village had his arm sliced in three longitudinal cuts; he was then hung head downwards and burned alive. Young girls have been violated, and little children outraged at Orsmael, where several inhabitants suffered mutilations too horrible to describe.

Fire and Sword in Louvain.

Destruction of the Beautiful Belgian Cities.

"True history begins from the moment when the German, with mighty hand, seizes the inheritance of antiquity."—*The author of "The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century."*

When the news of the destruction of the wonderful city of Louvain reached the world outside the theatre of war, civilization was aghast at the barbaric deed.

No such sentimental horror troubled the Kaiser's cast-iron multitude. To them this shocking act of desecration and vandalism was but the triumph of "cultured" Germany over those whom the Kaiser intends to grind beneath his martial heel. They cared nothing that their butcher-vandals had ruthlessly destroyed, in a few hours of savagery, the jealously-guarded beauty and genius of centuries.

Immediately the news reached Berlin the people there gave vent to their satisfaction by parading the streets, lustily singing patriotic songs, and yelling themselves hoarse as they shouted: "It should have been London! London's turn next!"

After such a terrible proof that the Germans hold nothing sacred, one can easily imagine what will become of many other beautiful cities of Europe if the Kaiser's vandals are allowed to swoop down upon them. One can see, in imagination, the wild joy with which they would destroy the priceless treasures of art and learning in, say Paris and London. With what fiendish energy would they work to cover with shameful ashes the sites of these and many other noble cities, that they might be wiped out altogether, and that there may no longer exist cities which dwarf their own beloved Berlin.

After the destruction of Louvain, what cities are safe from the sacrilegious German hands? For years Germans have been taught that England alone stands between them and their "proper place in the sun." They know that in London is centred England's glory and pride. How they would love to humble that glory and pride! Aye, every German soldier would gladly die if only he could first take a share in the sacking of London.

What was the sacking of Louvain—irreparable as is the loss to the world by its destruction—compared with what the sacking of London would be, could the Kaiser's vandal-butchers gain an entrance into the finest and richest city in all the world?

Not long ago, when a party of influential Germans was being shown over our beautiful London, one of them was asked what was his chief impression.

"What a city to loot!" he replied.

Probably he voiced the most urgent desire of his fellow-countrymen in that short sentence. It behoves every Briton to see to it that the German vandals never realise that desire.

When the Romans sacked Carthage it was not the work of a few hours of fierce sudden passion. It was the realisation of Rome's chief dream. For years it had been a proverb with the Romans, "*Delenda est Carthago*" (Carthage must fall). The Romans prepared for this end. They strove valiantly for it, and they achieved it. It is for us to see that the Germans do not achieve their end.

The destruction of the Belgians' beloved and beautiful Louvain will surely open the eyes of these millions of men and women all the world over who are unwilling to look upon the "cultured" civilized Germans as barbarian vandals, as to the stupendous enormities they are fully prepared and determined to commit.

Shall these "cultured" people—led by a man who for years has been on the verge of proclaiming himself divine, or, at least, semi-divine—be allowed to terrorize Europe, to break down all that civilization has stood for for hundreds of years, and to take the world back to the days when the barbarous Huns swarmed in devastating hordes over Europe?

No law of God or man is sacred to the "cultured" German savages while they are on their wild march for blood, blood, and more blood. Will sane Christendom listen with patience to the revolting details of the destruction of Louvain? Here is a plain, unvarnished account of it, without any exaggeration, indeed erring rather on the other side because of many details which are far too horrible to publish.

Louvain, for centuries the centre of intellectual achievement of the Low Countries, the Oxford of Belgium, as it has been termed, has been wiped out of existence, with all its noble buildings, its priceless records and its wonders of beauty and art. From mediæval times—when Louvain was the capital of Brabant, and possessed a University which was even then the pride of all Europe—until one short month ago, the glories of the sacked town had been exhibited with pardonable pride to strangers from far and near. Now it is little more than a heap of ashes. The beautiful Hotel de Ville, founded 1448, an exquisite and world-renowned example of Flemish type of architecture in the Middle ages, was at first reported to have been burnt down. It has since transpired, however, that it is still standing, although very much injured.

The principal church of the town, St. Pierre, which dated from 1556, contained some of the finest stained glass and wood-carving in the world. Its ancient seat of learning, founded 1426, has been ruthlessly destroyed, for the antiquity of noble buildings and historic institutions does not deter the wicked work of German vandals, just as age in poor helpless human beings fails to move the German butchers to pity.

Several other wonderful churches, the library, with its priceless scrolls and volumes, together with Louvain's famous scientific establishment, have all been demolished as a sacrifice to the Kaiser's inordinate self-pride and ambition.

Whereas German brutality to their comrades has quite failed to quell the spirit of the terribly-wronged little nation, almost every Belgian heart is breaking at this wanton and barbaric destruction of their beloved Louvain.

Belgians who tell of the outrages upon their own people with dry eyes burst into tears as they remember their Louvain—until a few weeks ago a noble, peaceful town, whose 45,000 inhabitants never, in their wildest moments, dreamed could be so quickly reduced to a heap of shapeless ashes.

Even the German commander at Louvain was panic-stricken when he realised exactly what had happened. However, to divest himself of all blame (although this was unnecessary, as the Kaiser and his blind followers seek no excuse from their paid vandal butchers as to their outrages), the German leader stated that the Belgians began the firing.

As a matter of fact, the Belgians in Louvain had been disarmed by the Germans just a week before the occurrence, and it was impossible for them to have obtained firearms in the meantime.

The "Press Bureau" of August 30th states :

The excuse for this unpardonable act of barbarity (the sacking of Louvain) is that a discomfited band of German troops returning to Louvain was fired on by the people of the town, who had been disarmed a week earlier. The truth is that the Germans, making for the town in disorder, were fired on by their friends in occupation of Louvain—a mistake by no means rare in war. The assumption of the German commander (having reference to the absurd theory that the disarmed Belgian civilians fired upon the Germans) was so wide of probability that it can only be supposed that, in his desire to conceal the facts, the first idea which occurred to him was seized upon as an excuse for an act without parallel in the history of civilized people.

The Times of August 31st says :

The German difficulty in justifying the destruction of Louvain is shown by the publication to-day of a new version, different from the former, and apparently equally untrue. It is now said that the inhabitants, finding only one battalion of the Landsturm and a transport column in the town, formed the impression that the Germans were evacuating the place. Thereupon the priests served out weapons to the population, which fired upon the unsuspecting Germans from all sides, wounding many. German petrol wagons were also attacked.

The previous version had said that an attack was deliberately devised by the Belgian authorities to synchronise with a sortie from Antwerp.

From the two conflicting accounts issued by the German commander, it is only too evident to everybody that he is trying his utmost to condone and gloss over what he knows to have been a wicked, stupid, and unpardonable blunder on his part and that of his men.

The *Daily Telegraph* of August 31st publishes an account of the sacking of Louvain given by an eye-witness of the terrible affair, the correspondent of the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*. This correspondent declares :

There was no time for exhaustive enquiry. Old men, sick people, women were shot. In the meantime part of the town was shelled by artillery. Many

The Kaiser and his Barbarians

buildings were set on fire by shells. On others, petrol was poured and a match applied.

The German officer advised me to go away, as, several houses being still intact, more firing was expected.

Under a strong escort, two groups of men and women arrived, each a hundred strong. They were hostages. They were stood in rows by the station, and every time a soldier was shot in the town ten of these pitiful civilians were slaughtered. Tears and pleadings were in vain. The good suffered with the bad.

At night the scene was terrible, burning buildings shedding a lurid glow over the town, which was running with tears of blood.

This was no time for sleep. The sight of the terrible awfulness drove away all thoughts and desire for rest. Towards dawn the soldiers took possession of all buildings which had not been destroyed. With the rising of the sun I walked on to the boulevards and saw them strewn with bodies, many of them being of old people and priests.

A Dutch refugee gives the following statement to the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* :

Several soldiers were billeted on us, and just as we were sitting down to the midday meal on August 25th, the alarm was sounded and the soldiers rushed out.

Immediately firing started, and knowing the terrible consequence of civilians appearing in the streets at such times, we sought refuge in the cellar. Next morning we attempted to reach the railway station, but were arrested.

My wife was taken from me, and the Mayor, the Principal of the University, and I, with other men, were taken to a goods shed and our hands bound. I saw 300 men and boys marched to the corner of the Boulevard van Tienen, and every one massacred. The heads of the police were shot. We were then marched towards Herent, and on the way the soldiers thought the enemy was approaching, and ordered us to kneel down. They then took cover behind us. Only after many such hardships were we permitted to return to Louvain and escape by train.

Another Dutch refugee said to a representative of the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* :

All was dark, till suddenly, through the windows, I saw the lurid glow of the neighbouring burning houses. I heard the agonised cry of people tortured by the flames. Six priests moved among us, giving absolution. Next morning the priests were shot—why, I know not. We were compelled to walk with our hands in the air, for fear of arms being concealed.

Many refugees gave accounts as to the massacre of the priests. Priests, women and children, the aged and infirm, are prey much relished by the cowardly German savages.

A poor woman refugee from Louvain, now in Folkestone, gives the following statement :

We had pulled down some of the buildings so that the Germans should not mount guns on them when they came. We were in a state of terror, because we had heard of the cruelties of the Germans to our people at other places. Well, they came, and all we heard of them was not as bad as we experienced. In the streets people were cruelly butchered, and then on all sides flames began to rise. We were prepared for what we had regarded as the worst, but never had we anticipated that they would burn us in our homes.

People rushed about frantic to save their property. Pictures of relatives were snatched from the walls, clothing was seized, and the people were demented.

What was the excuse given? Well, they said our people had shot at them, but that was absolutely untrue. The real reason was the pulling down of the buildings. My house was burning when I left it with my three children. We were

part of the crowd which left the burning town and kept walking, without knowing where we were going. Miles and miles we trudged, and I am told we walked over seventy miles before we came to a railway. I wanted to bow down and kiss the rails. I fell exhausted, having carried my children in turn. Foot-sore, broken-hearted, after the first joy of sighting the railway, I wondered if it was all worth while. Then I thought of my deliverance and thanked God.

What did Louvain look like? Like what it was, a mass of flame devouring our homes, our property—to some our very relatives. It was pitiful to behold. Most of us women were deprived of our husbands. They had either fallen or were fighting for their country. In the town everybody who offered any opposition was killed, and everyone found to be armed in any way was shot.

I saw the burgomaster shot, and I saw another man dragged roughly from his weeping wife and children and shot through the head.

A Belgian soldier, who reached Folkestone by the Ostend boat in a very tattered, pitiable condition, was persuaded to tell his story. After giving a harrowing account of his capture and escape, the Belgian said:

Creeping out of the cellar, we found the place in darkness and the streets strewn with dead bodies. On nearing a corner we heard the measured tread of soldiers approaching from a side street, and the same thought appeared to strike us simultaneously. We lay upon the ground, and the German troops passed us by under the impression that we were corpses. The Germans respect nothing, not even the Red Cross. The wounded plead to be finished rather than fall into the hands of the Germans, who have been cruelly treating the wounded. They even fired on a procession of priests. They know all our bugle-calls, and in the last fight I was in they deceived us by sounding our call, leading us into an ambush and attacking us.

One of the many Dutch refugees from Louvain declared that his flight through the burning city was like "walking through hell." He heard dreadful screams from the unfortunates who were being burned alive in their homes. Cries of little children, mingled with the wailing screams of women, turned the blood cold with horror.

He hid in a cellar, with his small son, under a pile of rubber tyres, but presently they were forced from this shelter, as the house above them was in flames. Looking out cautiously, they discovered that the soldiers were firing on everyone who attempted to leave the burning buildings. The unhappy beings had to choose between death by bullet or by fire.

The Dutchman saw some poor souls driven to the roof of a burning building, where they were roasted alive. One woman had taken shelter in a pit, where the water reached above her waist, and there she crouched, while bullets flew and whistled around her.

The floors crashed into the cellar where the Dutchman and his little son were hidden. Still, they dared not go out into the street, for every man, woman or child who did so was shot down like a rat leaving its hole.

Then the roof crashed in, and the Dutchman decided he must do something, or he and his son would perish like trapped vermin. They dashed out into the street, crying, "We are German. Don't shoot."

The ruse worked, and they were taken to the railway station,

where they saw fifty people driven in by German soldiers, who swore they had taken their captives from houses from which firing had taken place.

The unhappy prisoners vowed by every sacred oath under the sun that they were innocent, but their declarations were disregarded, and they were shot in cold blood.

A later report comes to hand from another of the Dutch refugees from Louvain, who says :

Before the Germans entered the town, the Civic Guard had been disarmed, and all weapons in the possession of the population had to be given up. Even toy guns and toy pistols, precious collections of old weapons, bows and arrows, and other antique arms useless for any kind of modern warfare, had to be surrendered, and all these things—sometimes of great personal value to the owner—have since been destroyed by the Germans. The value of one single private collection has been estimated at about £1,000. From the pulpits the priests urged the people to keep calm, as that was the only way to prevent harm being done to them.

A few days after the entry of the German troops, the military authority agreed to cease quartering their men in private houses in return for a payment of 100,000 francs (£4,000) a day. On some houses between forty and fifty men had been billeted. After the first payment of the voluntary contribution the soldiers encamped in the open or in the public buildings. The beautiful rooms in the Town Hall, where the civil marriages take place, were used as a stable for cavalry horses.

At first, everything the soldiers bought was paid for in cash or promissory notes, but later this was altered. Soldiers came and asked for change, and when this was handed to them they tendered in return for the hard cash a piece of paper—a kind of receipt.

On Sunday, the 23rd, I and some other influential people in the town were roused from our beds. We were informed that an order had been given that 250 mattresses, 200 lbs. of coffee, 250 loaves of bread, and 500 eggs must be on the market-place within an hour. On turning out, we found the burgomaster standing on the market-place, and crowds of citizens, half naked or in their night attire, carrying everything they could lay hands on to the market, that no harm might befall their burgomaster. After this had been done the German officer in command told us that his orders had been misinterpreted, and that he only wanted the mattresses.

On Tuesday, the 25th, many troops left the town. We had a few soldiers in our house. At six o'clock, when everything was ready for dinner, alarm signals sounded, and the soldiers rushed through the streets, shots whistled through the air, cries and groans arose on all sides ; but we did not dare leave our house, and took refuge in the cellar, where we stayed through long and fearful hours. Our shelter was lighted up by the reflection of the burning houses. The firing continued unceasingly, and we feared at any moment our houses would be burnt over our heads. At break of day I crawled from the cellar to the street-door, and saw nothing but a raging sea of fire.

At nine o'clock the shooting diminished, and we resolved to make a dash for the station. Abandoning our home and all our goods except what we could carry, and taking all the money we had, we rushed out. What we saw on our way to the station is hardly describable, everything was burning, the streets were covered with bodies shot dead and half-burnt. Everywhere proclamations had been posted, summoning every man to assist in quenching the flames, and the women and children to stay inside the houses. The station was crowded with fugitives, and I was just trying to show an officer my legitimization papers when the soldiers separated me from my wife and children.

All protests were useless, and a group of us were marched off to a big shed in

the goods yard, from whence we could see the finest buildings in the city, the most beautiful historical monuments, being burnt down.

Shortly afterwards German soldiers drove before them 300 men and lads to the corner of the Boulevard van Tienen and the Maria Theresa-street, opposite the Café Vermalen. There they were shot. The sight filled us with horror. The Burgomaster, two magistrates, the Rector of the University, and all public officials had been shot already.

With our hands bound behind our backs we were then marched off by the soldiers, still without having seen our wives and children. We went through the Juste de Litsh-street, along the Diester Boulevard, across the Vaart, and up the hill.

From the Mont Cæsar we had a full view of the burning town, St. Peter in flames, while the troops incessantly sent shot after shot into the unfortunate town. We came through the village of Herent—one single heap of ruins—where another troop of prisoners, including half-a-dozen priests, joined us. Suddenly, about ten o'clock, evidently as the result of some false alarm, we were ordered to kneel down, and the soldiers stood behind us with their rifles ready to fire, using us as a shield. But fortunately for us nothing happened.

After a delay of half-an-hour our march was continued. No conversation was allowed, and the soldiers continually maltreated us. One soldier struck me all his might with the heavy butt-end of his rifle. I could hardly walk any further, but I had to. We were choked with thirst, but the Germans wasted their drinking water without offering us a drop.

At seven o'clock we arrived at Camperhout, en route for Malines. We saw many half-burnt dead bodies—men, women, and children. Frightened to death and half-starved, we were locked up in the church, and there later joined by another troop of prisoners from the surrounding villages.

At ten o'clock the church was lighted up by burning houses. Again shots whistled through the air, followed by cries and groans.

At five o'clock next morning all the priests were taken out by the soldiers and shot, together with eight Belgian soldiers, six cyclists, and two gamekeepers. Then the officer told us we could go back to Louvain. This we did, but only to be recaptured by other soldiers, who brought us back to Camperhout. From there we were marched to Malines, not by the high road, but along the river. Some of the party fell into the water, but all were rescued. After thirty-six hours of ceaseless excitement and danger we arrived at Malines, where we were able to buy some food, and from there I escaped to Holland. I still do not know where my wife and children are.

Sir Claude Phillips describes the sacrilegious conduct of the Germans at Louvain as "an act of hideous, wanton violence, a crime for which posterity will refuse to find words of pardon or excuse." In the course of an article bemoaning the destruction of the Louvain art treasures, Sir Charles says:

The chief treasures of the church of Saint Pierre de Louvain were two famous paintings by Dierick (or Thierry) Bouts, who is as closely identified with the now destroyed university city of Belgium as are the Van Eycks with Ghent and Bruges, and Roger van der Weyden with Tournay and Brussels. The earlier of these paintings is, or rather was, the remarkable triptych with the martyrdom of St. Erasmus in the central panel, and the figures of St. Jerome and St. Bernard in the wings. This was seen at the Bruges retrospective exhibition of 1904. But perhaps the masterpiece of Dierick Bouts, and certainly one of the finest examples of Flemish fifteenth-century art, was the polyptych painted by him for the altar of the Holy Sacrament in the collegiate church of Saint Pierre.

The central panel of this work, whereupon was represented the Last Supper, was, until a few days ago, the chief adornment of that church and of the ancient

city. One of the most accomplished writers on modern Netherlandish art, M. Fierens-Gevaert, has written thus of this "Last Supper" by Bouts: "*La Cene est une des œuvres les plus profondes, les mieux peintes du XVme. siècle, et si l'on dressait une liste des cinq ou six chefs-d'œuvres de nos primitifs, il faudrait l'y comprendre.*" And in committing this act of hideous, wanton violence, this crime, for which posterity will refuse to find words of pardon or excuse, the Prussian commander has also been guilty of an act of incredible ignorance, of boundless stupidity. For, strange to say, the splendid wings which once completed this famous altar-piece, and would, if a reconstruction could have been effected, have caused Bout's polyptych to stand forth one of the most important works of Flemish art in existence—these wings are in Germany. In the *Allé Pinakothek* are preserved the "Gathering of the Manna" and the "Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek."

In the Kaiser Friedrich Museum of Berlin are to be found "The Prophet Elijah in the Desert" and the "Feast of the Passover." It would obviously have been better to steal this "Last Supper," this central jewel of the doomed city's pictorial adornment, to confide it either to Munich or to Berlin, than thus to blot it out for ever. It would have been cruel, iniquitous, to despoil heroic Belgium; it is infamous, and, above all, it is stupid, to tear out the heart of a masterpiece, to rob the world, and in punishing Belgium, to punish Germany, to punish Europe. Napoleon, the ruthless plunderer of museums and churches, was mild and humane in comparison. If he stole, whether under forcibly imposed treaty, or by sheer brute force, the accepted masterpieces of painting and sculpture belonging to the States which he overcame, he stole with a certain reverence; much as the believer steals the most sacred treasures from the temple, or the most precious relics of the Passion and the saints from the Church or the tomb. Robber though he was, he worshipped in awe-struck delight the masterpieces which he tore from the nations, and his triumphant fellow-countrymen, during the brief period of his supremacy, worshipped with him. The Louvre, under his protection, became the central temple of sacred and profane art; and when, in 1814 and 1815, it was compelled to disgorge the world's treasures, they were returned, after a dire struggle, it is true, yet intact. We know, moreover, that when the youthful General Buonaparte, after a campaign of dazzling brilliancy, entered Milan as a conqueror, his first thought was for the protection of Leonardo da Vinci's "Last Supper."

* * * * *

A shocking story of the treatment suffered by the citizens of Louvain at the hands of the Germans is told by the *Times* special correspondent. In Ghent, in Bruges, Ostend, and in Blankenberghe, says the correspondent, he has met the homeless, the fatherless, and the motherless of Louvain. "Everywhere you come across emaciated creatures, pictures of blank despair, and it requires an effort of imagination to realise that only a few short weeks ago they were ordinary mortals like ourselves, hale, hearty, and surpassingly industrious. Search the whole of history and you will not find a Calvary worse than theirs."

The writer, who has interviewed some of these refugees, says the rack and the thumbscrew are not to be compared with the tortures being practised in Belgium by the enemy. The following statements bear this out:

On the day of the bombardment of Louvain a Prussian officer, accompanied by a Red Cross nurse, entered the city with the information that the German troops were about to shell it. They advised the inhabitants to get out at once by the two

free routes—namely, the Chaussée de Tervueren and the road skirting the canal. Twelve or thirteen hundred people thereupon took to flight and were permitted to get the length of Rotselaer. Here they encountered the main German army and were arrested, the men, women, and children being separated. After an anxious period of waiting the women and children were allowed to proceed, but the men were marched back to Louvain. Then began a terrible journey—a journey that drove many mad and others to self-destruction.

Like so many brutes these burgesses of Louvain, among them merchants, brewers, advocates, engineers, and representatives of all social grades, were herded into wagons which had served for the transport of horses and were inches deep in filth. Into each wagon ninety men were crushed at the point of the bayonet by soldiers, who seemed to glory in the maltreatment of their fellow-men. The unhappy prisoners had, of course, to stand, and, to add to the horrors of the foetid atmosphere, the doors were shut, and only fugitive rays of light filtered through the chinks.

For two hours they were kept like this at Louvain Station, after which the train left for Cologne, via Liège, Verviers, and Herbestal. The journey occupied about fifty hours, and the Belgians during this awful time were given neither food nor drink. "After such an experience," said a prominent business man of Louvain to me, "hell itself can have no terrors." Once strong physically, and prosperous, he who spoke is now a nervous wreck and destitute, living on the charity of friends, who do not know but what it may be their turn to-morrow.

Arrived at Cologne, the prisoners were marched through jeering crowds to the Exhibition Gardens. Men and women surged round the pitiful band, hurling at them vile epithets, and shouting, "Zum tod, zum tod!" ("Kill them, kill them!"). Even the children joined in kicking the prisoners as they passed. The Belgians could gather no idea as to why they had been dragged off to Germany, and even feared the worst. The night was passed in the open, and in the morning they broke their prolonged fast on a small portion of black bread.

Suddenly the German authorities changed their minds. Back the prisoners must go to Belgium, and, four abreast, the motley column regained the station. A passenger train awaited them, but each compartment for nine people was made to hold eighteen or nineteen. In some ways the home journey was more terrible than the outward. For two days and three nights the unfortunate inhabitants of Louvain were jolted about between Cologne and the capital of their own country, again absolutely without food.

The Prussian officers were completely at a loss what to do with their charges, whom they ultimately released at Malines.

The correspondent concludes this terrible story by saying that on the road to Cologne so unspeakable were the conditions that almost in every wagon several men went mad, and, returning to Liège, one man jumped through the carriage window and was killed.

How does this plain account of suffering and horror inflicted by German brutes upon defenceless civilians harmonize with the Kaiser's pulpit utterances when he informed his people that he is the "elect of God," and his enemies God's enemies?

May the true and living God comfort those unfortunates whose mangled bodies are under the heel of the Kaiser, *his* God, and his barbarians,

Destruction of Malines.

The bombardment of Malines, near Antwerp, known to many

people as Mechlin, ranks as another flagrant breach of the etiquette of warfare.

Malines was an "open" and undefended town, and no possible reason for destroying it can be assigned to the Germans, except that they revel in wanton destruction.

For two hours the Germans bombarded Malines, over 100 shrapnel shells bursting in the town and creating great havoc. Fortunately the population had evacuated Malines two days before the bombardment, or doubtless there would have been a repetition of the Louvain butchery.

The cathedral of St. Rombold in Malines is absolutely reduced to ruins, and its loss is irreparable. It was a magnificent specimen of the Gothic churches in which Belgium is so rich, and its glorious painted windows were the pride of the whole nation. The world-famous chimes of St. Rombold's Tower were destroyed, as was the noble altar-piece by Van Dyck. Other noble buildings and churches have been razed to the ground.

Fortunately, the great masterpiece of Rubens, "Adoration of the Magi," in the church of St. Jean, was saved by the courageous action of the steward of the Royal Museum, Antwerp, who rushed into the burning town, at great risk to himself, and took the picture to Antwerp.

It now transpires that the Germans bombarded Malines with picrite bombs, contrary to the stipulations agreed to at the Hague Conferences.

A short history of Malines may be of interest here as showing how great an act of vandalism was its destruction.

In 915 Malines became a possession of the Bishops of Liège. Under the family of Berthoer, the episcopal stewards, it gained an almost independent position, but in 1332 the town was sold to Count Louis of Flanders. To this day Malines is the ecclesiastical capital of Belgium.

The town is situated on the River Dyle, which flows through the town in numerous arms and is crossed by thirty-five bridges. There are, or were until the Kaiser's vandals began their ruthless work, many fine old buildings. Opposite the statue of Margaret of Austria was the Old Cloth Hall, begun in 1320, with an incompletd belfry, bearing a superstructure of the sixteenth century. The Hotel de Ville, in front of the Cathedral, was built in the thirteenth century, but entirely remodelled in 1715. The municipal archives were kept in a Gothic building of 1374 called the Schepenen Huis.

Perhaps the chief glory of the city was its cathedral. Begun at the end of the thirteenth century, completed in 1312, but to a great extent rebuilt after a fire in 1342, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the cathedral of St. Rombold has been the archiepiscopal metropolitan church since 1560. It was a cruciform Gothic church, with a richly decorated choir and a huge unfinished late Gothic tower

324 feet in height (projected height, 460 feet). The church was almost entirely erected with money paid by the pilgrims who flocked there in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to obtain the indulgences issued by Pope Nicholas V. The interior was 306 feet long, the nave, 89 feet high and 40 feet wide. There was a magnificent altar-piece by Van Dyck representing the Crucifixion.

There were many other splendid churches and buildings, which have attracted visitors to the town in happier days from all over the world.

Massacre at Dinant.

Another German crime against civilization comes to light in an official report of the sacking of Dinant.

Dinant was one of the most beautiful towns of Belgium, situated in a charming position on the banks of the Meuse, containing many noble and picturesque buildings. Dinant was rightly prized, not only by its own inhabitants, but by numerous tourists who have found in Belgium many veritable paradises of beauty and architectural art and antiquity.

Dinant was bombarded without any warning to its peaceful inhabitants, the Germans using their old excuse that firing had been commenced by the civilians. As a matter of fact, there *had* been some firing, but it came from the heights around Dinant, not from the town itself, and was most probably the work of German outposts. Shell-fire immediately burst upon the unfortunate little place, followed by German troops, who swarmed in in great numbers, eager to begin their usual work of butchery and vandalism.

Buildings untouched by the shell-fire were deliberately set on fire and in one long street, Bouvine au Rocher Bayard, only twenty-two houses were left standing. A hundred prominent citizens were shot in the Place d'Armes. M. Hunniers, the manager of a large weaving factory employing 2,000 men, and M. Poncelet, the son of a former senator, were both shot, the latter in the presence of his six children.

The Germans appeared at the branch of the National Bank where they demanded all the cash in the safe. When M. Wasseige, the manager, refused to give them the money they tried to blow the safe open. Not succeeding in this, they demanded the combination for the lock. The manager refused, whereupon the Germans shot him immediately, together with his two sons.

What is nothing less than a deliberate plan of killing, accompanied by mental torture of the relatives of those concerned, seems to have been carried out.

The women were shut up in convents for five days, torn by anxiety as to the fate of their menfolk, knowing only that they were in the hands of the Kaiser's barbarians. Houses were pillaged, the

aged and infirm maltreated and killed, while young girls, dignified matrons, and the oldest women were foully outraged.

Pillage and Slaughter at Termonde.

I have received much valuable information about the sacking of Termonde from a thoroughly reliable source. My informant was an eye-witness of the terrible scene, and states that it exceeded in barbarity and wanton destruction the sacking of Louvain, although, fortunately for civilization, Termonde did not possess such irreparable treasures as did Louvain.

There was a garrison of 3,000 soldiers in Termonde, but it did not seem that there would be immediate need of their services in defending the town. Suddenly news was brought in by scouts that large numbers of Germans were swooping down rapidly upon Termonde.

A few hours later 20,000 Germans descended from the suburb of St. Gilles, but the inhabitants fled into Termonde, as heavy firing had been opened by the attacking force when a few miles from the suburb.

The retiring Belgians attempted to blow up the bridge at Dendre to prevent the enemy getting into St. Gilles, but they were too late. The Germans were upon them. Leaving the bridge, they hurried, with what few possessions they could gather together, into Termonde. But several unfortunates could not get out of St. Gilles quickly enough. Old people, cripples, and mothers with tiny children could not escape the German tornado, which swept down upon them ruthlessly, butchering as it advanced.

Heavy fire was then resumed, and, for a whole morning, St. Gilles was bombarded. Churches were completely shattered, and before long the whole suburb was a mass of flames and crumbling masonry.

The hapless refugees from St. Gilles prepared the Termonde people for the worst, and all hope of holding their town died in every breast, for what was a garrison of 3,000 gallant Belgians against a horde of butchering vandals 200,000 strong?

Within a few hours the Germans entered Termonde, firing their heavy guns as they came along. Once inside the town they started their work of butchery.

The garrison was treated in a horrible manner, most of them being shattered or cut to pieces. The brave defenders resisted nobly, but they were only one to six of the enemy, and the Germans obtained mastery of the town.

Many of the garrison managed to escape, but numbers were found afterwards, mutilated beyond recognition, among the ashes of Termonde.

Then the Germans started firing the houses, knowing people to be within. Indeed, when they ventured out of their blazing homes

the invaders caught them, torturing, murdering, or violating them according to their fiendish will.

Heavy guns were trained on to the most important and beautiful buildings, notably churches and hospitals. Brutal Uhlans burst into houses not on fire and pillaged everything they could lay their hands upon, treating the inhabitants shamefully.

One woman, who was feeding her baby at the breast, was shot, and fell to the floor with the child still in her arms. At another house an old man shot his grand-daughter, a pretty girl of 16, after having witnessed in the street below the violation of girls even younger than that by the filthy Uhlans.

The bestial soldiers, annoyed by the old man's act, which curbed their horrible intention, caught him up and kicked him through the low window into the street below. At a signal from their comrades in the house German soldiers outside lifted the poor old man and kicked him back again. This went on for some time, until their human football was merely a mass of broken pulp. Ultimately he was thrown, still breathing and moaning feebly, into his house, which was fired and reduced to ashes, along with his body and that of his little grand-daughter.

Out of 1,400 houses, 1,100 were burnt to the ground.

Many of the bolder people of Termonde ran the gauntlet of the invaders and escaped, for towards evening nearly all the soldiers were drunk with pillaged wine and they did not interfere with the fleeing townsfolk, except now and again to outrage a girl or woman, and playfully flick a piece off an ear or nose with a random bullet. So many people were able to escape, with their lives alone, for their property was either looted or burned. Several notables were murdered in cold blood, and over 200 civilians were sent to Germany.

Within a few hours from the German entry into Termonde the doomed town was a mass of smoking ruins. For hours flames lit up the sky for miles round, and the horizon was blue with clouds of fine ashes from the ruins.

Many towns and villages around knew of Termonde's fate before the refugees began to flock in, having seen the flames, ashes and smoke for hours before their arrival.

Having razed the town to the ground, scattered, killed, or tortured the inhabitants, the Germans evacuated Termonde, carrying off much of its wealth, and destroying villages on their route as they pressed on to another holocaust of butchery and vandalism.

The Germans are doing their cause no good, but a vast amount of harm, by their shameful acts—acts of blood which have torn the mask from the German and revealed him as he really is to the astonished and horrified eyes of civilization.

The Kaiser is estranging from him people who might have been friendly—deceived by his plausible tales as to the origin of the war—had it not been for his terrible bloody deeds.

America is fast being shaken out of its neutral attitude. The *New York Evening Post*, as reported by the *Times*, says :

One can but cling to a faint hope that there may be, as to the devastation itself, some exaggeration, and as to the provocation for it, at least some slight mitigation of what on its face is an appalling act of cruelty.

That the German Government may find it possible to put itself in the position to throw off, either by an explanation of the deed, or by the punishment of those who committed it, the fearful burden of guilt which otherwise will attach to that Government and to the German nation, we most sincerely hope.

The *New York Post* says : "Germany's honour is no less on trial in this hour than is its great military machine."

The *Pall Mall Gazette* of August 31st reports the *New York Tribune* as saying :

The burning of Louvain, with its priceless art treasures, is not alone brutal and wanton destruction of private property, but is also a barbarous punishment inflicted upon innocent and defenceless elements of the community. Moreover, there is no appearance of military justification.

Many towns have been destroyed in war in order to reduce the resources of the enemy. Louvain has evidently been reduced to ashes in a fit of brutal and tyrannous passion. Germany has sinned grievously against civilization, and she could hardly complain later if her sin should find her out, and she should have to appeal in sackcloth and ashes to the Cossacks for more merciful treatment than she has meted out to heroic Belgium.

The *New York Sun* is disgusted with the Kaiser's impudent assertion that God is helping him.

"Is it conceivable," asks that journal, "that the living God will acquiesce in the annihilation of the beautiful city of Louvain and the destruction of innocent women and children? Even Attila spared the defenceless town of Troyes."

But the Kaiser has not the soul of Attila, the "Scourge of God." He has only the overwhelming ambition and brutality which declares that might is right, and that the weak and helpless must go to the wall. It is to be feared, however, that this time Wilhelm II has overstepped the margin.

"Give the Kaiser enough rope," said an Irish sergeant to me the other day, "and he will hang himself."

That simple expression exactly explains what the Kaiser and his barbarians are doing, for, literally speaking, they *are* hanging themselves by committing acts of ferocious and bloody vandalism, such as the desecration of beautiful places, irreparable and irredeemable. The ashes of Louvain, Malines, Dinant, Termonde, and a hundred lesser places cry aloud for vengeance on their destroyers.

Let me conclude this chapter of horrors, which places on record for all time a true account of the sacrilegious barbarism of the Germans, by citing the words of Mr. Bonar Law, Leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons.

Mr. Bonar Law said :

When reports of the German atrocities in Belgium first reached us, I hoped, for the sake of our common humanity, that they were untrue, or at least exaggerated. That hope we can entertain no longer. The destruction of Louvain has proclaimed to the world in trumpet tones what German methods are.

It has fixed upon German honour an indelible stain, and the explanations of it which it has attempted to give have only made that stain deeper. War at the best is terrible. It is not from the ordinary soldier, it is not from below, that restraint can be expected. It must come, if it come at all, from above. But here outrages come, not from above, but from below.

They are not the result of accident, but of design. They are part of a principle—the principle of spreading terror throughout a country and facilitating German arms, *by any means, at any expense to the lives of defenceless men, or of helpless women and children.*

Unspeakable Outrages.

The *Daily Citizen* of August 28th gives the statement of M. Adolphe Coussmaekers, who writes from Antwerp in the following terms:

It should be known in England that unspeakable outrages and horrible mutilations have been committed on defenceless women and girls killed by German troops in the districts of Orsmael, Velm, and Aerschot, which have been reported with evidence to the authorities of our country. The following nine cases are known:—

1. Old woman—throat gashed with bayonet, two wounds on right hand; a bullet in right leg, end of nose cut off.
2. Middle-aged woman—both eyes carried away by bullet, right hand gashed, throat severed with sword cut, left foot broken by bullet.
3. Young woman in pregnancy—two bullets in breast, sword cut in abdomen, ear slightly gashed.
4. Domestic servant—three bullets in abdomen, sword cut on right shoulder, extremity of right ear cut off, left arm shattered.
5. Young girl—throat cut with sword, three bullets (two in abdomen, one in left thigh).
6. Woman, aged 30—two bullets in left breast, sword cut on top of skull, nose cut off.
7. Young girl—cheek laid open by sword cut, abdomen lacerated vertically, bullet in head above left ear.
8. Farmer's wife—a bullet in breast, one in left side, one in leg, right ear cut off.
9. Woman, aged 40—head almost severed from trunk by sword cut, gashes on both breasts, nose cut off.

Words fail to convey the horrors suffered by others still alive.

Miners Entombed by Uhlans.

The invasion of Charleroi by the Germans stands out as a terrible example of ferocity—the work, in fact, of heartless and soulless human machines. The miners of Charleroi have the reputation of being a spirited set of men, and the Germans, whose taste inclines more to the slaughter of unarmed and helpless women and children, were, no doubt, afraid to meet them face to face. They, therefore, hit upon an expedient absolutely unprecedented in the annals of warfare between civilized peoples.

They blocked up the pit shafts of collieries in and around Charleroi while the miners were underground at their daily work. The thing is

absolutely inconceivable. Yet it is only too terribly true. The Kaiser's slaughterers, who boast of God's especial protection, closed the mines, deliberately entombing living miners.

A *Daily Telegraph* correspondent, writing from Newcastle-on-Tyne on August 31st, shows the intensity of feeling aroused among the Northern miners of England at this atrocious savagery. His report is as follows :

To say that the report of the wanton entombing of miners in the Charleroi collieries by the Germans has created a feeling of intense horror amongst miners of the North of England would be putting it mildly. The opinion here is that the ultimate outrage has been offered to civilization. At the pitheads and in the mining villages the feeling is intensely bitter. The burial alive of brother miners has brought home to the colliers of the North the full horror of the German campaign more forcibly than anything else could have done. Its immediate effect, no doubt, will be to stimulate local recruiting in the miners' regiments which are being formed.

Interviewed on the subject last night, Mr. William Straker, secretary of the Northumberland Miners' Association, said : " I have heard the report, but I think it is too horrible to believe. I cannot think that even in war-time men pursuing daily labours which are almost as hazardous as war itself would be treated so barbarously by a civilized nation. It must be remembered that Germany has a large mining community of its own, with whom we miners of England have a long-standing friendship. We have met them in international conferences year after year, and have taken each other's hands in warmest friendship. I don't believe the miners of Germany will view this inhuman savagery with less horror than the miners of Northumberland. No doubt it will be kept from their knowledge, but, unfortunately, German miners, like the rest of the workers of the nation, are under the iron hand of the powerful military caste of Germany. We cannot, therefore, blame our brother miners. We can only blame the atrocious system of militarism, which is headed by the Emperor himself. The closing of collieries with miners working underground is too horrible to think of. It makes a brother miner shudder."

But even after the deliberate entombment of the Charleroi miners, the Germans were not satisfied, and the following account of their wicked work, vouched for by a gentleman from Charleroi, makes one realize that the German butchers recognize no bounds in their savage warfare.

The miner population of Charleroi, many of whom are Socialists, and practically all of whom are armed with revolvers, are a turbulent lot of men at the best of times, and when roused are demons. One day, after the Germans had been in occupation, the miners on returning to their houses on the Boulevard Audent, which is on a plateau above the town, were horrified to find the wives and children of many of them had been asphyxiated by the Germans. They bore no shot or bayonet marks, but had simply been asphyxiated. The miners, with terrible rage at their hearts, seized their revolvers and attacked the soldiers with demon-like fury, killing nearly 200 of them. As the French were about to attack the place, the Germans destroyed all traces of their terrible crime by burning down the houses with their women and children victims in them. About half the town was treated in a similar manner.

Unlucky Charleroi was the scene of yet another example of the boasted German "culture." "Quite close to Charleroi," states a Belgian soldier, "our enemy installed a battery of machine guns in the belfry of a church, and then hoisted the white flag and the Red Cross flag. Our troops, suspecting nothing, reached the vicinity of this holy place, and then the German bandits began to turn the handles and pour death into us. That is how they make war."

We have the testimony of a niece of Mr. John Redmond, M.P., as to the conduct of the Germans who are now occupying the town in Belgium in which she and her husband live.

This lady says: "The Germans are absolute barbarians, and treat the people like dogs. For the least thing the inhabitants are shot, and they all go in fear of their lives. The town's most prominent men, in relays of three, guarded by soldiers, guarantee with their lives the good behaviour of the people. My husband is one of the guarantors. On Wednesday night he spent his hours of vigil in the Town Hall. Imagine my feelings The Germans take everything, no matter how well they are treated and received. They behave filthily and brutally, officers and men alike. Empty houses they smash from top to bottom."

Mr. B. F. Hodson, a war correspondent now in Antwerp, states: "Refugees arriving here continue to tell of German barbarities. I myself have spoken with one girl of sixteen years, who was violated before the eyes of her parents. From the latter I received confirmation of the girl's story."

An official communiqué from Paris is quoted by the London *Daily Express* of August 24th, as follows, under the heading of "Unbridled Savages":

In contrast to the considerate treatment accorded to German prisoners by the Allies, it has been established that the enemy treats as non-existent both international conventions and the most ancient traditions of right and of military honour. We are suffering a veritable invasion of barbarians. We wish, indeed, to remain civilized, and shall do so till the end, in spite of this return to savagery on the part of the nation which pretended to be the arbiter of civilization; but it is impossible to preserve towards our present adversaries that chivalrous generosity which, until now, has been the rule between soldiers.

In days when war was chivalrously waged we had enemies with whom we exchanged at Fontenoy courteous words before opening fire. To-day they have become our faithful and useful allies. Now we have before us unbridled savages, and we owe them only a strict observance of the rules of humanity and the laws of war.

[The reference to Fontenoy in the above *communiqué* is that before the battle the French said to their foe, the English, "Gentlemen, fire first."]

The *Daily Telegraph* of September 1st publishes an account of the situation in Liège and its environs under the German occupation, given by a member of a party which has just returned from that district. The account is as follows:

Scarcely had we crossed the frontier when we perceived the first pointed helmets, and with them their work of extermination, the first Belgian house, the first ruin. All along the road to Vise nothing is to be seen but walls blackened by

the smoke of fire, remains of factories demolished by shells, here and there mounds of earth, freshly dug, the sepulchres of the first Teutons to fall under the bullets which took vengeance for their monstrous aggression.

And then comes Vise! What a painful sight for those who knew the proud city, so typical of Walloon gaiety, and now nothing but a mass of ruins, still smoking, while the majority of the inhabitants lie all over the place, their chests riddled by murderous bullets. It was told us that the natives who escaped being shot are being kept prisoners by the invaders, who are making them build a road from Vise to Aix-la-Chapelle. We are informed that the unfortunate natives have to submit to a discipline draconic in its severity. They have already been detained for six days, and are lodged in the church, where they sleep on straw.

At last we enter Liège. The inhabitants stand on their thresholds, silent and anxious, watching us curiously, and we guess that our tourist clothes, covered in dust, impel them to question us, but doubtless the fear of violating the iron law imposed upon them by the invaders restrains them, and they content themselves with seeing us pass. The streets in the middle of the town wear a deplorable aspect. Loiterers are rarely seen, but there are swarms of soldiers, who rule the place. One sees nothing but soldiers in khaki uniform making the pavement resound with their ironshod boots, conceited officers making a parade of their arrogance, war material of every kind. Many houses have been abandoned, doors and windows have been shattered, and all the contents have been removed.

The most recent stories of atrocities, those of the day before, are the first to be reported. The Place de l'Université, the Rue des Pitteurs, and the Quai des Pecheurs have been burnt. The occupants of the doomed houses, awakened by the acrid smoke, fled in terror, but were stopped by the terrible Teutons, who fired at them without pity, fifteen fugitives being killed. Next morning a father and son were bayoneted in front of their family.

The suburbs are scarcely better treated, and a reign of terror prevails there. At one place a young girl was shot without reason, and although she still breathed the Germans killed her, despite the protests of the horrified onlookers. At the same place a boy of seven, who was playing with a toy gun, was shot, because he was alleged to have pointed the toy at a German soldier.

From the Dutch frontier, to Huy and beyond, wherever we went, we heard of soldiers, nearly always drunk, firing, then accusing the inhabitants of it and taking vengeance, of burnings and murder without restraint.

On the night of the 22nd the Germans at Huy, after pillaging the cellars of a wine merchant, set on fire the Rue des Jardins and the Boulevard du Nord.

At Ardenne over 200 civilians were shot, with the burgomaster at their head.

In every place the Germans every night take as hostages a few notables, always including the burgomaster and the priest, and if a shot is heard in the night the hostages are killed.

The list of cruelties perpetrated on our unhappy population might be extended indefinitely if we were to report everything told us by eye-witnesses of these scenes of horror.

Baby Butchered.

The Paris correspondent of the *London Times* writes on August 27th :

Nearly all the persons I interrogated had stories to tell of German atrocities. Whole villages, they said, had been put to fire and sword. One man whom I did not see told an official of the Catholic Society that he had seen with his own eyes German soldiery chop off the arms of a baby which clung to its mother's skirts.

Other stories showed that the miners were forced to dig trenches for the enemy under the threat of being shot, and that the common plan of the enemy was to enter

villages with women placed at the head of columns so as to meet any counter-attack from the inhabitants.

Others told me that Germans entered closed houses and shot or bayoneted the inmates on the pretext that they had fired on them.

The London *Daily Express* of August 21st says:

The arrest at Mecklenburg of Countess Grote, wife of the Duke of Cumberland's chamberlain, as a spy, is reported in a Copenhagen telegram published by the *Temps*.

The Countess, who is a Danish lady, was, it is stated, attacked by a mob and seriously injured. She was subsequently escorted to the guard-house, where, at the orders of the commanding officer, she was stripped, so as to make sure she was not a man in disguise.

The Countess is now very ill, suffering from nervous shock and physical injury.

Everybody knows that the brave soldiers of the Allies at the front are prepared to give their lives for their countries, but not one of them was prepared for the atrocities which their enemy has practised on them, sparing not even the wounded and dying.

What has become of the French and Belgian prisoners of war is the question that weeping mothers, wives, and children are asking between their tears and sobs. What indeed?

If the rumours current be true, Germany, its mad ruler, and its hordes of barbarians will be made to pay a heavy penalty by all Christian nations when the day of reckoning comes.

The story goes that the bulk of the French wounded who fell into the hands of the Germans in the vicinity of Lorraine and Alsace were put to death in cold blood, and their clothing and belongings stripped from their dead bodies.

More than twenty wounded Belgians and many French have sworn, by the most sacred vows, that they actually saw Germans, on the field where lay the dead and dying, killing outright any of their enemies in whose bodies a flicker of life remained.

One poor Frenchman was lying gasping out his laboured breath when a huge Uhlan passed him with a contemptuous look. The next moment the brute turned back and stamped the heel of his great boot into the poor bleeding face.

From the same sources it is recorded, with much evidence to support the statement, that German ghouls hurried over the field and robbed the killed and wounded, cutting off fingers on which were valuable rings, without discriminating between the dead and the living. They also hacked at the poor dead bodies in their cruel, brutal way, mutilating them so that identification was made quite impossible.

Then, the German troops are having recourse to the use of dum-dum bullets, which expand on entering the human body and cause terrible wounds.

Upon this subject the London *Daily Express* of August 24th says:

Civilized nations had agreed that no circumstances would justify the use of

such bullets (dum-dums), yet at the outset of the war they are fired by the Kaiser's army. Well may the French authorities exclaim, "We are suffering a veritable invasion of barbarians!"

A wounded gunner who recently arrived in London from the seat of war tells a harrowing tale, which is passed by the censor. He states :

The Germans are a foul lot. When they catch any of our wounded they cut their wrists with their bayonets to prevent them using rifles, or jam their wrists on the ground with the butts of their rifles.

Another wounded soldier, a private of the Middlesex Regiment, says :

If they only knew in this country how the Germans are treating our wounded there would be the devil to pay. Talk about civilized warfare ! Don't you believe it. The Germans are perfect fiends.

A sergeant of the King's Own, who is now at home, having been wounded, says :

The enemy swooped down on us so quickly at the finish that we were unable to remove all our dead and wounded. Stretcher-bearers were shot dead, and a shell burst on the roof of the school where we had our field hospital.

Private Frank Allen, of the 1st Hants' Regiment, who was wounded at Mons, says :

The Germans are killing all the wounded as they come across them, and they are killing women and children, and burning villages. It is an awful sight at times. The German officers drive their men along with a sword if they hang back, and if they refuse to go forward they kill them.

A private of the Highland Light Infantry, now at Brighton, wounded, states that on the way to Mons cigarettes were given to the soldiers by a seemingly friendly person. After smoking them the men became violently sick, many being very ill indeed. Upon examination it was found that the cigarettes were poisoned.

A French officer's wife, writing to a friend in England, says :

Nothing that the papers can say about the Germans is strong enough to describe their horrible brutality. Some of the soldiers I have talked to have actually seen them killing the wounded, ours and their own ; they systematically fire on the ambulances ; and one of our friends, Capitaine Lafond, wrote to his wife, who told me that he was caught when out reconnoitring with a handful of men. His men were all killed, and he himself fell with his thigh shattered. When the German ambulance passed, the surgeon (!) and soldiers stripped him naked, kicked him several times, and left him to die. Luckily the tide turned, and in an hour or so he was picked up by a French ambulance and taken to the hospital.

Badly as the British, French, and Belgian soldiers have been used, however, it is to the unarmed and helpless civilians of Belgium that the bulk of one's commiseration goes out. Every post brings in fresh horrors, until the task of setting down so many inhuman atrocities almost unmans one.

The Standard's special correspondent gives the following story of a citizen of Brussels :

Towards half-past three in the afternoon, runs the report, when many of our soldiers were returning by our lines, the German scouts began to arrive in large

numbers from the direction of St. Trond. The civil guards challenged them, and killed a number of officers.

A score of Uhlans, infantry, and cavalry came up unexpectedly. It was a terrible battle. The Germans fired on the houses, killing twenty-eight inoffensive civilians without any reason whatever. For preference they chose to fire on the young men who could one day become soldiers.

M. Quinten, the Sheriff of St. Trond, accompanied by the head of police, then appeared carrying a white flag, to surrender the town into the enemy's hands. The Germans imposed a condition that the next morning at eight o'clock the civil guard should present itself in full uniform, without arms, on the causeway at Tongres, in order to prevent excuses to the German army.

The next morning at half-past seven the guards of St. Trond, numbering 160, repaired to the place indicated, where the Germans were arranged in full force, and without further ado declared that they were all prisoners, and led them to the German cantonments.

Uhlans and Hussars, who had spent the night in the fields, had pillaged the houses which they had fired on, going through the towns and villages, spreading alarm on all sides. They killed a number of young men, and hanged two priests who tried to plead for mercy.

At Heers they stopped three men, at Loncin, a fourth, and took them all to the village at Brusthem, where they were placed standing in a pit and fired on. Then the brute who was in command ordered the soldiers to stab them and pelt them with stones. They next seized on the unfortunate peasants and, binding them, threw them into the plain, and after drinking heavily amused themselves by spearing and beating them.

The next morning they were taken along with the troops. A Uhlan lieutenant—among the Uhlans are a few decent men—succeeded in getting food and drink for the prisoners en route.

On arriving at Lincent the commander ordered them to remain standing in the trenches, to expose them to the firing of the Belgian troops. Luckily for them, however, the commander was called away, and the lieutenant who took his place told them to hide in the trenches.

All the houses have been ransacked by order of the commander. The soldiers who have to carry out these atrocities are horrified at their work. Four of them whom we met in the fields entreated us to give them civilian clothes "to get out of this terrible war," whilst another added: "If only you could kill our commander our whole squadron would willingly surrender; he never gives an order without a clump from his sword on our heads or shoulders."

In the *Daily Telegraph* of August 26th appears the following statement from that journal's New York correspondent:

All the horrors of German cruelty printed in the *Daily Telegraph* could be duplicated a hundred times by the experience of travellers arriving here from Europe. Mr. Frederick Harrison, who spent August 10th, 11th and 12th in Germany, arrived here last night by the *Noordam*. He confirms what you already know regarding the terrible conditions in Germany, the rising cost of food, popular dissatisfaction in many parts where the Imperial propaganda is rejected—and says that Germany, being well-educated and military, knows perfectly well that early successes, though expected, are not sufficient to turn the inevitable tide of conflict when the Russian strength is mobilized, and the economic strain, due chiefly to British naval power, reaches the climax.

"In Germany," says Mr. Harrison, "hundreds of men and women are arrested every day, and many shot on suspicion that they were spies. I saw three Englishmen and an Englishwoman lined up against a wall and shot by a sergeant and a file of men at five o'clock in the morning, near Aix-la-Chapelle. Their bodies were burned."

An official report issued by the Burgomaster of Linsmeau, a Belgian village at present occupied by the Germans, says:

The first inhabitant they saw was a young man, who was shot under the pretext that he was a spy. Soon afterwards a neighbour suffered a similar fate. In another house they murdered the husband and wife, and, setting the house on fire, threw the two bodies into the flames. No harm was done to the son, who witnessed this atrocious scene.

The brutes, continuing their exploits, burned ten farms and killed two more people. In other houses they destroyed everything they could lay hands on, and took all the provisions. They then gathered together what remained of the male population, and made them take the oath over the body of a killed officer.

The German officers compelled our poor compatriots to lie down on the ground, and to kneel down, making them repeat this several times. Those who were not agile enough to obey the soldiers pricked with their bayonets.

One of our men, who tried to escape from this veritable Calvary was struck by two bullets and has just died. The inhabitants were kept prisoners during a good part of the night.

The Germans made the people pass in front of the quick-firing guns, saying that in an instant they would be blown to pieces. They aimed at them with revolvers and fired, blowing off the ears of several people.

The whole time this ignoble scene was being enacted an officer repeated continually in French: "They must all be hung; it is the law."

At last they released these unfortunate people, with the exception of about a dozen. They harnessed the latter to their *mitrailleuses*. Some people not being able to follow were fastened by their feet, their heads knocking against the ground. This frightful treatment resulted in eight deaths, and the fate of ten other people is unknown. In a neighbouring village the Germans murdered three men, notwithstanding in the district the people gave them all they wanted.

A French lady, Mme. Guillon, of Combourg, who has escaped to Holland, relates that, having been expelled from Kolberg, she tried to travel home through Switzerland, but was compelled to retrace her steps through Holland.

On arriving at Hanover, both Mme. Guillon and her husband were arrested as spies and stoned. Her husband, losing his self-control, cried, "Long live France! Long live England!" and was at once shot with two other persons. A baby, which was wearing the word "France" on its cap, was dashed down on the ground and killed.

The French military authorities have issued an official report which contains, among other horrors, the story of the great indignity the parish priest of Pillon was made to suffer by the Germans.

He was ordered by a German patrol to leave his house and accompany them. A short distance from the church German officers said to him in French: "We know very well that you have not fired on our soldiers, but as you are the soul of the resistance we shall show you a pretty picture. We shall burn down your church and every house in your village."

The village was accordingly fired, and the officers said to the priest: "Do you see how it burns? Is it not pretty? The French are savages, and we shall treat them as such."

* The priest was then pushed forward by thrusts with the butt-ends of rifles towards the firing line. He was placed in the German

ranks directly under the fire of the French machine guns, a sentry being posted at his side to prevent him from escaping.

At six o'clock in the evening, when the Germans had been beaten and had retired, the priest, who was still bound, managed to attract the attention of a French soldier, who released him. Two priests taken at Louvain were treated even more barbarously. They were told they would be shot, although quite guiltless of any offence. One was in the attitude of prayer when he was prodded by a bayonet. He continued to pray until more bayonet thrusts covered his robes with blood. He then rose and adopted an attitude of such simple dignity that even his brutal tormentors, sodden with drink, were for a moment abashed. A German officer, no doubt afraid that superstitious sentiment on the part of his butchers might save the priest's life, riddled him with bullets and then kicked the still form contemptuously. The second priest was quickly despatched in a similar manner.

Italians Shot in Cold Blood.

The French clerical journal, *La Croix*, states that the blind bishop, Mgr. Kannengdeser, has been shot by the Germans. He was an Alsatian, well-known for his anti-German sentiments. He was accused of having plans in his possession.

The leading Italian journal, the *Corriere della Sera* of August 21st, reports the following incident:

At Jarny (Meurthe-el-Moselle), an Italian named Bachetta kept a small café much frequented by Italian miners. Towards eight a.m. on August 3rd, several battalions of the 68th German Infantry entered Jarny, brushing away the French defence. The Germans lost one killed and four wounded. The inhabitants of the town were immediately accused of having fired upon the German troops, whose commander ordered all male inhabitants to assemble in the principal square. The women and children, who tried to accompany their fathers and husbands, were driven away with the butt ends of rifles, or pricked with bayonets. One Italian woman named Trolli, who strove to prevent her husband, who was ill in bed, from being taken to the square, was killed. German patrols then searched every house.

In the Italian café, several miner's picks and other implements were found. Thereupon fifteen Italians (whose names and birthplaces are given by the *Corriere della Sera*) were arrested and immediately shot. None of the Italians had offered any resistance, or been guilty of any offence save the possession of their working tools.

The same journal publishes particulars of a massacre of Italian emigrants by German soldiers at Madgeburg.

Some 3,000 Italian workmen, who had been employed on railway construction at Duisburg and Cologne, were sent to Madgeburg and herded together in a barracks outside the town. On the evening of August 11th one of the workmen announced that a train would be ready next day to take them back to Italy. The announcement was loudly cheered. The soldiers on guard outside the rooms ordered the Italians to be silent, but as silence could not be restored immediately an order was given to fire. Some soldiers fired high, but others fired directly into the mass, the

fusillade being continued for twenty minutes. How many Italians were killed it is not known, as there were several separate rooms in which the panic-stricken workmen were confined while the dead and wounded were removed. One of the victims was a boy of twelve years.

Indian refugees who have reached Bombay from German East Africa tell harrowing tales of the brutality and greed of the hated Germans. They have been shockingly ill-treated by the Kaiser's brutes, subjected to every indignity, and through it all they were helpless but for the British Consul's protection.

Indian feeling in East Africa has been furiously provoked against the Germans. Indeed, so strongly do the Indians who have returned to Bombay resent their treatment that they are enlisting in the hope that they may be sent to fight against the barbarians.

In South-West Africa the Germans have reason to doubt the loyalty of the native tribes, and, according to the *Evening News* of August 31st, they adopted precautionary measures to ensure the natives' inactivity, which are quite in keeping with the double-dealing they have practised throughout this terrible war.

A German missionary was instructed to summon a tribal gathering, and the Hottentots flocked in from the surrounding country. They brought with them their rifles, which were stacked prior to the meeting. The missionary gave an eloquent address, during which German soldiers confiscated the rifles.

So much for German treachery abroad. To turn again to their work in Europe—the *Daily Telegraph* of August 31st gives the following story, gathered from several refugees from the village of Port-sur-Seille, on the Lorraine frontier :

Port-sur-Seille was burnt on Friday, August 21st, by the Germans. Like several other places in the neighbourhood, it was close to the border line, so close, in fact, that the police authorities, in time of peace, were in constant polite intercourse with the inhabitants. When the German Forest Guards or Customs officials had anything to do across the border they were always well received, and the inhabitants supplied them with refreshments of bread and wine. These courteous relations continued even after the first days of the present war.

But on August 14th a body of Uhlans suddenly appeared and commandeered a number of things. They were supplied at once with two hundred chickens, a quantity of oats, and some other provisions. The Guard Champetre himself delivered the objects commandeered, and took them across the border into the German camp.

He was not allowed to return immediately, and was detained for two days. On Monday, August 17, when the Guard Champetre had returned, a shell suddenly burst over the village. It exploded a few yards from a place where a couple of women were engaged in milking the cows. Other shells followed. They came from a battery erected on the other side of the border.

No French soldiers had been seen at the village for three days. They had made their appearance only a short time, and had fallen back. The firing stopped for a while, but was resumed during the night and continued for several nights following. All the able-bodied men had left for the garrisons, and only the women, the children, and some aged men remained. The Guard Champetre was the only person with any authority that remained, and he took over the administration of the commune. Meanwhile he was compelled, every day, to go back and forwards between the village and the German camp, and supply the provisions that were commandeered.

A young seminarist acted as secretary at the Mairie, and the wife of the Guard Champetre took charge of the fire-engine and tried to put out the fire caused by shells with the help of some other women.

On the night of August 20th it became evident that the Germans intended to lay the village in ruins. The bombardment was continued all night and the following day. The inhabitants took refuge in the cellars, which protected them against the shells. About forty of them found shelter in a big cellar belonging to a rich farmer, M. Francois Michel.

There were small children of three, six, and nine years, and infants only a few months old. The Guard Champetre, assisted by his wife, directed everything. He had the openings protected by mattresses, which prevented the Germans from discharging their rifles into the cellar.

By making a hole in one of the walls he secured a retreat into an adjoining cellar. Suddenly an officer came, had the door opened, and ordered everybody to come out at once. M. Francois Michel was the first to step out, and he was instantly shot down by a group of soldiers standing by. Next a boy of six, a nice little lad, stepped out. He also was shot down. Everybody in the cellar then rushed back, amid cries of horror raised by the wife of M. Michel and his children.

The Germans shouted: "Come out, or we shall burn you alive," and poured a volley down the steps of the cellar. The soldiers poured petroleum down the cellar, and on the mattresses, and set fire to it. The people inside took refuge in the adjoining cellar, and the Guard Champetre and his wife were the last to leave. From this cellar they finally escaped and fled across the fields. The soldiers meanwhile had seized the young seminarist, and another young man aged twenty, and shot them, declaring that they were of age for military service.

A poor peasant woman refugee who reached Brussels with five young children told the *Times* representative a sad tale of the Germans' barbarities.

"They shot my husband before my eyes," she declared. "Then they trampled two of my children to death. Two others became separated from us on the journey, and out of nine children I have but these five left."

A communiqué from Paris, dated August 27th, states:

There are now some 2,500 Belgian refugees in Paris, most of whom are accommodated in the vast Cirque de Paris. The building has the aspect of a human stable.

Straw has been laid down all over the floor, and upon it the homeless and destitute people are lying. Red Cross nurses, with priests and doctors, are in constant attendance.

At the entrance to the building stands a large cask of beer, from which at intervals a soldier ladles out drink into all sorts of receptacles, which are held out to him by a long line of old men and boys.

Most of the refugees are women and children. They came away with what they stood up in. Some even left their shoes to escape from the Uhlans.

Some of the less panic-stricken found time to wrap up a few poor things in a newspaper or towel, but these were the exceptions. All were begrimed with dirt and mud-stained, and with their tattered clothes looked like tramps, although it was easy to see that many of them were well-to-do.

An old man, sitting alone on a heap of straw, weeping silently, told a sympathetic nurse: "My name is Jean Beaujon. I kept a little coffee-house just across the river from Liège, in the town of Grivegnée. When the army was mobilized my two sons, both fine strapping fellows, went off to join their regiment. I have two daughters, one unfortunately left behind, and the other here." He pointed to a bright-eyed girl of sixteen, whose face and head were swathed in bandages.

"You see," he went on, "that poor dear face. Well, the Germans did that. They burst into my place and demanded wine, which I gave them. What happened

then I cannot exactly remember. It all seems like a horrible nightmare. We subsequently left our home and wandered away in the opposite direction from the terrible cannonading. After walking in the dark for two hours my other daughter became too tired to go any further, and sat down in despair by the roadside.

"This girl here and I then went to find some kind of conveyance for her. We had not left her for more than half-an-hour, but she was no longer there. We spent the rest of the night looking for her, but found no trace of her, and in the end were obliged to give up the search. Finally we got into a train, which brought us here. I was cared for by the Red Cross.

"I don't know where they found me, or anything else, except that I have prayed all the time for the Blessed Virgin to return my cherished lamb to me undefiled."

A restaurant keeper from Chénee (Liège Province) named George Just, said: "When we heard of the German approach my wife and I fled across the river into Liège. It seems now like a dream. Just before they entered the town we fled with many other refugees. Never shall I forget the sights along the roadside. Mutilated corpses and wounded and dying strewn our path. In some places we saw German dead piled in heaps fifteen feet high."

A woman from Framery, a village near Mons, whose husband is serving in the army, had a most horrible experience. Indeed, the details given by her are so horribly revolting that the censor has had to obliterate many of her statements, while admitting there is no evidence to contradict them.

The *Times* of August 23rd contains a record of atrocities actually seen by its special correspondent, who lived for three weeks in the midst of the war. This correspondent says:

The so-called German "culture" of the past forty-four years has been suddenly swept away, and the wanton and ruthless savagery of the Germanic hordes will live in the minds of future generations and embitter the relations of the peoples. Ten days ago Tirlemont was a pleasant Flemish town. To-day it is a heap of smoking ruins. The Belgian army made a vigorous fight in the environs, but all accounts agree that there was absolutely no necessity for the bombardment of the place. The invaders apparently were bent on battle practice, and at Tirlemont they had it with a vengeance. As the terrified populace rushed from their homes, leaving everything behind but what they stood in, they were made game of by the German cavalry. Fathers escaping with their families, and trying their best to shield them, were shot down before the eyes of their beloved ones; mothers carrying babies were belaboured with lance and sword. Coming from Tirlemont, I saw one little flaxen-haired girl of eleven staggering blindly forward, her eye and cheek laid open by a lance thrust. A poor peasant woman, with one of the kindest faces I have ever seen, told me, with tears on her cheeks, that in her presence her husband had been killed by a troop of German cavalry, two of her children, both under nine, had been trampled to death by their horses, and two others were lost. As to their fate, she, of course, believed the worst. This is not an isolated instance of what is daily taking place in the area occupied by the German soldiery, but, I regret to say, it is only one of the hundreds which have been substantiated beyond all doubt.

The *Echo de Paris* records, in a telegram from Berne, the experiences of a Zurich girl during her journey home from London in the early days of the war. For part of her journey she travelled in a military train which was carrying German reservists. Other civilians were authorised to use this train, and two of them were seized with the rash and foolish idea of taking photographs. No sooner had they got out their cameras than the train was stopped and an officer came forward. He ordered all those present to shut their

eyes, and the two travellers were shot out of hand, without further form or trial.

From the *Daily Telegraph* of August 29th I take the following paragraphs piecemeal:

Appalling details of the atrocities committed by German soldiers on defenceless Belgian women and children are given in the course of the following narrative by M. Isadore Felix Cruls, a Belgian refugee, who has just arrived in London from Ostend. M. Cruls carried on a prosperous printing works at Saint Jossé, a suburb of Brussels, giving employment to many men. His wife is stricken down with an internal malady, and when hostilities broke out a rumour gained currency in Brussels that the Germans had poisoned the drinking water, and her husband sent her and her three children to Ostend. Here he rejoined her, and the family were eventually able to get to London.

"When hostilities broke out," commenced M. Cruls, "I was called up for service in the Guard Civic, and was stationed on the Chaussee Louvain, the road between Louvain and Brussels. This was on July 29th, but it was not until August 8th that we had anything to do. On that day the wounded began to arrive. My wife was suffering from an internal complaint, and as a rumour was spread through Brussels that the Germans had poisoned the drinking water, I took her and our three children to Ostend. So disorganized was the railway system that it took seven hours to do the ordinarily two hours' journey.

"I returned to Brussels in a taxi-cab, and for sixty hours on end I had no sleep and very little to eat. That will give you some idea of what the Belgian people had to go through even in the early days of the war. At midnight on August 19—20 I was on duty on the Chaussee de Louvain watching the refugees come in from the various towns and villages. The road was blocked when I got near. I saw that a party of German lancers were at the rear of the procession of refugees. I saw one of the lancers prodding a woman, who had four or five children walking by her side.

"There was an old woman, evidently the mother of the young woman, walking with them. One of the lancers was amusing himself by pricking this old woman with his lance in order to make her walk more quickly. The young woman turned round and shouted something at the lancer, either by way of remonstrance or insult. I was not near enough to hear what she said. The lancer took up his lance and ran it through one of the little girls who were walking along, clutching the hands of their mother. She was a fair-haired girl of about seven or eight years of age. When the crowd saw blood spurt through her white dress they became infuriated, and a panic ensued. The lancers bore down on the people, scattering them in all directions. What became of these people I do not know."

Referring to the case of two little children from Diest, whose parents were murdered before their eyes by the German soldiers, he said: "The people were so filled with pity for the children that some men picked them up and pitched them into a train as it was going out of the station for Ostend. The children fell on the tender of the engine, and thus travelled to Ostend, where they arrived covered with coal dust. A stewardess of the *Marie Henriette*, a mail steamer plying between Ostend and Dover, was so filled with sympathy for the terrible sufferings which these two little mites had undergone, that she herself took them on to the boat.

"Another story I have to relate was told me by the mother herself. It happened near Leau. A squadron of about 500 Uhlans marched through the town, and, alleging that somebody had shot at them as they were passing through the streets, went round to all the houses searching for firearms, smelling the rifles in order to see if they had been recently fired. At the house at which this woman lived there could be no question of a rifle having been fired, as there was not a firearm of any description in the place.

"The family circle consisted of a grandfather, the father, mother, and a girl of seventeen or eighteen, and a young boy, who, upon seeing the approach of the

Germans, fled and hid himself. The soldiers came in, and, without any questioning, fired at and killed the father. They were going to shoot the grandfather, when the mother and daughter fell on their knees and begged the soldiers to spare the life of the old man. The officer, or under-officer, of the party then said: 'Yes, we won't trouble about the old people,' and touching the cheek of the young girl with his fingers, he added, with a significant laugh, 'Pretty youth is better.' He thereupon violated the girl before her mother's eyes."

The following story was related to M. Cruls by a gentleman with whom he was closely acquainted on his arrival from Liège. This gentleman had a friend who was impressed into the service of the Germans as a motor driver for transport purposes. The man was told to go to headquarters to get further orders. He either did not hear or understand what the order was, and a sentry thereupon shot him dead. A man who saw this from a window shot at the sentry, whereupon the Germans brought out twenty *mitrailleuses* and poured whole volleys into that quarter of the town, killing men, women, and children. This started a fire, and it was not until the flames had assumed such dimensions that the whole town was threatened that the Germans allowed anybody to come out and put them out. It is considered certain that between thirty and forty houses were burnt down, and that many men, women and children were burnt to death.

A family who lived in the Rue de la Loi, in Brussels, went to stay at their villa at Genck, about six kilometres from Brussels. When the Germans arrived at the village they went to the villa and smashed up the whole of the place, stealing everything they could lay their hands on, and even taking away the wedding-ring that the husband wore on his finger. They took away the men first, and nobody knows what has become of them. A member of the family and two servants fled from the house in terror, but returned when they saw the German soldiers going.

This is what they saw: The body of an old lady of seventy years of age lying on the floor with her throat cut. A governess, about 30 years of age—I cannot tell you her nationality—was found hanging from a tree, stark naked and disembowelled. The rest of the family managed to make their way back to Brussels where they now are.

M. Cruls went on to say that he did not care to speak of some of the awful atrocities he had seen. He expressed his gratitude at the manner in which he had been treated by the English people, and remarked that when the stories of the atrocities become known in full they would startle the world.

Antwerp and the Zeppelins.

Contrary to rules of warfare is the action of German airships, which have been dropping bombs over places not actually in the fighting arena, places undefended and containing only peaceful citizens. Two notable attacks by the formidable Zeppelins were made on Antwerp and Paris. On the night of August 24th Count Zeppelin threw bombs from a height of some 700 feet on the city of Antwerp. He appears to have aimed deliberately at the hospitals, not even sparing the hospitals where the Belgians were caring for the wounded Germans.

I append an authentic account of the Antwerp outrage, written for the *Daily Chronicle* by Dr. Charles Sarolea. Writing under date August 25th, Dr. Sarolea says:

I have just lived through the most tragic night of the war.

For the first time in history a great civilized community has been bombarded

from the sky in the darkness of night. Count Zeppelin, whom the Kaiser called the greatest genius of the century, has performed the greatest exploit of his life. He may well be proud of his achievement. He has mangled and slaughtered non-belligerents, men, women and children. He has thrown bombs on hospitals where the Belgians were tending German wounded; he has staggered humanity.

On August 5th the German commander warned General Leman at Liège that if the forts did not surrender the Zeppelin fleet would move at once. The forts of Liège did not surrender, and the Germans have been as good as their word. They have surpassed themselves in the art of striking terror, and they have placed themselves outside the pale of humanity.

I was awakened at one o'clock this morning by a frightful cannonade. A Zeppelin had been sighted about 700 feet above the town. I at once went out into the streets, and for eleven hours—from one hour after midnight until noon—I have scarcely left the scene of the catastrophe.

I have explored every one of the devastated streets. So far I have found ten bombs in ten different streets. It is impossible as yet to get accurate statistics. In my calculations there are about 900 houses slightly damaged, and about sixty houses nearly destroyed.

The number of victims is unknown. In a single house I found four dead. One room was a chamber of horrors, the remains of the mangled bodies being scattered in every direction.

In the house opposite a husband and wife, whose only son had just died in battle, were killed—a whole family wiped out.

The Place du Poids Publique, where the tragedy happened, surpasses in horror anything I have ever seen.

I brought the King's secretary with me. It is significant that the Zeppelin bombs were all aimed at public buildings, at the barracks, at the Government offices, and especially at the Royal Palace.

I was given by the King's secretary two fragments of a bomb that had been found a few yards from the Palace.

In order that all the Governments of Europe and America should be informed, from ocular evidence, about this great German crime, and in order that the whole Diplomatic Corps might issue a joint protest against this outrage to the law of nations, I prevailed on the following to accompany me through the town :—

The Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs,
Baron van der Elst,
The Papal Nuncio,
The Russian Ambassador, Prince Pougatchef,
The Ministers of State, Vandervelde, Hymans, and Count Goblet d'Alviella,
the King's Secretary.

They were all terror-stricken. Prince Pougatchef was so horrified that he refused to follow me into the chamber of horrors.

The population is in gloom, the Zeppelin tragedy eclipses for the moment even the great battle which is being fought in Brabant and Hainaut.

The attack of an aeroplane on Paris, while being a piece of brutal impertinence, had, fortunately, less tragic results than that in Antwerp. A message from Paris says :

Soon after midday yesterday a German aeroplane flew over Paris. Three bombs were thrown, which fell harmlessly in a small street.

An oriflamme entwined with German colours and attached to a sandbag was also dropped in the same street.

In the sandbag was found a letter written in German, the substance of which is, "The German army is at the gates of Paris. There is nothing left to you but to surrender."

The letter bore the signature of Lieutenant von Heidssen.

It now appears that five bombs were thrown. One fell at the corner of the

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Rue Albuoy and the Rue Vinaigrière before the shops of a baker and wine merchant.

All the windows were smashed, and a woman who was passing at the time was wounded, as was also the wife of a concierge.

Two bombs burst on the Quai Valmy, one on the night refuge behind the St. Martin hospital, at which the German airman appears to have been aiming.

The three other bombs did not explode. They fell before No. 127, Quai Valmy, 68, Rue Marcin, and 57, Rue Recollet.

After the destruction of Louvain about a hundred unfortunate people were found in cellars in the suburb of Blauput. There were about fifty men, with their wives and children, whose houses had been burnt or shelled to the ground. The party was marched to the Place de la Station, where the men were separated from the women. Seven of the men were then led out in front of the women, and shot before their eyes. Then the party was re-formed and taken to the Porte de Tirlemont, where the sexes were again separated, and seven men again led out and shot before the women. This performance was repeated until all the men had been shot in batches.

A young woman, who was on the point of giving birth to a child, was killed by a deliberate shot in the stomach. The hospitals and lunatic asylums were compulsorily emptied of their inmates, and the aged, the infirm, the dangerously ill, and women who had just been confined, together with their infants, were thrust out into the highways.

At St. Trond the soldiers smashed the knees of young women, whom they then compelled to advance on their knees at the point of the bayonet. At the same place an old man of over 80 was forced to run under a continuous shower of blows until he dropped, when he was killed by a rifle shot. At Chaumont-Gistoux, near Namur, a woman was shot in the presence of her husband and children. The soldiers, among whom was an officer, then attempted to violate the two daughters, and on the latter resisting they were bound to heaps of straw and burnt alive. At Velme, near St. Trond, an old woman of over 70 was forced to run at a horse's tail. Elsewhere in the neighbourhood all the men were locked in the church, while the women were compelled to strip and to parade in the nude in front of the troops. Women were violated in front of their husbands, and the soldiers spared neither young girls nor aged women.

All the above statements are the sworn testimony of reliable eye-witnesses, including a Member of Parliament, respected public officials, and several notaries.

If, however, more testimony is wanting to prove that the German soldiers, privates and officers alike, have acted as degraded inhuman brutes, let us take the letter received by an English vicar from his son at the front :

"I never realized before what an awful thing war is," writes this youth. "I am in a small village, on the extreme left, and can see the horrible cruelty of the Germans to the inhabitants. We have got three girls in the trenches with us, who came to us for protection. One had no clothes on, having been outraged by the

Germans. I have given her my shirt, and divided my rations among them. In consequence I feel rather hungry, having had nothing for thirty-two hours except some milk chocolate. We have been hard at the Germans all day (now eight p.m.), and have successfully driven them back. Our men's shooting is wonderful and accurate. The Germans collapse like ninepins under it. The slaughter is awful. . . . I started this morning with fifty men in my trench, and now have twenty-three, and no n.-c. officers. They are wonderfully cheery. I have been hit twice; one took the heel of my boot off, and one through my shoulder, which is rather sore, so I must have it dressed. . . . Another poor girl has just come in, having had both her breasts cut off. Luckily, I caught the Uhlan officer in the act, and with a rifle at 300 yards killed him. And now she is with us, but, poor girl, I am afraid she will die. She is very pretty, and only about nineteen, and only has her skirt on."

In one Belgian village the priest who accompanied the Red Cross nurses saw a six-months-old baby carried on the point of a bayonet by a German soldier. Another baby of seven weeks was snatched from its father's arms and dashed to the ground.

Yet another baby, whose mother resisted the efforts of some drunken Uhlans to seize the child, had its poor little hands slashed off by a sword.

A refugee at Antwerp told a harrowing tale of how his dearest friend was done to death by Germans. The hapless youth of twenty was tied to a tree by a party of German officers, who told him he would be immediately shot.

Soldiers were lined up with rifles, apparently ready to shoot, and the boy waited calmly with closed eyes, but no shots rang out. He then opened his eyes and the brutes laughed at him.

They had lowered their rifles and were sitting round the tree, preparing to make a hearty meal. There they sat, surrounding the bound youth, throwing at him morsels of food from time to time and taunting him with offers of champagne, which they were drinking freely.

After more than an hour of such fiendish torture, the boy was shot and his body burnt by piles of straw which the Germans stacked against the tree.

Mdlle. Auslin, a Belgian refugee now in London, states that at Aerschot she saw a man shot dead because he resisted the violation of his wife. His two little children, hiding their faces in their mother's skirts in terror, were dragged away and murdered.

One of the houses of the town, where two English flags were flying, although the house was deserted, attracted the enraged notice of the Germans, Mdlle. Auslin declared. They shot at them with their rifles, and when they found that they could not get them down that way the soldiers ordered two boys to climb up and remove them. When this had been accomplished the boys were bound hand and foot, their eyes gouged out, and their feet burned, while a lot of horrified women looked on but were powerless to interfere. A woman and a baby were tied up in their house by soldiers, who poured paraffin on the furniture and then set fire to it. The husband, who had been arrested by Uhlans, broke away from his captors and rushed into the blazing building. He found the baby, scorched and cut as if with

sabres, and threw it from the first floor window into the street while riflemen were shooting at him. He then turned back into the house, but could not remove his wife, who was burned to death. He rushed to the window and leapt into the street. The baby, which had been picked up by women, is now in London, but nothing is known as to the fate of its father.

At Haine St. Pierre, in the Mons district, the Mayor, who caused the arms of the inhabitants to be deposited at his own house, was shot like a dog, and his body propped up against a wall for 48 hours as a warning to the town. Men were billeted in all the houses, and although in the better houses the officers behaved with some restraint, in the peasants' cottages unbridled licence was the rule. Women were violated; indescribable scenes of filth and debauchery took place, while all the possessions of the unfortunates were wilfully wasted and destroyed.

Innocent Citizens Massacred.

One hundred-and-thirty-two citizens of Aerschot were massacred by the Germans to avenge the killing of their commander by a Belgian schoolboy. The German commander, a colonel, had quarters in the house of the burgomaster, an official who did his utmost to spare his people the horrors of pillage and massacre. In the same house lived the burgomaster's son, a lad of sixteen, who was apparently not quite sound in his mind. This boy, in a fit of madness brought about by brooding on the wrongs of his country, shot the German colonel dead. There is no need to palliate this act. It was instantly and bloodily avenged. The boy and his father, the burgomaster, were instantly executed by the Germans. The latter then rounded up all the men of the town, and drove them into the church. The men, about 390 of them, were forced to leave the church in groups of threes. Of every three, one man was taken and shot. Invariably the best and fittest man of the three was picked out, led away among the tombs and shot dead. Every man went to his death bravely. But it was a horrible business. Women and children were wailing all round; old men and boys trembled and wept in the market-square. They could do nothing but shudder as the shots rang out. Thus 132 of the strongest and the best of the inhabitants of the town of Aerschot went to their death.

Mr. Geoffrey Young, the special correspondent of the *Daily News*, in a message from an unnamed town in France, says:

I have just spoken with soldiers from Namur, who have seen the Germans killing their own seriously wounded to save labour and time. What of the most educated race in Europe?

And listen to this! A man has told me, as well as he could for tears, of his little son of three, who stood before his door waving his arms and crying "Vive l'Angleterre!" as the Germans entered. His arms were cut off and he was bayoneted to death.

Think what that means! The German is human, as we are, but the iron is deep in his soul and character, and at a word he will murder as coldly as a criminal lunatic.

This is no time for philosophic reasonings. Let every man who has a home, or hopes to have one, join to fling back this wave of cold-blooded brutal barbarity that threatens our children.

Four wounded army sisters have arrived at Woolwich, and are now at the Royal Herbert Hospital for treatment. They were fired on by the Germans, one being badly hit on the head while on duty in a field hospital.

Nurse Wheeler, of Reigate, has just returned from Switzerland, where she met a number of friends who had escaped from Mulhausen.

She said she could vouch for the truth of the stories of the barbarity of German soldiers.

German soldiers had driven women and children in front of them at the point of the bayonet when meeting the French. A number of women who were helping the nurses to dress the wounds of the French soldiers were dragged away from the wounded and their hands were slashed off by the sword.

At the sacking of Termonde, a beautiful old Belgian town which is now a mass of smouldering ruins, some particularly revolting episodes were witnessed.

One appalling act of cruelty is recorded in the *Daily Chronicle* of September 7th. The account runs:

An old woman who had two sons in the garrison defending Termonde came to the door of her house whilst the fighting was in progress, to see how the battle went.

Immediately a German fired at her, wounding her in the wrist.

This brave old mother, binding her hand up to stop the flow of blood, went up to the first floor and looked out of the window to see if she could catch a glimpse of her boys.

She was immediately shot in the face, a German soldier coarsely remarking, "I'll teach the old hag to put her face out of the window."

In a letter to the editor of the *Evening Standard* of August 24th, one reads the following examples of German "culture":

Sir,—Since the outbreak of the greatest calamity which the world has ever witnessed, one has been reading with bated breath of the treatment accorded British subjects in belligerent zones.

A day or two ago, while in conversation with a junior officer of the British army, I was told by him that on the eve of the declaration of war on Germany by Great Britain, a relative of his was subjected to such insults as might have been expected only from savages of the lowest type.

His aged aunt, having called for some documents at the British Embassy in Berlin, was in the act of descending the steps of that building, when, without the slightest provocation, two German officers deliberately spat in her face!

Again, to-day, news reaches us that the British, French, and Russian Consuls have been treated by the officials of the "Mad Dog of Europe" as though they belonged to the worst class of criminals.

Herded in a tiny cell like gaol-birds, they were obliged to sleep on the floor without covering of any kind, and with only a few wisps of straw between them and the cold stones, their only food being black bread, which is served out to the ordinary convicts.

Reading of these acts of barbarism, one cannot but reflect upon the unparalleled leniency extended to German and Austrian prisoners of war on this side of the channel. Housed comfortably, they fare sumptuously daily, eggs and bacon for breakfast, and even such luxuries as ablutions and tobacco being permitted them.

We are told not to render evil for evil, but, in the name of Heaven, will not the Government take stringent steps? At this moment there are to be seen thousands of alien enemies waiting upon British subjects in hotels and restaurants.

Are we such cowards that we cannot refuse to be served by them? Are there not worthy Britishers who could administer to our wants equally as good—if not better—than these emissaries who infest our shores?

There is no necessity, after reading the foregoing list of atrocities, to try to find excuse for the Prussian barbarians. There can be no excuse, no justification for such wanton cruelty as theirs. I append now several instances of German brutality told me personally by eye-witnesses.

Refugees' Stories.

On Sunday, the 6th of September, I spoke with refugees from France and Belgium at Charing Cross station. Each confirmed the horrible stories of the German savages' brutality, and many of them told me things far more shocking than those mentioned by the Press. Indeed, no Press dare set down in black and white some of the foul deeds done by the Kaiser's barbarians.

One man—a young Englishman who had had a very adventurous journey from Belgium to England—told me that the atrocities committed by the most degraded and barbaric tribes known to history paled into insignificance beside the bloody brutality of the Germans. I dare not publish many cases he mentioned. Indeed, one would be loth to name some of the horrors to a grown man, much less publish them and run the risk of poisoning the minds of young people.

It was, he assured me, quite a common sight, by the roadside and in the fields of Belgium, to see the dead bodies of young girls who had been brutally assaulted and then had their throats cut from ear to ear.

My informant himself had seen dozens of boys—many mere infants—with their right hands severed. He had seen in hospital, and spoken with, youths and men who had been mutilated in such a terrible fashion as to bar any description. Old men had been shot without the slightest reason, and often with the most horrid details, just as "pastime" for the "cultured" German soldiers.

A Belgian mother, who had escaped to this country with a baby in arms, told me the following story: An old Belgian and his wife lived with their two daughters, handsome, modest young women just out of their teens, at a small farm, which happened to lie on a route chosen by the German butchers going to Aerschot to their

work of massacre. A crowd of Uhlans reached this farm late one night and demanded food and drink, intending to make themselves comfortable in the farmer's best rooms for the night.

The peaceful Belgians gave unstintingly of both food and wine, the farmer's wife making hot dishes for the hungry soldiers as cheerfully as though for her own friends. The Uhlans quickly became heated with wine and their coarse tongues were loosened. They made foul jests, and when the poor Belgian wife tried to lead her daughters quietly from the room to their own apartment, their conduct became worse than bestial. They seized both girls, upon which the farmer remonstrated, while the mother, with tears in her eyes, prayed to the Uhlans to spare her children's honour. The Kaiser's brutes at once shot the farmer dead, maddened by his opposition to their bestial lust. Then, as his moaning wife bent over his body she was also shot.

In the confusion, one of the girls escaped unnoticed and sought shelter behind some bushes that formed a hedge around the little farm. She crouched down trembling, expecting every moment to be caught by the Uhlans, but suddenly there was a cry from within that the French cavalry was near. The Germans fired the house and made good their escape, carrying with them the elder girl. The following morning she was found with her throat cut, having been shockingly abused and outraged before she was killed.

Another refugee told me that at a little farm not far from Charleroi, the Germans demanded food and wine, but the farmer declared that a number of Uhlans had that very morning carried off his entire store. The Uhlan captain, a burly brute, was of opinion that the farmer lied, and said so in foul language.

Search was made, and a small cask of wine, some bread, and bacon were found secreted on the top of a hay-rick. The unfortunate farmer had evidently saved these few provisions to keep himself, his wife, and his three tiny children from starvation.

But German "culture" could not understand why a Belgian mother and her babies should be kept from starvation when the Uhlans wished to feast. The captain ordered his brutes to bind the father, mother, and three children with ropes, and throw them on the hay-rick. This was done, and followed up by the burning of the rick. The screams from the sufferers were piteous, but the Germans seemed to enjoy watching their sufferings, and when the smallest child fell off the rick, she was promptly thrown on to the burning heap again. The Uhlans then calmly waited until the whole family was roasted to death.

Everywhere throughout their bloody march, the Prussians behaved more like maniacs than sane men. It was one long, continuous prowl for blood—for blood, rapine and lust.

The German soldiers openly boasted to many of the refugees that Prussia is about to win a great victory, which will gain for her the mastery of the whole world. Some officers actually went so far as to

say that God had directed the Kaiser to decimate the French and English, so that Prussia might rule for the benefit of mankind.

A letter full of condemnation of the Germans comes to hand from the daughter of Mr. Buckingham Bird, of Norwich Road, Ipswich. She writes vehemently from the North of France :

The Germans stop at nothing. One woman told of how she had had to hide in a cellar with a baker and his wife. The Germans found them, took the man and forced him for three days to bake bread for them, and then took him and thrust him in his oven to burn alive in front of his wife and the other woman. This is absolutely true, though you may imagine I exaggerate. In another case they massacred seven little children, and cut out the tongue of a young man from Dinant, of twenty-four years old. One poor woman was forced to stand and see the Germans cut off the hands of her two boys, aged ten and seven, so that they could never hold a gun. After that she was tortured in a way I do not care to explain. An old farmer was wounded, then nailed upside down to his door and poked at with swords. It is an awful war, and if in the end the barbarians win I shall no longer believe in Divine justice.

The Barbarians' Excuse.

General Von Boehn, commanding the Ninth German Army, was roundly taxed by an American war correspondent with the atrocities in Belgium. He callously said the people only got what they deserved. "But why wreak your vengeance on women and children?" "None have been killed," the General asserted positively. "I'm sorry to contradict you, General," said the American, with equal positiveness, "but I have myself seen their mutilated bodies." "Of course there is always danger of women and children being killed in street fighting," said the General, "if they insist on coming into the street. It is unfortunate, but it is war." "But how about the woman whose body I saw with the hands and feet cut off? How about the white-haired man and his son whom I had helped to bury outside Sempst, and who had been killed merely because the retreating Belgians had shot a German soldier outside their house? There were twenty-two bayonet wounds in the old man's face. I counted them. How about the little girl, two years old, shot while in her mother's arms by a Uhlan, and whose funeral I attended at Heyst-op-den-Berg? How about the old man that was hung from the rafters of his house by the hands and roasted to death by a bonfire being built under him?" The General seemed somewhat taken aback. "Such things are horrible if they are true," he said. "Of course our soldiers, like soldiers in all armies, sometimes get out of hand, and do things which we would never tolerate if we knew it. At Louvain, for example, I sentenced two soldiers to twelve years' penal servitude apiece for assaulting a woman."

It has been stated that the Belgians have exaggerated the atrocities committed on them, but let it be stated with the utmost emphasis that there CAN be no exaggeration of the terrible deeds done by the merciless Germans. They are so overwhelmingly brutal that

exaggeration has no value. What use to exaggerate things which could not possibly be any worse than they are, as they stand recorded by reliable eye-witnesses who have themselves seen the most terrible, irrefutable evidence of German savagery in the shape of the mangled corpses of outraged mothers and daughters, mutilated bodies of priests and old men, boys and youths torn and maimed, and the still forms of little lifeless babies?

However, let me say at once that it is not only the Belgians who are suffering brutal atrocities at the hands of the Kaiser's butchers. Every nation and every individual who comes between the domineering Prussians and their goal is treated in the same horrible manner.

Polish Atrocity.

I now append a letter sent by a Polish lady to her friend in England, which proves that the Poles have been treated as badly as the Belgians. The letter, which deals with the atrocities committed in Kalisz, an important town on the frontier of Russian Poland, runs :

On August 2nd, about noon, there appeared at the gates of Kalisz two Prussian Uhlans. Seeing that the town was absolutely unguarded they rode through the streets at a gallop. It was a historic moment for Kalisz, for the Uhlans were the scouts of the army, a division of which arrived the same day in the evening, under two officers. An hour later the rest came under the command of Major Preusker. He at once ordered the President of the town, Bukowski, to procure quarters for the officers and men, and eventually requisitioned the concert and artisans' halls, the public school and the European Hotel.

On the following morning Major Preusker confiscated 27,000 roubles from the magistrate, and ordered the municipality to give his men bread, coffee, and wheat for the horses. Then he issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Kalisz, in which he announced that the town was annexed to Germany, that only German war-law was binding, and that the people who remained in the town had their life and property guaranteed.

In the evening of Monday, August 3rd, as the town was settling down for the night, it was suddenly roused by several single shots. There followed the rapid movement of soldiers and the sound of rifle fire. No one knew what had happened, and waited in terror till dawn. In the morning it appeared that from a house on the outskirts of the town four shots had been fired at a German patrol. The Prussians lost their heads in terror. Not recognizing their own soldiers in the night they shot at their patrols, wounding some men, while fourteen townspeople were killed by the German rifles. This was not enough for Major Preusker, for he ordered five men, lodgers from the house where the shots had been fired, to be executed the same morning under the cemetery wall.

Someone told him that a shot had been fired from the windows of the magistrate's house, so he ordered his soldiers to bring before the building 200 townspeople. These he forced to lie down in the dust under a broiling sun, face downwards. If any of them tried to change his position or to lift his head he was kicked and knocked on the head by soldiers. This awful scene of "expiation," as Major Preusker called it, lasted for an hour and a half. To heighten the agony of the prostrated crowd the Germans executed from their number three men—Sokotow (a Russian), the Government cashier; an employee of the whisky "monopol," also a Russian; and a poor usher employed by the magistrate. All of them were

innocent men. Among the "expiating" crowd lying on the stairs of the building was the President, Bukowski.

At two o'clock the President brought the Major the exacted ransom of 50,000 roubles, after which the soldiers withdrew from the city and occupied a position outside, called "The Three Windmills" (a hill overlooking the town). Kalisz breathed a sigh of relief, but not for long. At six o'clock its walls were shaken with a terrible cannonade. The town was being bombarded without any warning. The panic that spread in the city is impossible to describe. When at last the cannon were silent crowds began to leave the town. Those who could, packed their bundles and fled.

By Wednesday half the town was empty and those who remained, largely composed of the wealthier classes, who were reluctant to leave their homes and property, consulted together as to the steps to be taken. At seven o'clock the next morning they once more were roused by cannon. Shells were bursting over their heads, spreading death and disaster. Suddenly the firing stopped, and silence, more dreadful even than the thunder of artillery fell on the town.

No one knew what happened. Patrols rushed through the streets, shooting occasionally at the windows. In this way a well-known philanthropist, M. Balkowski, was killed, and many others. Then Major Preusker chose hostages from among the clergy of all faiths and the richest citizens, who after being shut up in a windmill, were sent to Posen. What has become of them is not known, though a card written in German has reached the town saying that they are well, except for M. Frenkiel, who died on the way of heart disease (his body was found with a bayonet wound through it).

Friday was the most awful day of all. In the morning a patrol arrived in the market-place and the officer summoned the people and told them that a list of the inhabitants must be prepared, indicating those who spoke German. Later the soldiers entered the town again, and at two o'clock began a regular fire from their machine guns. They stood on one side and then on the other, firing on to the opposite side of the streets. In this way all the streets were terribly damaged and nearly all the municipal buildings destroyed. At five o'clock thick smoke appeared above the city. The Town Hall was burning. Fortunately the fire did not spread. At nine o'clock the town was again bombarded. Walls fell and crushed the inhabitants who hid in the cellars. This bombardment of an unfortified town lasted till dawn. Then the soldiers pulled out from the cellars those who were still alive and, beating them, marched them with their hands up out of the town, telling them that every tenth man would be shot. They shut them in the frontier barracks, and after several hours let them go. These unfortunate people fled, carrying with them an eighty-year-old monk (Father Victor), who had been beaten about the face, spat upon, and maltreated as the rest had been. As they fled they saw smoke rising about the town and a big fire burst out.

Now the town is once more peaceful, but what a spectacle it presents after this dreadful revenge of the German Major on what he calls the "Polish plot." They are burying their dead, but Kalisz is dead, and it will take years to bring it to life again.

(TRANSLATION)
PRESS BUREAU
Communicated by the Belgian Legation, September 11th, 1914.

COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY
No. *925*
on the Violation of the Rights of Nations and of the laws and customs of War.
Time *1245 hours*
Date *15/9/14* 2nd REPORT.
Antwerp, August 31st, 1914.

To MONSIEUR CARTON DE WIART,

Minister of Justice.

SIR,

The Commission of Enquiry have the honour to make the following report on acts of which the town of Louvain, the neighbourhood and the district of Malines have been the scene :—

The German army entered Louvain on Wednesday, 19th August, after having burnt down the villages through which it had passed.

At soon as they had entered the town of Louvain, the Germans requisitioned food and lodging for their troops. They went to all the banks of the town, and took possession of the cash in hand. German soldiers burst open the doors of houses which had been abandoned by their inhabitants, pillaged them and committed other excesses.

The German authorities took as hostages the Mayor of the City, Senator Van der Kelen, the Vice-Rector of the Catholic University, and the Senior Priest of the City, besides certain Magistrates and Aldermen. All the weapons possessed by the inhabitants, even fencing swords, had already been given up to the Municipal authorities, and placed by them in the Church of Saint Pierre.

In a neighbouring village, Corbeck-Loo, on Wednesday, 19th August, a young woman, aged 22, whose husband was with the army, and some of her relations were surprised by a band of German soldiers. The persons who were with her were locked up in a deserted house, while she herself was dragged into another cottage, where she was outraged by five soldiers successively.

In the same village on Thursday, 20th August, German soldiers fetched from their house a young girl, about 16 years old, and her parents. They conducted them to a small deserted country house, and while some of them held back the father and mother, others entered the house, and finding the cellar open, forced the girl to drink. They then brought her on to the lawn in front of the house, and violated her successively. Finally they stabbed her in the breast with their bayonets. When this young girl had been abandoned by them after these abominable deeds, she was brought back to her parents' house, and the following day, in view of the gravity of her condition, she received Extreme Unction from the parish priest, and was taken to the hospital of Louvain, as her life was despaired of.

On the 24th and 25th of August Belgian troops made a sortie from the entrenched camp of Antwerp, and attacked the German army before Malines.

The Germans were thrown back on Louvain and Vilforde.

On entering the villages which had been occupied by the enemy, the Belgian army found them devastated. The Germans, as they retired, had pillaged and burnt the villages, taking with them the male inhabitants, whom they forced to march in front of them.

Belgian soldiers entering Hofstade, on 25th August, found the body of an old woman who had been killed by bayonet thrusts. She still held in her hand the needle with which she was sewing when she was killed. A woman and her 15 or 16 year old son lay on the ground, pierced by bayonets. A man had been hanged.

At Sempst, a neighbouring village, were found the bodies of two men, partially carbonized. One of them had his legs cut off at the knees; the other had the arms and legs cut off. A workman, whose burnt body had been seen by several witnesses, had been struck several times with bayonets, and then while still alive, the Germans had poured petroleum over him, and thrown him into a house to which they set fire. A woman who came out of her house was killed in the same way.

A witness, whose evidence has been taken by a reliable British subject, declares that he saw on the 26th August, not far from Malines, during the last Belgian attack, an old man tied by the arms to one of the rafters in the ceiling of his farm. The body was completely carbonized; but the head, arms and feet were unburnt. Further on, a child of about 15 was tied up, the hands behind the back, and the body was completely torn open with bayonet wounds. Numerous corpses of peasants lay on the ground in positions of supplication, their arms lifted and their hands clasped.

The Belgian Consul in Uganda, who is now a volunteer in the Belgian army, reports that wherever the Germans passed the country has been devastated. The few inhabitants who remain in the villages tell of the atrocities committed by the enemy. Thus, at Wackerzeel, seven Germans are said to have successively violated a woman, and then to have killed her. In the same village they stripped a young boy to the waist, threatened him with death, holding a revolver to his chest, pricked him with lances, and then chased him into a field and shot at him, without, however, hitting him.

Everywhere there is ruin and devastation. At Buecken many inhabitants were killed, including the priest, who was over eighty years old.

Between Impde and Wolverthem two wounded Belgian soldiers lay near a house which was on fire. The Germans threw these two unfortunate men into the flames.

At nightfall on the 26th August the German troops, repulsed by our soldiers, entered Louvain panic-struck. Several witnesses affirm that the German garrison which occupied Louvain was erroneously informed that the enemy were entering the town. Men of the garrison immediately marched to the station, shooting haphazard the while, and there met the German troops who had been repulsed by the Belgians, the latter having just ceased the pursuit. Everything tends to prove that the German regiments fired on one another. At once the Germans began bombarding the town, pretending that civilians had fired on the troops, a suggestion which is contradicted by all the witnesses, and could scarcely have been possible, because the inhabitants of Louvain had had to give up their arms to the Municipal Authorities several days before. The bombardment lasted till about 10 o'clock at night. The Germans then set fire to the town. Wherever the fire had not spread the German soldiers entered the houses and threw fire-grenades, with which some of them seem to be provided. The greater part of the town of Louvain was thus a prey to the flames, particularly the quarters of the upper town, comprising the modern buildings, the ancient Cathedral of St. Pierre, the University Buildings, together with the University Library, its manuscripts and collections, and the Municipal Theatre.

The Commission considers it its duty to insist, in the midst of all these horrors, on the crime committed against civilization by the deliberate destruction of an academic library, which was one of the treasures of Europe.

The corpses of many civilians encumbered the streets and squares. On the road from Tirlemont to Louvain alone a witness counted more than fifty. On the doorsteps of houses could be seen carbonized bodies of inhabitants, who, hiding in their cellars, were driven out by the fire, tried to escape and fell into the flames. The suburbs of Louvain suffered the same fate. We can affirm that the houses in all the districts between Louvain and Malines, and most of the suburbs of Louvain itself, have practically been destroyed.

On Wednesday morning, 26th August, the Germans brought to the Station Squares of Louvain a group of more than 75 persons, including several prominent citizens of the town, amongst whom were Father Coloboet and another Spanish priest, and also an American priest. The men were brutally separated from their wives and children, and after having been subjected to the most abominable treatment by the Germans, who several times threatened to shoot them, they were forced to march to the village of Campenhont in front of the German troops. They were shut up in the village church, where they passed the night. About 4 o'clock the next morning a German officer told them they had better go to confession, as they would be shot half an hour later. About half-past four they were liberated. Shortly afterwards they were again arrested by a German brigade, which forced them to march before them in the direction of Malines. In reply to a question of one of the prisoners, a German officer said they were going to give them a taste of the Belgian quickfirers before Antwerp. They were at last released on the Thursday afternoon at the gates of Malines.

It appears from other witnesses that several thousand male inhabitants of Louvain, who had escaped the shooting and the fire, were sent to Germany for a purpose which is still unknown to us.

The fire at Louvain burnt for several days. An eye-witness who left Louvain on 30th August gave the following description of the town at that time :—

"Leaving Weert St. Georges," he says, "I only saw burnt down villages and half-crazy peasants, who, on meeting anyone, held up their hands as a sign of submission. Before every house, even those burnt down, hung a white flag, and the burnt rags of them could be seen among the ruins.

"At Weert St. Georges I questioned the inhabitants on the causes of the German reprisals, and they affirmed most positively that no inhabitant had fired a shot, that in any case the arms had been previously collected, but that the Germans had taken vengeance on the population because a Belgian soldier belonging to the Gendarmerie had killed an Uhlan.

"The population still remaining in Louvain have taken refuge in the suburb of Héverlé, where they are extremely crowded. They have been cleared out of the town by the troops and the fire.

"The fire started a little beyond the American College, and the town is *entirely* destroyed, except for the Town Hall and the station. Furthermore, the fire was still burning to-day, and the Germans, far from taking any steps to stop it, seemed to feed it with straw, an instance of which I observed in the street adjoining the Town Hall. The Cathedral and the theatre are destroyed and have fallen in, as also the library; in short the town has the appearance of an ancient ruined city, in the midst of which only a few

The Kaiser and his Barbarians

drunken soldiers move about, carrying bottles of wine and liqueurs, while the officers themselves, seated in arm-chairs round the tables, drink like their men.

"In the streets the swollen bodies of dead horses rot in the sun, and the smell of fire and putrefaction pervades the whole place."

The Commission has not yet been able to obtain information about the fate of the Mayor of Louvain and of the other notables who were taken as hostages.

The Commission is able to draw the following conclusions from the facts which have so far been brought to its notice :

In this war the occupation of any place is systematically accompanied and followed, sometimes even preceded, by acts of violence towards the civil population, which acts are contrary both to the usages of war and to the most elementary principles of humanity.

The German procedure is everywhere the same. They advance along a road, shooting inoffensive passers-by—particularly bicyclists—as well as peasants working in the fields.

In the towns or villages where they stop they begin by requisitioning food and drink, which they consume till intoxicated.

Sometimes from the interior of deserted houses they let off their rifles at random, and declare that it was the inhabitants who fired. Then the scenes of fire, murder and especially pillage begin, accompanied by acts of deliberate cruelty, without respect to sex or age. Even when they pretend to know the actual person guilty of the acts they allege, they do not content themselves with executing him summarily, but they seize the opportunity to decimate the population, pillage the houses and then set them on fire.

After a preliminary attack and massacre they shut up the men in the church, then order the women to return to their houses and to leave their doors open all night.

From several places the male population has been sent to Germany, there to be forced, it appears, to work at the harvest, as in the old days of slavery. There are many cases of the inhabitants being forced to act as guides, and to dig trenches and entrenchments for the Germans. Numerous witnesses assert that during their marches and even when attacking, the Germans place civilians, men and women, in their front ranks, in order to prevent our soldiers firing. The evidence of Belgian officers and soldiers shows that German detachments do not hesitate to display either the white flag or the Red Cross flag, in order to approach our troops with impunity. On the other hand, they fire on our ambulances and maltreat the ambulance men. They maltreat and even kill the wounded. The clergy seem to be particularly chosen as subjects for their brutality. Finally we have in our possession expanding bullets which had been abandoned by the enemy at Werchter, and we possess doctors' certificates showing that wounds must have been inflicted by bullets of this kind.

The documents and evidence on which these conclusions rest will be published in due course.

The President,

(Signed) COOREMAN.

The Members of the Commission,

(Signed) COUNT GOBLET D'ALVIELLA.

The Secretaries,

(Signed) CHEVALIER ERNST DE BUNSWYCK.

" ORTS.

" RYCKMANS.

" STRAUSS.

" VAN CUTSEM.

The Kaiser with the "Bleeding Heart."

After the destruction of Louvain, the Kaiser informed the world that his heart was bleeding for the destroyed city, with its irreparable treasures of art and literature that were the heritage, not only of this age, but of ages yet unborn.

Now follows, close upon the heels of the avowal of this "bleeding heart," the destruction of Rheims Cathedral, that glorious, sacred pile of Gothic architecture, the wonder of the whole world.

The cathedral, with its incomparable masonry, beautiful Venetian glass—of which the secret has been lost in bygone centuries,—its precious monuments and sacred memories, dates back to the twilight of fable. From the thirteenth century it has reared its stately columns to the sky, watching over the struggles of Catholic France like some great, silent sentinel. Bearded crusaders once knelt before that noble altar, with the sun's rays pouring down upon them softly through the red and blue glass of the rose window, to receive some cardinal's blessing before leaving for the Holy Land. Here it was that Joan of Arc saw her king crowned in triumph—the king whose realm she had wrested from the invader. Now all those beauties, those sacred memories, are blotted out—destroyed by the hand of the German vandal.

Probably the Kaiser's heart will again be stricken, will bleed anew for Rheims, until the psychological moment arrives when it again becomes necessary to German "culture" that another act of wanton barbarity be perpetrated.

Surely civilization has already suffered a surfeit of this "cultured" tyrant's barbaric acts and impious hypocritical vapourings!

Surely the world will now be aroused from its lethargy, and outlaw the Kaiser and his ruthless brood, as Napoleon was outlawed—as an enemy to the peace of Europe!

Armed Europe destroyed that enemy at Waterloo and sent him captive to St. Helena in the interest of international peace, law and humanity.

Does not the same interest now demand the outlawry of the Kaiser, as a crowned lunatic or an impious, barbaric hypocrite?

We believe all thinking men and women of whatever nationality or creed will answer this question in the affirmative.

The public danger of the Kaiser and his satellites—the danger to morality, to humanity, to honour, to the very foundations of our civilized order—being admitted, every rational person should give his help and sympathy to the Allies, who are fighting for the maintenance in this world of order and justice, humanity and progress, against Prussian oppression and militarism.

It needs no exaggeration of the plain hard facts now before the

world, to establish the truth and reality of the terrible menace to civilization in the German Junker caste, headed by the leader of the Hohenzollern dynasty—the Kaiser.

Under his rule of blood and iron, with his motto of “might is right,” with expediency for excuse, have been committed the most horrible atrocities and acts of vandalism that the world has known since the Huns and Goths overran Europe.

Alas for German “culture”! Even Attila would have spared the ancient and sacred monuments of Rheims and Louvain.

The Kaiser with the bleeding heart, who profanely proclaims his alliance with the Almighty, spared neither.

FINIS.

AUTHOR'S NOTE.

Sympathetic and generously disposed persons are notified that contributions towards the relief of those gallant Belgians who have been rendered destitute and homeless by the Kaiser's barbarians will be gratefully received and acknowledged at

The Belgian Legation,
45, West Halkin Street, Belgrave Square,
London, S.W.

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